

VOLUME ONE *The Rise of Modern Europe*

THE DEVELOPMENT AND SPREAD OF EUROPE'S

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SOCIAL,

AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES, 1500-1830

Preface

WE HAVE chosen the title of this work—*Europe and the Modern World*—with a special and deliberate purpose. Many teachers of history have been saying, in speeches and articles, that we should broaden the study of European history, that we should give students a more meaningful grasp of the part played by Europe in the development of our present civilization, that we should mark more clearly the interplay between Europe and the rest of the world, that we should examine the history of European culture more searchingly for a possible key to a future world culture. We have used phrases like “Atlantic community,” “living past,” “civilization in transit,” “transatlantic influences” and “expansion of Europe” until they have begun to look familiar, even shopworn. And yet little has been done in our history textbooks to give such phrases a content. This book is an attempt to live up to our own and others’ pronouncements along these lines.

Historians of modern European history have frequently been content to concentrate upon events in Europe to the neglect of their world setting and of their impact upon non-European peoples. We have rejected this approach. Taking “Europe” as a phenomenon transcending its geographical boundaries, we have tried to give the story of the modern European heritage and to trace its ramifications wherever they lead. This approach has meant, for one thing, giving special attention to the contacts of Europe with America and Asia, and of America and Asia with Europe, though always from the point of view of the development—the advances, the stand-stills, and the retreats—of European civilization. It has meant being equally concerned with a broad definition of history; our study is directed toward “Europe” as a rich cultural concept

In spite of national boundaries, linguistic barriers, and local differences, Europe is after all fairly uniformly Cauoid in race, Indo-European in language, Christian in religion; most of Europe has had similar, related, or overlapping experiences that together form a common background and provide a common fund of achievements. We have attempted to relate the story of that common background and common fund. We believe that students have a particular need for an understanding of that story—an appreciation of the long-term trends, the interacting contemporaneous forces, the lasting human problems, and the enduring achievements of European civilization as an organic whole, as against a chronicle of the merely political developments within the separate nations. And, while endeavoring to make national-political developments clear, we have given as much if not more attention to the economic, social, and intellectual phases, and we have made a special effort to organize our story on a European rather than a national scale.

Throughout this work, we have proceeded from a central thesis. We are convinced that the last five centuries have revealed an increasing awareness of the interdependence of the world. We do not prognosticate that "One World" is therefore bound to come; perhaps annihilation or degeneration will come before oneness. But the possibility of world unity seems to us greater in the twentieth century than it was in the fifteenth and, barring catastrophe, now looks more real than the possibility of permanent disunity. We hold that conviction because, not fully persuaded by some recent philosophies of history, we see in the past of mankind nonescapable morphology that dictates the rise, maturity, and decay of unaliated civilizations. On the contrary, we feel that all contemporary civilizations tend more and more toward affiliation and that the continuous accumulation of scientific knowledge and the steady mastery of the forces of nature leave some room still to hope for a gradually merging and improving world.

As conscientious historians, however, we are also obliged to record and develop a parallel central theme—that in the race between progress and catastrophe, catastrophe has kept pace and may yet be the winner. The slow accumulation of man's knowledge may eventually provide a satisfying outcome to man's painful struggle toward the fulfillment of his aspirations for freedom, justice, prosperity, self-expression, and peace. But that struggle has regularly run parallel with man's tireless quest for power—the conflict between person and person, party and party, class and class, nation and nation, each to accomplish its own ever-widening purposes. Knowledge, of course, may be used for uncommendable ends, and aspirations may be manipulated and corrupted toward disaster. Power itself may be checked or counterbalanced and may be used to promote the accumulation of knowledge and the fulfillment of aspirations. While we have attempted to give particular attention to the constant interaction between man's achievements and aspirations on the

one hand and his quest for power on the other, we cannot, of course, pretend to know whether man's incomplete knowledge and unfulfilled aspirations will become the instruments of power for ultimate good or ultimate evil. As long as man strives, says Goethe, he must err. It does not lie within our province, as it lay within his, to decide whether Faust or Mephisto will triumph in the end. In consequence, we have not tried to propose or to dispose; we have tried only to expose. But the reader will probably guess where our sympathies lie.

Acknowledgments

CRITICAL READING

IN A WORK of this kind, in which all areas of the world and all aspects of culture are proper subjects of discussion, no author or set of authors can hope to be wholly competent throughout. For that reason we have sought and have been graciously granted the editorial assistance of a number of specialists. Professor T. Walter Wallbank, of the University of Southern California, took part in the original planning of the book. Alastair Taylor, of the United Nations, assisted us in the writing of the chapters on the history of the Western Hemisphere. To Mary Herrick Porter we are indebted for much of the groundwork and research that has gone into a large part of this volume. The sections dealing with art have greatly benefited from the criticisms of Professor Ulrich A. Middeldorf, of the University of Chicago, and Professor Seymour Slive, of Oberlin College, and the sections dealing with music from the criticisms of Professor Otto Gombosi, of the University of Chicago. Professor Hill Shine, of the University of Kentucky, helped us to strengthen the parts of the book that deal with literature. Professor Ilza Veith, of the University of Chicago, checked the discussions of science and technology. Professor Richard P. McKeon, of the University of Chicago, put at our disposal his great knowledge of the history of thought. Professor William T. Hutchinson, of the University of Chicago, went carefully over the chapters dealing with American history. Several of these people have also made suggestions beyond the realm of their specialties. If because of pedagogical and space considerations we were not always able to follow their advice, we are no less grateful for their painstaking and expert cooperation, and we absolve them from all blame for whatever weaknesses this book despite the truly valiant efforts of all of them may yet retain.

MAPS

THE MAPS in this volume have been drawn especially for *Europe and the Modern World* by R. M. Chapin, Jr. and Jere Donovan. The task of translating often complicated and occasionally inaccurate atlas materials into simple storytelling maps has been carried out by Mary Herrick Porter and Elizabeth Coleman Creed. In their effort to achieve accuracy as well as clarity they and the authors have happily had the benefit of advice from the following eminent specialists in their respective fields: Professor Shepard B. Clough, of Columbia University, Professor Garrett Mattingly, of Columbia University, Professor L. Carrington Goodrich, of Columbia University, Professor Leo Gershoj, of New York University, Junius B. Bird, Associate Curator of Archeology at the American Museum of Natural History, Professor Harold C. Syrett, of Columbia University, Professor Bailey W. Diffie, of The City College of New York, Professor Walther Kirchner, of the University of Delaware, and Professor Ralph H. Bowen, of Columbia University.

ILLUSTRATIONS

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PART ONE

*Europe
in its world setting
around 1500*

INTRODUCTION

IN THE period that Europeans call the Middle Ages, life everywhere had certain common features that were all the more remarkable for the limited contacts between the civilizations of the world. Men everywhere lived close to the soil, under the supervision of the provincial lord and of the church. Custom or law bound the individual to the place of his birth and to his station in society. Religion pervaded much of life, coupling politically heterogeneous sections of the globe, though at the same time it was a powerful force for division, pitting Moslem against Hindu, Catholic against heretic, Christian against Jew. In Europe the church was the guardian of morals and of learning. Most art was religious in subject and in purpose. The miniature at the right, for example, embellished a hand-written prayer or hour book. Such books were a priceless rarity, and illiteracy was common. Agricultural methods, as the miniature reveals, were simple. Most people were victims of an economy of scarcity. Barter was frequently employed as a medium of trade.



FROM DUC DE BERRI'S
TRÈS RICHES HEURES

BELLINI: PORTRAIT OF MOHAMMED II

The medieval pattern began to alter first in Europe. The growth of the towns and the decline of the feudal system were accompanied at the close of the Middle Ages by a revival of interest in the cultures of Greece and Rome. Italy in the fourteenth century saw the earliest flowering of this so-called "Renaissance." The rational classical spirit of worldly inquiry counteracted the medieval preoccupation with the hereafter and reliance upon divine guidance. It gave men a new interest in things secular. This new "humanism" not only brought skepticism or indifference to bear upon medieval otherworldliness, but it also found positive expression in art, literature, music, drama, and science. Learning became

fashionable; a Renaissance gentleman was expected to be not merely adept at courtliness but an amateur of art, letters, and music as well. The mere warrior noble lost some of his standing, and mercenaries were frequently hired by the Italian city-states to take over the business of warfare. (Some of these Italian "condottieri" were portrayed by Uccello in his pieces entitled "Rout of San Romano," one of which is shown below.) The Bellini family made Venice a center of Italian painting, and Sultan Mohammed II sent for its "best painter" to immortalize him. The French invasion of Italy in 1494 hastened the transmission of the Renaissance spirit to the rest of Europe.



UCCELLO: THE ROUT OF SAN ROMANO





*Europe moves
into the
modern age*

TODAY the interdependence of the peoples of the world is taken for granted. Complex political rivalries and associations, large-scale industry and commerce, air transportation, and instantaneous communication have made the various parts of the earth so mutually dependent that not even the most primitive and out-of-the-way communities can pursue a totally separate and isolated existence.

This global interdependence is a comparatively recent development, but already, we are frequently warned, its ultimate outcome may be the doom rather than the peace and progress of our present civilization. To gain a proper understanding of it and in turn some perception of its meaning for our present and future, we shall trace its growth from the time when global interdependence first became unmistakable. This means that we have to go back at least as far as the fifteenth century.

Five centuries ago the world was a place in which differing cultural groups, scattered in widely separated parts of the globe, lived in almost unbridged isolation. Wherever distances were not great, they knew something of one another and engaged in a limited warfare, trade, and interchange of knowledge, but the fundamental characteristics of their cultures resisted change by such contacts. As a general rule they remained separate, insular, and almost, if not entirely, self-contained.

Everywhere people lived close to the land in an agrarian or pastoral economy. Trade and industry were only supplementary and subordinate features in the larger pattern. Products were generally exchanged by barter or, to a limited extent, through the medium of coined money. Methods of production, both on the land and in workshops, were primitive and slow. In most societies marked caste divisions separated the peasants who tilled the soil

from the lords who owned it, though economically the gap was often not so great as between rich and poor today. Authority was typically exercised by a warrior class, usually identical with the hereditary landed nobility.

Religion in this period was a dominant force in most cultural groups; the priesthood as a privileged class influenced not only spiritual and moral beliefs but also manners, customs, and institutions. Esthetic expressions—art, literature, and music—were frequently theological in origin and molded by time-honored conventions. Society was provincial and conservative, and men leaned heavily on authority and tradition.

But in some parts of the world around 1500 this medieval pattern was slowly being rearranged. In Europe, although the general outlook was still overwhelmingly agrarian, feudal, provincial, and traditional, the widening of horizons since the Crusades had made a discernible impression upon everyday life. New ideas, methods, attitudes, and knowledge had appeared or were soon to appear, to challenge old habits, institutions, and modes of thought. The innovations were usually rare or abstruse modifications of the accepted pattern, familiar only to the learned, but they were to become general and dominant, until, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they would stand out clearly recognizable as the substance from which the modern world is made.

FROM GUILD AND MANOR

TO EARLY CAPITALISM

THE READY application of technological knowledge to practical problems has in the last hundred years or so transformed world economy at a faster rate and over a wider area than ever before. As late as 1769, Benjamin Franklin, reflecting on the problem of national income, called commerce “generally cheating” and agriculture “the only honest way” to acquire wealth. Since that time, however, natural forces previously unknown or little understood have been harnessed to produce power for running machines, thereby bringing about large-scale manufacturing and complex business empires. The result has been that industry, banking, and commerce now hold an honored and dominant place, and condition almost every aspect of life in a world once ruled by agriculture.

*The medieval manor—
a self-sufficient economic unit*

IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY Europe, as elsewhere in the world of that day, a slow-moving rural

economy prevailed. As already suggested, most people lived in the country and worked in fields, but few of them owned their own farms. The basic unit of agriculture was the manor, controlled by the lord or his representative

and worked by his tenants and serfs. The manor house, in which the people of gentility lived, and the peasant huts clustered around it formed a little, practically self-sufficient community. Each manor produced nearly all the food, made nearly all the cloth, provided nearly all the building materials, reared nearly all the animals, dipped nearly all the candles, and gathered nearly all the wood that its inhabitants needed. Only occasionally did these manor-dwellers resort to purchase or barter for deficiencies, imported luxuries, or complicated manufactured articles.

*Handicraft industries
in the urban centers of Europe*

IN THE urban centers of Europe, most of them little towns by our standards, small-scale handicraft industry had developed to supplement the basically agrarian economy. Fine furniture, decorative leather goods and harness, smart cloths and clothing, gold and silver tableware, glass, jewelry, steel and silver cutlery, and other articles not easily produced on the manor, were typically made by skilled workers in the towns. Medieval artisans wrought by hand and sold their handiwork to town dwellers, neighboring manors, and frequently at fairs—a far cry from today's machine-made articles, stocked by mass production and distributed over wide areas. The unit of production in medieval days was the master craftsman who worked in his own home, with his own tools, usually with only one or two helpers. This small-scale town industry supplementing an essentially agrarian economic system had been characteristic of European life for centuries.

*Increasing specialization
in the small town industries*

COMPARED to the peasant on the average manor, the craftsman of the medieval town had reached a relatively high degree of specialization of labor. Compared, however, with the laborer in the more efficient factories of today, he was far from specialized. He was not obliged, at a certain point and during certain hours when the machines were in operation, to perform a single, simplified task in its proper order on a product that had reached a specified point in a routinized manufacturing process. If not his own master, he worked in close collaboration with his master or employer, and he was a skilled artisan who could do every step in the manufacture of his product. But, in contrast to the peasant of his own day, he made only a single product, such as hats, or he worked in a single medium, such as



Specialization of labor was beginning to develop in the fifteenth century in such group activities as weaving, where each workman had a separate job.



On land merchandise was often carried on foot, suspended from shoulder poles or in baskets; on the sea small sailing vessels transported goods, and were also one of the chief means of travel.

leather, buying from others much of his food and other necessities. By himself he was, as a general rule, a complete industrial unit, beginning with raw materials and finishing a marketable product. Concentrating his energies on what he could do best, he was usually better off materially, though less self-sufficient, than the peasant, who dispersed his efforts among all the things necessary to his existence.

A new system, however, began to appear in the fifteenth century in a few advanced regions. In some industries production was divided into several specialized operations. Cloth, for instance, as is suggested by the illustration on page 7, was made step by step—by spinners, weavers, fullers, carders, and dyers. The practice had now arisen by which the unfinished materials were supplied at each step by a clothier, who also marketed the product. Thereby the total output and the volume of trade were increased, but the process also advanced whereby workers in certain industries were to become so highly specialized and so lacking in self-sufficiency that it directly affects Asiatics when longshoremen go on strike in San Francisco and Americans when frost kills the vintager's grapes in France. Although by 1500 Europe had developed only a limited amount of specialization by individuals or regions, and although this specialization was restricted to certain crafts, the tendency toward specialized industry was growing.

*Slowness
of communications in 1500*

EUROPE was exceedingly provincial in 1500. A generation that is accustomed to learning of events

in all corners of the earth in a matter of minutes and to thinking of New York as only a few hours away from London may find it difficult to realize how



With the growth of trade, horse-drawn boats carried bulky cargoes on the canals and rivers, and the two-wheeled mule cart came into wider use.

isolated from one another regions as little as fifty miles apart were in those days. No mechanical means of transportation or communication made remote areas familiar or easy of access. People and goods could move only as fast as horses could carry them along badly paved highways or as ships could sail in a favorable wind.

Postal service, if it existed at all, was not regular. Kings, merchants, and men of wealth dispatched their communications by special couriers. Private individuals had no way of sending messages except by hiring or begging someone to carry them. The nearest thing to a public postal system was the messenger service developed by the universities to enable students to keep in touch with their families.

News of events also traveled along the highways and waterways. No newspapers or magazines existed to keep people up to date, and few people could read anyway. News might be brought by royal courier and announced by the town crier in the public square, if the ruler wanted it spread. It might be communicated by a business house to a branch in another locality. Or it might travel as grapevine gossip along with the itinerant peddler, friar, worker, or soldier. In any case, news moved slowly. It took nearly two months, in 1498, for the people of the rugged Bas-Quercy district of southern France to learn that their king had died.

*Bad roads
and the perils of the sea*

IF NEWS was spread at a slow pace, transportation was just as leisurely. The fifteenth century

had no means of transportation superior to the horse, the oxcart, and the sailing vessel. Covered carriages were expensive and uncommon, and were used mostly by ladies; there were only a few carriages in all Paris as late as the

mid-sixteenth century. The highway of 1500, except close to the towns, was likely to be little more than a track across the fields and through the woods, muddy, full of ruts and quagmires, sometimes scarcely discernible amid the overgrowth of weeds and bushes. Bridges were few and often unsafe. Ferries ran at the convenience of the ferrymen. Highwaymen and brigands infested the roads, and wolves were a frequent source of danger. On these miserable roads the traveler made his way on horseback, and the trader transported his goods by pack caravan or in ox-drawn carts. The journeys were interminable; it generally took thirty-five days for loaded carts to make the trip from Genoa to Paris. Furthermore, travelers and cargoes were frequently forced to pay tolls to the lords whose roads or bridges they used and duties to the provinces or towns whose boundaries they crossed.

With overland travel so difficult, hazardous, and costly, most goods, especially heavier commodities, were carried by ships when possible. Rivers were widely sailed wherever they were navigable, but they too were poorly maintained, being full of weeds and silt. Nobles and provinces exacted payments on the rivers too; a vessel traveling the length of the Loire River system had to stop over one hundred times to pay tolls.

In some ways ocean travel was even slower and more dangerous than land travel. Ships were small and frail, the most common craft in coastwise trade being ketches of fifty to one hundred tons. Beacons, buoys, and light-houses were rare. Compasses and charts were unreliable. While good time could be achieved in a favorable wind, the sailing vessel could make no headway in a calm and might be driven off its course by an unfavorable wind or storm. The skipper's usual choice was to hug the shore during the day and drop anchor at dusk. Bad weather often brought disaster. The seaways were infested with pirates, and merchant vessels were forced either to travel in convoy with an armed escort or to carry arms themselves.

Limited travel

and the slowness of social change

WITH LAND and sea travel so slow and dangerous, people did not commonly make pleasure trips or

even travel on business. Most individuals lived out their lives in the regions where they were born. Some never even ventured from manor to nearby town or from town to manor. Travelers usually were diplomats, government officials, soldiers, itinerants, and merchants, or nobles, who, owning several manors, traveled with escorts from one to another and also did what little social traveling was done. The paucity of travelers helps to explain why small localities were self-contained, why people knew little of the outside world, and why social change was slow and rare.

Some change was taking place, nevertheless. Royal governments were growing in strength and bringing people into closer contact within their king-

doms. In seeking the unity of their realms, the kings saw to it that roads were improved, bridges repaired, rivers dredged and cleared of weeds, harbors maintained, and seignorial tolls either abolished or justified by the improvement of travel facilities. In France the monarch installed a postal system, which, though at first confined to royal use, was eventually to develop into a public messenger service. The printing press, half a century old in 1500, did away with the necessity of copying books by hand and was becoming an effective means of spreading news and information. The perfection of the compass toward the end of the fifteenth century, enabling mariners to go out of sight of land without losing their way, brought new lands onto Europe's horizon and into the orbit of her trade.

*Early capitalism
and growth of the merchant guilds*

CAPITALISM is a system in which a major part is played by private investors who risk their accumu-

lated wealth (capital) for personal gain through loans to business enterprises. It appeared early in international trade, which demands the investment of money or other forms of wealth in goods to be transported and sold. The earliest medieval trade was not markedly capitalistic, however. The first traders were bands of itinerant peddlers who formed caravans for mutual protection and often pooled their money to purchase their wares. They were small-scale operators and made no great fortunes. As trade expanded, groups of merchants established themselves as merchant guilds and secured trade monopolies, sometimes of a certain branch of trade, more often of the trade of an entire town. Once established in a town, they tried to include in their membership everyone who bought and sold there—artisans who marketed their own wares as well as mere merchants. The guild regulated transactions in minute detail, specifying the quality of the product, the “just price” (page 18), and the amount an individual member could buy and sell.



From such unpretentious beginnings as the one-man enterprise of this merchant shown weighing his gold and of this cloth dealer shown with his shears, our modern system of capitalism was to develop.

Capitalism

in opposition to the merchant guild

ALTHOUGH the guilds were wealthy and powerful, they preferred that members risk only their own capital in their ventures and hence were hostile to the development of large-scale business enterprises that would require the joint capital of several merchants. This hostility tended to exclude outsiders, to freeze trade at the accustomed level, and to maintain the guilds' monopolies. In particular they frowned upon the middleman merchant, who bought wholesale and sold retail without adding anything to the product and undercut business by marketing larger quantities more cheaply than could be done under the old system. But it was the middlemen, ostracized by the guilds, who were to amass the most spectacular fortunes and become the typical merchant capitalists. The middleman was still almost a stranger in the fifteenth century, and he was still considered an interloper beyond the pale of more respectable mercantile practices.

Craft guilds

and capitalist competition

BY 1500, however, the merchant guild was itself a decaying institution, despite the continued respectability of its guildhall. More serious opposition to the introduction of capitalism came from the craft guilds, which had begun to appear as early as the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. This form of guild organization represented a splitting up of the older merchant guilds into many occupational groups. For a time the merchant and the craft guilds existed side by side, often with overlapping membership but not always on friendly terms. By 1500 the craft guilds had largely superseded those of the older form. The merchant guild surrendered its economic functions to the various craft guilds and confined itself largely to social, charitable, and political efforts.

In each town there were separate craft guilds for the various occupations—not merely “the butcher, the baker, the candlestick-maker,” who were familiar enough to enter folklore, but also the weaver, the wheelwright, and so on. Each guild was a privileged group, having a monopoly of the town market for its product and exclusive right to practice its profession and control the production and sales of its product. Its aims were to protect its members from outside competition and to maintain equality among them through the elimination of internal competition. Like the merchant guild, the craft guild chose its own membership, specified how much each of its members was to produce, determined how many workers each could hire for what wages and hours, restricted the number of tools a worker could use, regulated prices, weights, and measures, set standards of quality, and enforced its regulations through constant inspection. Competitive capitalism was thus

*The domestic system
or putting-out system in industry*

THE GREATER robustness of the
craft guilds delayed development
of capitalism in industry longer

than in trade. The prevalent handicraft system was in many respects the antithesis of capitalism. Although the craftsman made a certain money investment in his tools and raw materials, he was first of all an artisan; his investment of capital was small and incidental. It was only when men began to invest on a large scale in raw materials and tools and to hire a number of others to work for them that capitalism conspicuously entered industry. This came about when the middlemen's fortunes increased through rising trade and when industrial enterprise on a large scale was called for by expanding markets. Typical of this new enterprise was the clothier mentioned above (page 8), who bought raw materials, distributed them to individuals who worked them up in their own homes, and gathered the finished products for sale. This form of enterprise came to be called the "domestic," or "putting-out," system. It provided the capitalist with many part-time workers.

*The seeds
of the modern factory system*

CAPITALISM in industry was evident occasionally also outside the domestic system. The production

of raw materials, especially of coal and metals by mining, had of necessity long been highly regionalized and centralized, obliging the concentration of man power in a single enterprise. In western Europe some towns boasted manufacturing establishments of twelve or more hired laborers working together under one roof. These establishments were the precursors of the modern factory. Eventually they were to replace the domestic system as the prevalent form of industrial capitalist enterprise, but in 1500 they were not often encountered. The workers in such an establishment constituted a group resembling our own urban proletariat, dependent upon money wages and owning no plot of land to cultivate in times of need. The factory worker's situation was thus more precarious than that of the domestic worker, whose wages for his labor for an entrepreneur were usually supplemented by farming or some other occupation.

*Specialization
and separation of labor and capital*

CAPITALISM was itself a form of specialization in that it was a separation of investment from manual

labor, a division among at least two men of what had formerly been done by one. The master, who once used to do some of the manual labor, concentrated on managing the business to earn himself a profit on his capital, while the hired laborer, rapidly losing the hope of becoming a master, fashioned the product for a money wage. If the master borrowed his capital, a third specialist—a moneylender or an investor—entered the picture. This specializa-

tion placed opportunity and power chiefly in the hands of the investor, especially if he was also the employer. It did not always follow that he grew wealthy, since he also bore the major risks of failure. But he was independent, and his chances of rapidly bettering himself were, in an era of expanding markets and rising standards of living, particularly good.

*Continued domination
of the guilds in the towns*

RESPECTABLE or not, capitalism steadily developed outside guild jurisdiction. Under the domestic system a single enterprise might be scattered over a wide and largely rural area in order to escape guild control. Sometimes the crown would grant special privileges to industries it wished to encourage. The fifteenth century thus was a period of nascent industrial capitalism, in which the guilds were placed more and more on the defensive. Still they remained the most characteristic form of business association and a dominant feature of town life.

*The modern farm
in contrast to the medieval manor*

IN COMPARISON with the fifteenth-century manor modern farming looks very capitalistic indeed. Specialized farms are common today; we have cherry orchards, turkey farms, truck gardens, dairies, and cattle and sheep ranches, often financed by capital investment, using expensive machinery, and engaged in quantity production. On the fifteenth-century manor the farmers produced for consumption rather than for profit, and in lean years they were lucky if they had more than enough to feed themselves. In good years the nearby town market would also be supplied, but famines were frequent in the towns. Instead of specializing in one crop or two, each manor raised nearly everything it needed. Wheat

and rye as well as the "oats, peas, beans and barley" of the folksong were the staple crops. Hemp and flax were grown for the making of cloth. The pig was the most common animal and salt pork was the most common meat in the rural diet. The medieval cow was a sorry specimen and gave little milk, most of which was turned into cheese. Salt, for preserving, was the only important food item regularly imported to the manor.



The woodcuts on these pages show farmers planting and harvesting their crops with simple, handmade implements. The tools, crops, and methods of cultivation had not changed appreciably by the fifteenth century.

Whereas the farm of today is very likely to be individually owned and operated, farming on the manor was a communal undertaking. Although each peasant had a certain right to strips of land in each of the fields belonging to the community, all peasants worked together in the fields, the lord of the manor generally supplying the plow and the peasants the oxen and the smaller tools. The arable land was generally divided into three open fields on which the crops were rotated, each field lying fallow every third year to restore the soil. This method of crop rotation was known as the "three-field system" or the "open-field system" of agriculture. The peasants' "strips," the parish church's "glebe," and some of the lord's "demesne," too, were scattered throughout each of the three fields, with uncultivated balks between strips—a most wasteful arrangement but one dictated by immemorial custom. The lord usually had a separate group of adjacent holdings known as "closes." Peasants and land-lord shared in common the pasture, the meadow, and the woodlands.

*The beginnings
of capitalism in agriculture*

BY 1500, capitalism was intruding even upon the manor. In some places the lord, who had once lived off the produce of the manor, was acquiring the role of an absentee investor in his lands. Peasant fees, paid in produce in medieval times, were now increasingly being commuted into money rents. In addition the lord began to rent out his demesne and to live on his money income. This tendency was promoted by the attraction of the king's court, where the higher nobles devoted themselves to a ceremonious and demanding social routine. Sometimes, too, rich capitalists from the towns, anxious to climb the social ladder, bought land from impecunious nobles and transferred to the manor some of their business techniques and efficiency. The growth of the wool trade was another stimulus to capitalism in agriculture, since it brought about large-scale sheep raising in certain areas. This was notably true in England, where the common pastures and meadows, and even farmlands as well, were more and more fenced off and devoted to grazing. Thus an "enclosure movement" began that was in some areas to destroy the three-field system.



FROM LOCAL BARTER

TO INTERNATIONAL BANKING

FOR PRESENT-DAY business enterprise an elaborate financial system is an indispensable medium. Money and credit provide the mechanics of exchange and are commonly accounted for through banks. In early medieval times, on the other hand, local business transactions were generally carried on by barter; the emergence of capitalism was to introduce modern complexities.

*Effect of trade
on the growth of a money economy*

EVEN IN 1500 some rural localities seldom used money at all; peasants paid their rents and taxes

with a portion of their crops or livestock or by working a certain number of days on the lord's demesne. But more and more, through trade with the towns

and at fairs, the peasants even on the fringes of civilization were learning to use money, and money rentals were taking the place of payments in kind. Metal coins were well known in the towns and among the wealthier lords. The coinage was often of questionable value because of the common practices of clipping coins and of increasing



Moneymen of the royal mint are shown striking coins for the king of Sweden. The coin's value depended entirely upon its metallic content.

the content of baser metal in order to mint more pieces without reducing their face value. Coins were minted by town governments and feudal lords as well as by national governments, and the resulting multiplicity of monetary systems limited the trustworthiness and hence the usefulness of money. It also made the goldsmith, who could assay the intrinsic value of metal, a key figure as moneychanger in any area where commerce was highly developed.

*The introduction
of modern banking methods*

THE CONFUSING monetary practices considerably hampered trade, and in the more advanced

regions the demands of trade and industry gave rise to short cuts in business negotiations. The primary agent in these short cuts was the bank. Modern banks perform three basic functions—the holding of deposits for safekeeping, the loaning of the accumulated deposits for investment, and the simplifying

of business transactions through the use of checks, promissory notes, letters of credit, and other credit instruments. The first two functions were already characteristic of banking in the fifteenth century and the third was beginning to develop. Checks, in some areas a common form of money payments today, were not yet used, but banks were beginning to handle payments from one individual to another by bookkeeping when both were depositors in the same bank. The writing of a check, or draft on the bank, was the next logical step and was soon to become well known. By 1500 international trade had begun to make fairly general use of the bill of exchange. That device was somewhat like our travelers' check. A branch or agent of a banking firm in one town, upon receiving payment for a merchant's goods in that town's currency, would issue such a bill of exchange, and the merchant could then redeem it in the currency of his own home town or any other place where the banking firm had another branch or agent. Thus the merchant avoided both money-changing and carrying gold on long and hazardous journeys.

Loans are the lifeblood of any banking system. Themselves a form of capitalist activity, they also stimulate enterprise in other fields by providing capital that might otherwise be lacking for investments. In the fifteenth century several banking houses were engaged in business on a continental scale, with branches in the larger towns. Among them were some fabulous families, such as the Medicis of Florence and the Fuggers of Augsburg. The Fuggers are said to have made an average yearly profit of over 30 per cent for decades. Such a high rate of interest was not unique or, in view of the risk, entirely unjustifiable. The chief borrowers were merchant entrepreneurs, kings, and even popes, although the church condemned moneylending at interest as sinful. Kings were often the best customers, borrowing large sums to supplement the royal income from taxes and using the money to carry on the struggle for centralized government as well as to pursue dynastic ambitions. The king-banker relationship was sometimes painful to both parties in the end, the king defaulting on loans of such proportions as to send the banker into bankruptcy, while the high interest rates, paid out of taxes, drained the wealth of the country. It was a curious, personal form of government finance, but in those days widespread public borrowing through bond issues such as governments employ today to supplement their revenues from taxation was unknown.

The regulation

of trade and industry in 1500

IN 1500, private enterprise was in some regards less free than it is today in capitalist countries.

Trade and industry were regulated by merchant and craft guilds. They were also circumscribed by the church through canon law and other ecclesiastical pronouncements which, though not regularly enforced, bore the sanction of church authority and hence also of some public opinion. They were, in the third place, subject to political regulation by feudal lords, towns, and kings.

Whereas under a free-enterprise system anyone as a general rule is free to enter any occupation, in medieval times the only entry was through the guild. Under the craft-guild system the procedure of establishing oneself as a master involved a long and often unattractive career first as apprentice and then as a journeyman. Once established, the master was bound by the regulations we have already examined (page 12). The strict control of conditions of production and the market in this fashion prevented that competitive bargaining between buyer and seller which is the heart of our contemporary free-enterprise theory.

*The beginnings
of the free-enterprise system*

THE NEW type of entrepreneur, considering guild membership unnecessary to his trade, bought and

sold where he pleased and at lower prices than those fixed by the guild, chose his own workers, and thus tended to break down the guilds' monopoly. In this fashion the element of competition was introduced by which a free-enterprise system functions. In the fifteenth century, however, competition was limited. For several centuries trade and industry were to continue to be generally regulated, with monopoly by far the more characteristic form. The free-enterprise system was to become predominant only in the nineteenth century.

*The modification
of ideas on moneylending*

THE CHURCH had backed the guild by upholding the concept of "just price"—that is, one fixed

by an impartial authority as fair to all concerned and based upon an estimate of costs plus labor. The church had regarded as sinful many trading practices fully accepted today. The loaning of money at interest, for example, had been condemned as "usury" if it was "manifest, public and notorious," and restitution to the victims had often been demanded. For that reason moneylending in medieval times had been largely in the hands of non-Christians, frequently Jews. Gradually, however, the profit motive was becoming more powerful than church dogma; and as Christian bankers like the Medicis and their predecessors in Italy developed moneylending to an elaborate degree and, what is more, became essential to the church, the church began to acquiesce to a trend it could no longer check. Moneylending and other forbidden practices were countenanced if excessive rates of interest were not demanded. By 1500 it was considered quite proper to be a banker.

*Government regulation
of commerce and industry*

IN ADDITION to the guilds and the church, governments in the fifteenth century also frequently

took a hand in regulating commerce and industry. The policy of laissez faire (i.e., strict government abstinence from any form of business control) was not well formulated until the eighteenth century. In medieval times control of

the market was principally local, being exercised by the feudal lords or, more often, the towns. Guild privileges were, in fact, granted by the lords or the towns and protected by them. The road and bridge tolls and the customs duties that were so great an annoyance to shippers (page 10) were exacted sometimes purely for revenue and sometimes for the specific purpose of regulating trade. Export duties were frequent, strange though this may seem, for the current theory was that certain kinds of goods produced at home should stay at home—an idea based largely on the political conviction that a foreign nation, a potential enemy, might be strengthened by supplies taken from one's own national resources.

*Control
of guilds by royal governments*

LONG BEFORE the fifteenth century the kings of the various countries had begun to expand and unify their territories, subordinating the provincial aristocracy and the towns. In part, they sought this increase of political power in order to meet foreign competition, both political and economic. Their regulation of trade and industry was likewise aimed at augmenting national unity and central authority at the expense of local privilege. It differed little from the type of regulation formerly imposed by nobles and towns, being, in fact, an assumption by the crown of operations hitherto performed by local governments. The crown, in many instances, took over the functions, formerly exercised by the towns, of chartering and protecting guilds and enforcing their regulations.

Royal control of the guilds, however, meant a different emphasis. The king was concerned not so much with preserving little monopolies for little groups as with protecting his subjects as consumers and with establishing some kind of centralization throughout his realm. That he chose to do these things through the guild strengthened that institution in some countries and in others at least arrested its decline. Monarchs thus unwittingly opposed the development of capitalism, though the king, in aiming at absolute control, and the capitalist, in demanding individual freedom, were both struggling against the vested interests of privileged groups.

*The beginnings
of the mercantilist theory*

THE KINGS had also begun in the fifteenth century to adopt as a general policy another attitude toward trade and industry. As governments became more centralized, monarchs began to vie with one another for power and prestige. Their rivalry led to the idea of mobilizing and coordinating the resources of a state for the sake of greater power both within the nation and in international competition—a doctrine made familiar in our century by totalitarian regimes. The prevailing economic theory gave monarchs moral support in the building of self-sufficient national economies. It was commonly believed that what was one

community's economic loss might be a rival community's gain, the theory behind the medieval prohibition of exports. That principle when extended to nations induced rulers to build up their home economies. They began to encourage and regulate native industries, sponsor trading and manufacturing ventures, and, more generally, prohibit rival imports, in order to protect and increase production at home and to maintain what was known as "a favorable balance of trade." This effort to secure domestic self-sufficiency by governmental intervention and regulation came to be known as *mercantilism*. It contrasts markedly with our own ideas of free enterprise and free trade.

*The towns as centers
of economic change in 1500*

THE WORLD today is markedly urban; in 1500, as already stated, it was largely rural. Industrializa-

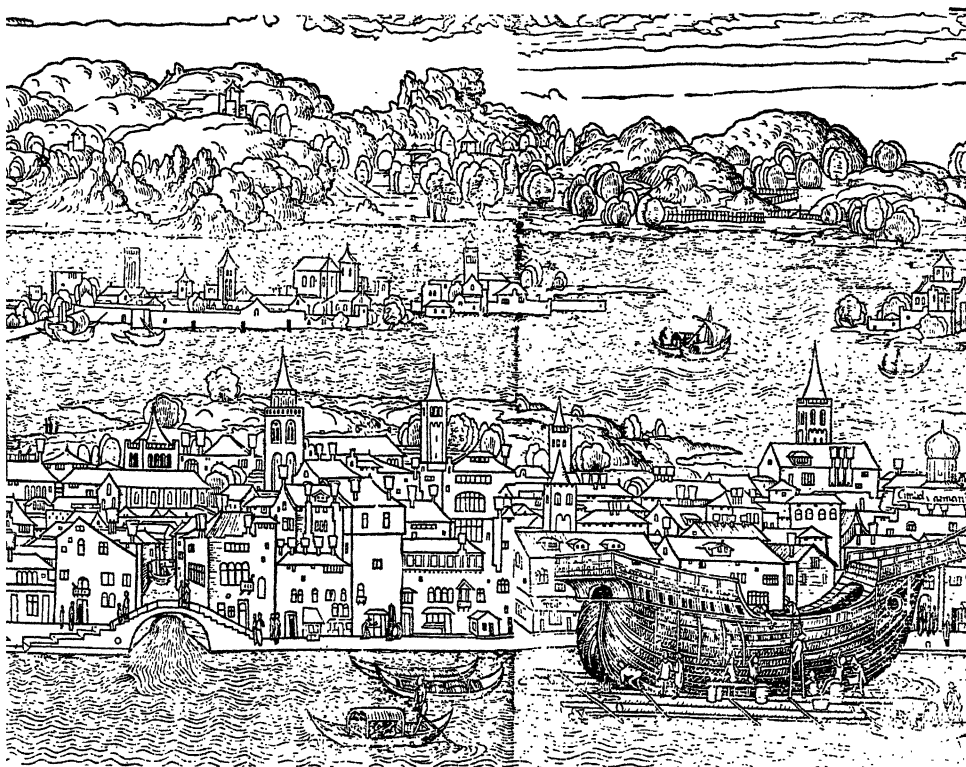
tion is chiefly responsible for the modern movement of peoples from country to city and for the predominance of the city in our pattern of life. In 1500, as we have seen, widespread industrialization was several centuries off, and the overwhelming majority of people lived in small communities on the manors. There were only three cities in Europe numbering over 100,000 inhabitants—Paris, London, and Constantinople. Perhaps twenty others contained from 40,000 to 60,000.

But the towns, though small, were numerous along the rivers and sea-coasts and the overland trade routes, especially in Italy, Flanders, and north Germany. Trade and industry were the sources of their livelihood. Some of them, like Carcassonne in France or Rothenburg in Germany, have survived essentially unchanged in physical appearance down to the present day. In an age when political power was in the hands of feudal and ecclesiastical lords, the towns fought free of their control, governed themselves, and aided the kings in establishing a strong central government. In an age when economic activity consisted of producing the necessities of life for the most part on a basis of communal self-sufficiency, the towns initiated the processes of economic development that undermined the old system. In an age of traditionally stratified society, the towns produced a new social type, the bourgeois—that is, the city dweller, a member of a middle class between lord and peasant—who did not fit into the old pattern and eventually helped to break it down. Into an age of rural traditionalism, conservative respect for authority and social status, religious devotion and concentration on the life hereafter, the towns injected a new restlessness and a new interest in the world and man.

*The growth of trade
despite many difficulties*

TRADE was the partner of the town in disrupting the medieval pattern. In 1500 trade had been

growing slowly but steadily for four centuries and was on the threshold of an unprecedented expansion to hitherto unknown corners of the earth. Compared

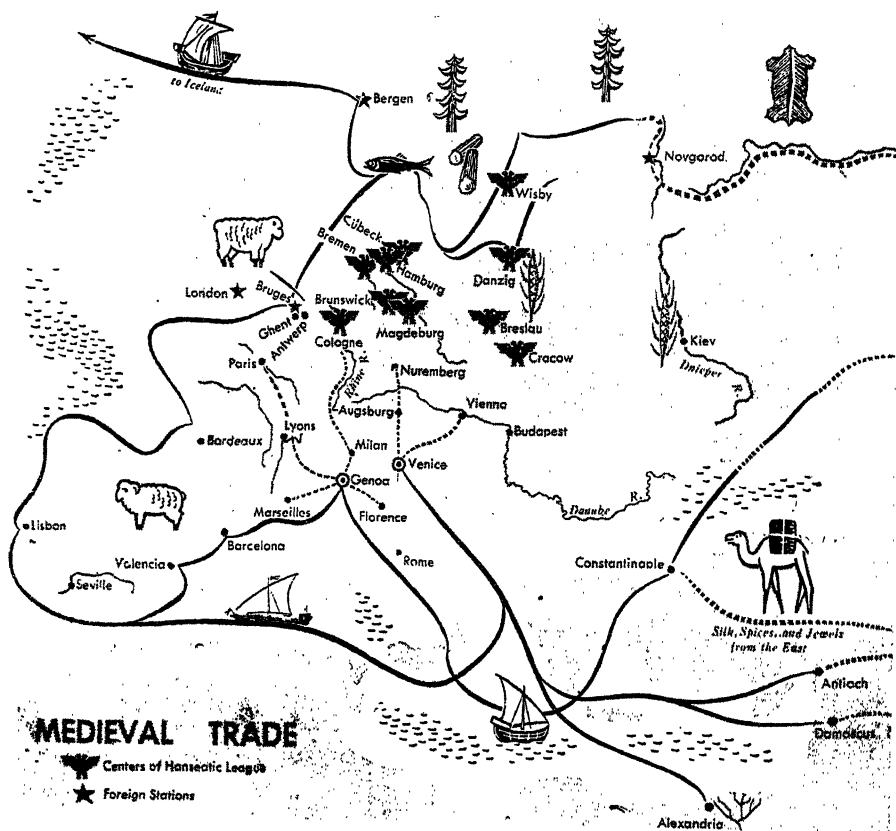


During the Renaissance Venice, a city of many islands and canals, was "Queen of the Adriatic" and, together with Genoa, was mistress of the trade with the Levant.

to the enormous commerce of today, its volume, value, and scope would look small; but its spirit of enterprise was similar. Mule-track roads, wolves, brigands, tolls and duties, wooden ships, poor instruments, piracy, weather hazards, and other prohibitive conditions previously discussed determined to a large extent the kinds of products featured in trade. The items most profitable for transport were high in price and small in bulk. Today's ten-cent-store merchandise can only attract capital investments in an era that boasts mass consumption, railroads, steamships, and wide distances between customs barriers. Cheap food transport had to await modern methods of refrigeration, canning, dehydration, and bulk transportation. Hence the main items of trade in 1500 were durable luxury goods—gold, spices, precious stones, silks, wool, wheat, timber, salt fish, salt pork, furs, etc.—which were easily handled and commanded prices high enough both to compensate for the many taxes they incurred on an overland journey and to reward the merchant for the drawn-out travels and the risks to life, limb, and property that he had to incur himself or pay others to incur for him.

This precarious trade had nevertheless broadened Europe's commercial horizons. Spices, silks, gold, and precious stones came from the Far East by ship or caravan to the Levant, where enterprising merchants from the city-republics of Italy held the lead among European traders. Furs, hides, and timber came from the Baltic regions and Russia and were featured, along with herring, by the Hanseatic League, a confederacy of German cities that dominated trade in northern and northeastern Europe. Wool, the largest native European export, was the nearest thing to a popular-priced product in the commerce of the period. Raw wool was carried from Spain and England to Flanders and northern France, whence as finished cloth it was exported throughout Europe and eastward.

Long-haul trade in Europe before 1500 moved extensively in two orbits. Venetian and Genoese merchants carried oriental spices and luxury goods and some European products throughout the Mediterranean and along the Atlantic coast as far as London and Bruges. The Hanseatic League controlled the commerce of the regions around the Baltic, thriving on the grain, furs, and timber of the less developed northlands and the fish caught in the northern seas. In addition to the main centers and foreign stations shown below, the Hanseatic League numbered other north German towns among its members. Both Italians and Germans traded extensively in Flanders, center of textile manufactures, where the wools of Spain and England were woven into fine cloths and thence exported throughout Europe.



*Trade
as a factor stimulating change*

COMMERCE was dangerous to the
medieval status quo. It attracted
men away from the manor to the

town, the sea, and foreign lands. It whittled away at the barriers of provincialism and titillated men's interest in far-off places and exotic ideas. It lent an agitated tone to the local fairs with their domestic staples and their prohibitions upon export and import. By offering new markets abroad it gave impetus to capitalism, further enfeebling the guild system. It stimulated competition and encouraged new techniques in production. Perhaps most important of all, it offered a greater sphere of action and resultant power to the bourgeoisie, the town-dwelling middle class, who were to be involved in every major political movement of the next four centuries.

FROM SOCIAL UNITY TO INDIVIDUALISM

MEN in any age, being gregarious, seek group associations and activities. But today we usually enjoy some element of choice when we change our abodes or join organizations other than our families and our nations. Most of us cherish our equality of legal rights, our freedom from class and religious barriers, and our legitimate opportunities for social and economic betterment. The modern educational system is designed to encourage the individual's development in whatever direction suits him best. While encouraging uniformity among the masses capitalist psychology is individualistic; it esteems independence, initiative, originality, and self-expression in business, literature, and the fine arts—and even in politics and personal behavior, if one is not too daring. These attitudes were largely foreign to the mentality that still prevailed in most of Europe in 1500. In our world, competitiveness, change, and movement are so much a part of one's outlook that it may be hard to visualize the orientation of the average man of the fifteenth century.

*The unity
of medieval society and thought*

A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY Euro-
pean was likely to be an unques-
tioning part of a social pattern that

emphasized stability and unity in every aspect of life. He *belonged* to things more fixedly than the average modern man—to the church, to the manorial community or the town guild, to his social station, whether peasant, noble, cleric, or townsman. A fifteenth-century child, with rare exceptions, was born and bred into his social class, his church, and his professional role, as well as into his family and province. If he received an education, it was likely to be from clerical teachers, who were members of a *universal* church, and thus



BISHOP



BISHOP



CARDINAL

he learned to speak in the same terms about the same things as other Christian children. His standards of value were rarely different from those with whom his lot was cast.



PRIEST

*The medieval pattern
of clergy, nobility, and commoners*

IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY society, although already well-developed social changes were altering the

medieval pattern, that pattern still predominated. It was a pattern of hierarchy and privilege; four centuries and several revolutions would be required to dissolve it and evolve the modern ideals of equality and freedom. Medieval society knew no equality except that of all men in the eyes of God. It recognized in this world three unequal estates—clergy, nobility, and commoners. The clergy and nobility were privileged classes, and this inequality was generally accepted as meet and right.



LAWYER

*The privileges
of the clergy, or first estate*

THE CLERGY—prelates, priests, monks, and nuns—usually enjoyed immunity from taxation and might

claim exemption from civil law. These privileges were a product of an age when temporal governments were weak and the church had been able to maintain a position of independence from, if not superiority to, the state. The Roman Catholic Church levied a tax of its own, the tithe, which could be up to 10 per cent of a man's annual income. Members of the clergy were, if they chose, subject only to church courts and canon (ecclesiastical) law. In some countries the church made regulations for its own government through its own assemblies. In all countries it controlled education.



NOBLEMAN



BANKER AND BEGGAR



MERCHANT



CLERIC



KING



NOBLEMAN

*The privileges
of the nobility, or second estate*

were the secular privileged class. They were the landowners, the lords of the manors and the big estates. Some aristocrats had become local sovereigns, limited only by a scarcely exercised and often defied authority of a higher feudal lord. They exerted independent political and economic power over their tenants and peasantry. Usually, however, economic practice and local tradition determined the obligations of the peasant to his lord. Taxes were customarily collected in labor or in kind for necessary repair to roads and ditches or to community enterprises. Though the peasant had to work a certain number of days a week on the lord's demesne, that work was regarded as his rental for the land which he farmed for himself the rest of the week. The aristocracy too enjoyed substantial exemptions from taxation and were in some ways allowed to tax those below them. These privileges had been acquired in the period when the overlords were weak and ruled through the local aristocracy. The lord might require that his peasants grind their grain at his mill and bake their bread at his oven for a payment that usually, however, was reasonable. He was also allowed to collect tolls for the use of his roads, bridges, and waterways, as we have seen. He had the right to trial by his peers, and in local litigation the courts were largely under his own control. Hence, like the cleric, he was frequently out of reach of the commoner's suit. By the fifteenth century, with national monarchies growing in strength and authority, the noble's responsibilities to his peasants had greatly diminished,

THE NOBILITY or aristocracy—princes, dukes, marquises, counts, earls, viscounts, barons, knights—



KNIGHT



SOLDIER



BURGHER



SHEPHERD



FARMER

but his privileges remained. Stripped by this time of much of his local political authority, he regarded his manorial holdings largely as his means of income. It is true that there were many nobles who had the interests of their peasants very much at heart, but others were determined to exploit their serfs as much as they could. The system was at best paternalistic and at worst capable of serious abuse.

*Various strata
of the commoners, or third estate*

THE COMMONERS—sometimes called “the third estate”—included everybody who was neither cleric

nor noble, from the poorest peasant to the richest burgher. Perhaps three-fourths of Europe’s population were tillers of the soil, or peasants. The peasant had few privileges and was often exploited by his “betters.” His status in 1500, however, was improving. Many peasants were now proprietors—that is, they enjoyed part ownership and management of their own holdings though still paying some dues or a rental to the lord. Serfdom was diminishing throughout most of Europe, not so much because of any recognition of the inhumanity of the institution as because of persuasive economic reasons. As commodity prices tended generally to rise, in the more fertile areas the peasantry were willing and sometimes able to convert payments in labor and kind into money payments, since they could get more for their work or their commodities by free bargaining. More enterprising or more fortunate peasants thus became tenant farmers and proprietors. As the lords also wanted to increase their landholdings under rising market conditions, less enterprising or less fortunate peasants became wage-laborers. In the less fertile areas, however, serfdom and sharecropping continued to prevail, since otherwise labor would have been more costly than the landowners would have found profitable. The freeman too was consolidating his economic position by turning his payments in goods or services into fixed money rents. But even the richest peasant could rarely improve his social status; the line between peasant and noble was too sharply drawn. Men who had somehow distinguished themselves might sometimes be ennobled, but the recently ennobled were openly regarded as inferior to the nobles of ancient lineage.

*The towns and trade
as forces of social change*

AS IN the economic sphere, the towns and trade were sources of social change. The towns had

won for themselves, sometimes by show of strength and sometimes by cold cash, a good deal of freedom from the lord’s jurisdiction. They thus became more or less self-governing units outside the feudal framework, and the free townsmen, though commoners, formed a separate and not fully stable element within the medieval pattern. Often the interests of the noble and the

burgher, or free town dweller, were antagonistic. The town attracted both free peasants and serfs away from the manor—the former to make their fortunes in trade and the latter to gain their freedom. In this way it not only drew upon the peasant class but bettered the bargaining position of those left on the farm. The bourgeoisie, growing constantly wealthier as the towns prospered from new commercial, industrial, and capitalist enterprise, even began to cut across the rigid line dividing noble from commoner. The *nouveaux riches* (a French phrase that somehow seemed more elegant than its English equivalent, “the new rich”) married their daughters into noble families, sent their sons to the universities and into the army and the professions, bought land—the symbol of aristocracy—and occasionally received titles of nobility from kings with whom they were allied in a mutual struggle against the nobility. For the most part, however, they remained a class by themselves, resentful of their inferior status to the clergy and nobility, who frequently were less wealthy, worse educated, and no more prominent than themselves. Their resentment against the privileges of the aristocracy was one of the motives that was to impel them to take a leading part in the quest for liberty and equality.

*The influence
of the church in medieval society*

THROUGHOUT western Europe
only one church was recognized
—the Roman Catholic Church,

which included nearly everyone automatically. In medieval times, religion was not a private matter, nor did the church exercise merely a spiritual and moral influence over only those who voluntarily associated themselves with it. A medieval child was born into the church. He grew up under the eye of the parish priest. He was educated, if not at home, by the church, and even if at home, probably by churchmen. His chief form of amusement was the church festival; his holidays were holy days. Such vital statistics as were kept were generally to be found in the church records. A man had almost no legal existence without the church. His birth and the marriage of his parents were recorded by it, and he could hardly prove legitimacy without it. If he were a foundling or sick and poor, it cared for him. He was married by the church, taxed by it, buried by it; he had no other choice. The church's spiritual hold on the faithful was therefore stronger and more pervasive than it commonly is today. Church rulings, we have already noted, limited the kinds of occupations a man could enter—as, for example, merchant-usury and alchemy. The church tried to prescribe what was proper and acceptable in business, science, and philosophy as well as in theology, and was stern toward those who tried to reject its ministrations. But there were few indeed who tried, for within the church was consolation from the harshness and uncertainty of life. In a society where men were not equal, the church taught the father-



From birth to death, medieval man was under the continual influence of religion. The ceremony here represented, baptism, was one of the seven sacraments.

pope as their head. Mohammedanism still held out in Spain in the mid-fifteenth century and entered Europe also in the east through the Turkish conquest of Constantinople. The adherents of the two religions fought each other bitterly—for political as well as religious reasons—and as the Spaniards forced the Moors to withdraw in the west, in the east Christians gave way to Mohammedans.

The hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church

organization, a persuasive spiritual message, and the assiduous stamping out of heresy. Disregarding national boundaries and topographical obstacles, it reached into every manor and town. Since Latin was the language of all educated men, its members, no matter what their origin, could easily com-

hood of God and the brotherhood of man. It provided for rich and poor alike beauty, warmth, color, and drama in a world that was often drab and unexciting. It offered an avenue of escape to those who found this life monotonous or unbearable. It held out the promise of justice in the hereafter to those who were ill-treated on earth, happiness to those who were miserable, forgiveness and infinite mercy to those who were repentant, and salvation to those who had earned it by faith and good works, as well as the threat of everlasting punishment to those who had sinned and were not contrite. Its influence reached everywhere; and it gave to Christendom a certain religious, moral, and social unity.

In eastern Europe, in what is now Russia and the Balkans, the Orthodox Catholic Church exercised this unifying Christian influence. It differed from Roman Catholicism in some points of theology and ritual, particularly in that the Orthodox clergy did not recognize the Roman

THE ROMAN Catholic Church maintained its unique position in western Europe by an elaborate

municate with each other. At the head of the church was the pope, assisted by a council of cardinals. The clergy were divided into a regular and a secular arm. The regular clergy—so called because they were organized according to special *regulae*, or rules—were the monks, friars, and nuns, who lived in monasteries governed by abbots or abbesses and priors. The secular arm was systematically organized into provinces, dioceses, and parishes, and administered by a corresponding hierarchy of officials—archbishops, bishops, and parish priests. The clergy constituted, as we have seen, the class of highest privilege in society. Their spiritual monopoly was sometimes enforced by the Inquisition, a special tribunal for heretics, which, in keeping with contemporary court procedure everywhere, used torture, if necessary, to get testimony and to save the soul of the unbeliever.

*The conflict
of the church with new forces*

NEVERTHELESS, heresy was increasing. So was criticism of church practices and of individ-

uals high in the church hierarchy. These were symptoms of a growing maladjustment between what the church stood for and what was actually happening in the world. While Catholicism, as its name implied, proclaimed the unity of Christian Europe, national states were arising to disrupt that unity and to subordinate the national church structure to the state. While the church asserted that life on earth should be devoted to preparing for the hereafter, the enterprising bourgeoisie were demonstrating what could be done with the material riches of this world if one only put his talents to it. Where life had before been centered upon service to God, men now began to glorify service to man. And whereas all but a few had before accepted church authority, the number of those who were beginning to question it was now growing. In 1500 the outside critics were not yet a serious threat; and, in fact, when the rift came, it was not from outsiders that it arose but rather from an attempt within the church to restore it to what was believed to be a state of greater purity. But the new forces were to widen the breach irreparably and eventually to make inevitable the religious heterogeneity, indifference, and tolerance of today.

*Low standards of morality
inside and outside the church*

THE HARDSHIPS of medieval life, combined with the emphasis on the hereafter, made life seem

much less valuable to people then than it does now. It was a rather coarse and brutal age except sometimes at aristocratic levels, where *courtoisie*, chivalry, and cheap servants sometimes compensated for the rarity of such items as table forks and running water. Punishments were severe, with maiming, breaking on the wheel, and hanging relatively common for offenses that today would be punished only by imprisonment, if at all. Torture was used in church courts

as well as royal courts. Private warfare had but lately been abolished but still survived in the general practice of dueling. Illegitimacy was not uncommon and was often frankly avowed. Drunkenness and gluttony were open among those who could afford them and a much-sought-for escape among those who could not. Thievery ranged, perhaps more commonly than today, from the cutpurse's filching at the country fair to grand piracy on the high seas and embezzlement and corruption at all levels of government.

The low state of morality seems incongruous in an age apparently so dominated by religion. Actually, religion was, then as now, often a matter of ceremony, ritual, cant, and habit rather than of faith or ethics. Some found little in it to effect any improvement in their behavior, especially when they had before them the example of licentious priests and worldly prelates, who were no more numerous but were sometimes more conspicuous than pious ones. The papacy itself was not untainted. Papal "nepotism" (a polite word for family "pull") was notorious. The illegitimate son of one pope became the model of Machiavelli's *Prince*, in which the often maligned author realistically analyzed the frank exploitation of power in current Italian politics (pages 133-134). The popes embraced the paganistic Renaissance more in the fashion of temporal princes of the age than heads of Christendom, and vied with other rulers in their patronage of the arts. Men of a more serious turn of mind began to advocate a purification of the church and its return to former standards. The strength of the criticism both inside and outside the church indicates that many honest men and sincere Christians regretted the dominant trend of affairs.

*The group
as the focus of medieval life*

THOUGH there were notable individualists before 1500, a fifteenth-century person usually acted as

a member of a group. He was, as we have seen, first and foremost a member of Christendom, and he also owed allegiance to his ruler. If he was an artisan, he plied his trade within the all-embracing framework of the guild, which had a greater variety of powers and perhaps greater coercive power than the labor unions of today. If he was a farmer, he was part of a manorial group and cultivated the land in common with the rest of the group. He was so loyal to his local community, into which he was probably born and from which he seldom moved, as to have almost no identity distinct from it. Language, writing, manners, dress, amusements, and furniture, lacking the world-wide uniformity that the cinema and quantity-production have made prevalent today, often had so provincial a stamp upon them as to make it easy to detect the places of their origin. Family ties, because the means of amusement and travel were limited and because religious teaching and tradition imposed such ties, were so binding as to restrict the individual's initiative. If he had a name to supplement his Christian name, it was likely

to be derived either from his birthplace or from his trade or his father's Christian name. The best thought and art in medieval times was subservient to group conventions and loyalties—predominantly those of the church but also those of the community, the guild, and the family—rather than expressive of the individual. Numerous artists and artisans labored anonymously together on monumental projects such as cathedrals; even literary productions were more likely to be anonymous than they are today.

*Individualism
as an ideal of the Renaissance*

THOUGH group activity was still typical of fifteenth-century life, the trend toward modern individual-

ism had already been inaugurated. By 1500 it was still confined to small numbers of people, most of them of the educated bourgeoisie. Being the first to champion competitive business methods, they were likewise receptive to individualistic ideas of other sorts. In the towns of Italy, which was in this period one of the wealthiest and most advanced parts of Europe, where the middle class had been active the longest and had achieved the greatest success, an intellectual and artistic ferment called the Renaissance (literally *renaissance* or *rebirth*) had been going on since the fourteenth century (pages 33-39). A growing individualism was characteristic of this movement, and where the Renaissance reached its highest pitch, the individual was most glorified. Departing from the medieval idea of adhesion to one's family, class, locality, and church, Renaissance society witnessed a striving for full self-expression on the part of many brilliant men, often in disregard or even open defiance of the group. The right to be different, which at all times has been demanded by some, now became more commonly exercised. Tradition and local folkways were now frequently cast aside by the more daring.

FROM ACCEPTANCE OF TRADITION
TO INTELLECTUAL INNOVATION

WE LIVE in the age of the scientific spirit and the eternal search for truth by the scientific method. Most of us look to human observation and reason for the answers to our questions, and test the answers by experience. Modification of accepted notions that will not stand up in experiment or in practice is expected of us, and we tend to look upon unverifiable propositions and theories as metaphysical or abstract and hence suspect, no matter how attractive. Ours is an age that prides itself on being practical and empirical. Without being devoid of great scientists, the Middle Ages was an epoch that prided itself on its respect for the true faith and accepted tradition. In the fifteenth century great doubting and questioning appeared and slowly undermined the common acceptance of the traditional faith and authority.

*Faith and obedience
as ideals of medieval life*

THE PREVAILING intellectual pattern in western Europe around 1500 still expressed the thought

of Saint Augustine and Saint Thomas Aquinas, leading medieval philosophers. Saint Augustine had taught that reason is the servant of faith; Saint Thomas had argued that, although reason and faith were independent, reason may supplement but may not contradict faith. The church, interpreting the Catholic tradition as a reflection of divine revelation, thus received philosophical backing as the chief authority on knowledge and truth. Apparent discrepancies between its teachings and the findings of human reason were either reconciled or explained away. Stubborn doubts, if expressed by Christians, were ruthlessly stamped out as heresy. Infidels like Jews and Mohammedans were subjected to special restrictions. The frequent recurrence of heretical movements was a sign that skepticism was in the air, but in the main the intellectual climate was dominated by the twin forces of unquestioning faith in the church and obedience to the authority of the ruler.

*Science
preserved by the medieval church*

THE FIFTEENTH century, on the whole, was an age of credulity and mysticism, of which lack of

knowledge of the physical world was both the cause and the effect. Notable scientists had not been unknown during the Middle Ages, and much of the scientific knowledge of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Arabs had been preserved and adapted by the church. The search for new truths likewise continued in the universities and the monastic and royal laboratories. Yet it was commonly understood only on the crude level of witchcraft, demonology, astrology, and magic. The medieval astrologer was held in awe by his contemporaries, and his predictions were given great credence. Alchemists labored secretly in search of the fabulous philosopher's stone that was to turn base metals into gold, heal disease, and bring eternal life. Witches practiced healing, worked charms, cast spells, and as a sideline purveyed gossip. These professions were surrounded with great mystery and secrecy, fear and respect, and their practitioners were constantly pursued by the vengeance of the church for practicing the heresy of magic. Nevertheless, the disapproved as well as the approved scientist made certain contributions to knowledge, although both were limited by prescribed beliefs, inadequate training, and rudimentary equipment; and the general ignorance of science persisted.

*Limited extension
of education and learning*

EDUCATION was not considered the same high prize that it has since become for all ranks of soci-

ety. "By the body of God," declared one sixteenth-century English nobleman, "I would sooner have my son hanged than a bookworm. It is a gentle-

man's calling to be able to blow the horn, to hunt and to hawk. He should leave learning to the clodhoppers." Learning was the mark of the cleric rather than of the gentleman, but it nevertheless persisted. Theology, to be sure, was "the queen of the sciences," but medicine, astronomy, physics, chemistry, mathematics, geography, and other branches of natural science were also studied in the fifteenth century. Of these, medicine, physics, chemistry, and astronomy were hampered by fallacious assumptions inherited from the Greeks along with their achievements, as well as by the mumbo-jumbo of astrologers and alchemists. Knowledge of geography was limited by the frailty of ships and the lack of navigational instruments. Mathematicians had not yet discovered the calculus; and it was not until 1478 that the first textbook of arithmetic was published. The biological and the social sciences were undeveloped. Although some systematic work in anatomy was done in some schools and by exceptional pioneers, and although the contagious nature of certain diseases was recognized, medicine was still half black magic and half trial-and-error; and although the function of pus and the pain-deadening qualities of certain drugs were the subjects of debate and experiment, surgery knew neither effective sterilization nor effective anesthesia. The lack of scientific knowledge meant a terrible toll in human life and well-being because of inability to cope with disease and famine.

Traditionalism in technology as a mark of the fifteenth century MODERN science includes not only pure theory but technological advance, the application of

scientific knowledge to practical problems. Technological changes, if they are not new means of wholesale destruction, frighten no one but those who have vested interests in the old methods. Innovation is characteristic of today; tradition was characteristic of the fifteenth century. People then were prone to do things as they had always been done—they cultivated the soil in the fashion of their ancestors, they made things by hand and, since labor was cheap and mechanical contrivances expensive, knew little of labor-saving devices. The "cake of custom" was generally harder than it is today. The plain man rarely set himself up against authority. What had been good enough for his father was good enough for him.

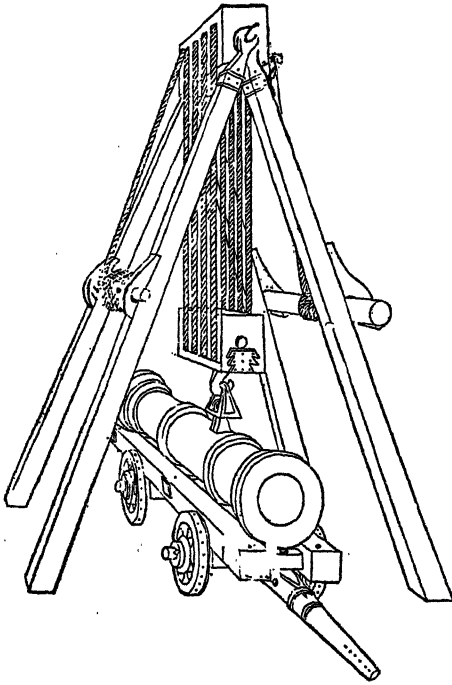
Awakening interest in old science and new inventions BUT IN the more advanced places of Europe, in the towns where wealth and a practical turn of

mind had already developed and where trade and capitalism were encouraging new enterprise, two trends combined to produce scientific and technological advance. One of these was the revival of classical learning that in some significant instances had occurred during the Middle Ages but proceeded at a much more noticeable pace during the Renaissance. Greek and Roman

letters rapidly became the vogue in high society as well as the pursuit of serious scholars. Classical art forms and classical ideas also became fashionable, and Roman statues and buildings were uncovered where they had lain half buried for centuries. Familiar classical texts were exhumed from their medieval religious context and studied with a new eye to their intrinsic value. Thus much of the lost science of the Greeks was reborn. In the fifteenth century pure science was scarcely lifted beyond its classical level, but the best scientific thought of past centuries was made available for later generations to use as a springboard.

A second trend that aided scientific advance was an enhanced interest in technology. The application of science to practical problems became more conspicuous and frequent in the fifteenth century than previously. Machinery was developed in industry and mining, the blast furnace came into use, and water power was harnessed to run simple machines. The use of arithmetic textbooks spread rapidly throughout Europe. The compass was perfected

toward the end of the century. The astronomer Toscanelli applied his findings to maps and charts that were used by the Portuguese explorers and Columbus. Leonardo da Vinci, a Florentine artist and scientist who was a sort of universal genius, installed plumbing in the palace of the duke of Milan, contrived mechanical toys, and undertook a number of ambitious engineering projects. Gunpowder, applied to cannon in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, did not become a general and major element in battle until the French invasion of Italy at the end of the fifteenth century. Paper had been introduced from the East much earlier (page 60), making playing cards quite common by the fifteenth century; and the printing press, probably the most influential invention of the era, had led to the manufacture of books in all the major cities of Europe, bringing knowledge long buried in monasteries and rich men's libraries within the reach of thousands of people.



The fifteenth century witnessed advances and increasing interest in technology. This picture of a mechanical cannon hoist appeared in a book in 1492.

*The secularization
of thought, art, and letters*

WRITERS and artists in recent centuries have devoted their talents largely to man's worldly problems,

to human values and human relationships, and to the expression of the human personality through the various media of art. This general trend of art and letters away from the contemplation of God and Heaven to the contemplation of man, from the spiritual to the material, from otherworldliness to this-worldliness—this secularization of thought and expression was a characteristic feature of the Renaissance. In its Renaissance form it was called "humanism." It expressed itself at first largely through an interest in earth-centered classical rather than heaven-centered Christian literature.

Humanism was but another sign of the changing times. The new spirit in art and literature was related to the competitive impulse in business and trade, the increased wealth and fresh atmosphere of growing urban centers, the decline of the traditional church influence, and the rise of the individualistic middle class. It arose in Italy because there the language and the learned tradition were closest to classic influences and because the Italian merchants, prospering from the lucrative eastern trade, had early created a set of middle-class values. Under the control of their mercantile aristocracies, the Italian city-states had fostered a practical, independent, up-to-date outlook that the middle class of other cities strove to imitate. They provided patronage for scholars and artists and popularized the new art and learning. The forces of the Renaissance, having matured earliest, were strongest in Italy by 1500, and the Italian *quattrocento* (the 1400's) has become proverbial as a golden age of art and literature.

*Imitation of the classical
in philosophy and literature*

THE NEW intellectual spirit was a product of two interwoven and interacting influences: the classical revival, which was its imitative aspect, and the increased emphasis on human affairs, which was its creative aspect. The movement expressed this origin, on the one hand, by imitation and adaptation of Greco-Roman art forms and stylistic details, and on the other, by development of new techniques and new achievements to depict human and nonreligious subjects. In philosophy the Renaissance created little that was new. The revived study of the Greek philosophers in itself did not produce any startling departures of subject matter from medieval theology. As in scientific thought, the humanists' criticism of medieval traditionalism was the significant change. Their enthusiasm for the worldly, self-expressive thought and culture of the pagan Greeks wrought a subtle change in the attitudes of thinking men.

The more attractive pagan thought became, the more skeptical its disciples grew—with a result that was to have an important influence in the

religious developments of the next century. It encouraged examination of the church and of church doctrine and revived the old question of the relation between faith and reason without yet giving any widely acceptable new answers. Renaissance writers less often employed the mystical, allegorical, and moralistic tone that had characterized medieval literature and depended less on the holy writings. Despising medieval Latin as barbaric, they put much effort into imitation of the classics. Imitation of Cicero, no less than imitation of the church fathers, might have hindered the development of original forms had it not been for the ablest fourteenth-century writers like Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. These men played a leading role in the neo-classical movement, but they also dared to strike out in original poems and stories dealing with mundane affairs or clothing the old scriptural themes with a new spirit. They were bold enough, too, while striving to write Latin with Ciceronian cadences, to express themselves in the vernacular whenever that seemed an appropriate medium.

*The spread
of humanism to the schools*

THE HUMANIST movement gradually affected some of the schools. Pagan learning did not, however,

drive out the Christian tradition, especially since most schools did not change their old methods or curricula. At Vittorino da Feltre's famous boarding school in Mantua, children were taught Greek and the new humanism, along with their religion and catechism, at levels adapted, in a quite modern spirit, to their ability and needs. In the Netherlands the Brothers of the Common Life introduced the humanistic studies into their predominantly religious education (page 145).

*New themes and techniques
used in Renaissance painting*

THE TRANSITION from the Middle Ages was strikingly creative in the fine arts. Individual artists

emerged from anonymity and group effort and, using new themes and techniques, gave expression to the secular and the lively rather than the mystical and the devotional of the earlier period. Under Greek and Roman influences they borrowed pagan subject matter, realism, the nude figure, perspective, and stylistic detail, but they used these elements in their own fashion.

Medieval painting had been characterized by the use of lines and areas of flat, hard colors. This style was dictated by three conditions: the usual function of painting as decoration, which encouraged treatment without perspective; the unpliable character of the fresco or tempera paint that was used, which dried quickly and could not easily be blended; and the theological purpose of most art. Renaissance painters, even when painting murals, discarded the flat treatment for depth, giving the illusion of greater space and reality; they developed new paints and oils amenable to soft modeling; they

painted mythological and worldly pictures, as well as theological ones, for their own purposes or for the pleasure of their lay patrons; they portrayed the human body realistically; they used light, shade, and composition in such a way as to recover the classical principles of dimension and perspective. Some of the fifteen-century painters, such as Masaccio, Uccello, and Pollaiuolo, developed a scientific approach to painting, formulizing their proportions, developing laws of perspective, and experimenting in new media.

Da Vinci (1452-1519)

as an exemplar of the Renaissance

LEONARDO DA VINCI, the man who engineered toys and sanitation systems for the duke of Mil-

lan, was the greatest among contemporary scientific painters. He was one of those men of many talents who epitomized the Renaissance ideal of "virtuosity." At the same time his unsentimental research spirit made him perhaps, of all the Renaissance geniuses, the one who came nearest to the modern ideal of the enlightened man of science. He kept many notebooks, revealing endless curiosity and keen observation of nature, in a secretive left-handed mirror-writing. They are at once expressive of the new mentality of his age and an indication of how far he was beyond its imitative cast. They reveal knowledge of some basic premises of modern geology, botany, physiology, and physics of which his own age was largely ignorant—conclusions arrived at through carefully checked hypotheses—as well as drawings and sketches of mechanical devices in advance of his time. In his art he also applied the lessons of science, frequently incorporating in his compositions precise mathematical formulas and knowledge of anatomy based on the actual dissection of cadavers. He was an inveterate experimenter. His famous "Last Supper" was an experiment with an oil medium used on plaster, which unfortunately proved unable to withstand the ravages of time without being restored.

Renaissance sculpture

freed from architectural domination

IN SCULPTURE, as in painting, the trend was toward realism and new expression. Medieval sculp-

ture had functioned chiefly as decoration on cathedrals and monasteries. It was completely subordinate to architectural design and was bound by religious themes and medieval conventions. Renaissance sculptors, on the other hand, sometimes made independent statues for public squares and palace gardens, and even when they used sculpture as architectural decoration, gave it a greater freedom. Sculptors too experimented in perspective and anatomy, and strove for greater realism. Three Florentines, Brunelleschi, Ghiberti, and Donatello, were innovators in these respects and deeply influenced the painters of the period. The greatest Renaissance sculptor, Michelangelo, had begun his work by the end of the fifteenth century, although his greatest achievements were to come later.

*Classical influences
upon Renaissance architecture*

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY architecture also experienced a secular trend. Palaces for the rulers, with sculpturally ornamented gardens, and civic buildings vied with religious buildings and the palatial villas of merchants and ecclesiastical princes for the services of architects. A Renaissance palace or villa contrasted with a medieval castle or church because it was a place for pleasant living rather than for fighting or praying. Although the Gothic component was still conspicuous in Renaissance architecture, the Greek and Roman influence prevailed, adapted to Renaissance needs. Buildings with round Roman arches and domes, Roman and Greek pediments (low triangular gables) above the windows, Greek columns, and Roman and Greek decorative motifs were characteristic.

*The lasting influence
of the Renaissance upon art*

THE NEW realism, combined with the classical influence in art and architecture, set a pattern for subsequent generations. It was modified from time to time, as we shall see. Nevertheless, today many of our bank buildings, schools, churches, capitols, railroad stations, and post offices make the Greco-Roman temple familiar, and realism still dominates our art. Only in recent decades has a trend appeared away from realism in painting and sculpture, and toward functionally determined forms in architecture.

*Guillaume Dufay
and Renaissance music*

MUSIC in the Renaissance period followed the same secular trend as art and literature. During the Middle Ages the plain song of the church (the Gregorian chant) had developed into the *motet*, in which the fixed melody (*cantus firmus*) of the Gregorian chant was slowed down and combined with other melodies of more lively pattern. This interweaving of voices was done according to the recognized rules of counterpoint (the art of combining melodies). By the middle of the fifteenth century, in France and England, the motet had become a sophisticated organism of repeated rhythmic patterns. Meanwhile, in France and Italy, a rich body of secular song forms had emerged. Among them was the Franco-Flemish *chanson*, the musical equivalent of courtly lyric poetry. In the development of the secular song Guillaume Dufay is noteworthy.

Dufay is also memorable as the greatest master of the polyphonic (many-voiced) mass. The *cantus firmus*, now often borrowed from secular music, gave unity to such complex polyphonic compositions. Around the middle of the fifteenth century it was recognized that certain notes in the musical scale were always "consonant"—i.e., that they sounded good together. Thus the *chord*, the combination of more than one note in a simultaneous sound, emerged, making possible the simplification of polyphonic composition through "harmony" (the combination of chords).

Under Dufay's leadership, northern France and the Flemish provinces of what is today Belgium became a great center of music. The rulers of the territory, the dukes of Burgundy, maintained a splendid choir that served as a model for similar organizations throughout western and central Europe. The cathedral school of Cambrai grew especially famous. Flemish singers and composers appeared in large numbers in Italy, and, partly at least under their influence, Italy, from about 1475 on, produced many songs of simple character and popular appeal, in which technical subtleties were sacrificed in favor of clarity and directness.

Secularism

in conflict with religious ideals

JUST AS the Renaissance was the forerunner of modern modes of individualism, scientific experi-

ment, and reliance on empirical reason, so it both expressed and encouraged the trend toward secularism, which is a prominent characteristic of recent society. Renaissance art and architecture reflected the tastes of a wealthy, urban, secular society. In Italy, for example, art flourished upon the competition between rulers and merchants of rival city-states, striving to outdo each other in splendor. The secular and material outlook of Italy was in part a product of the concentration of commercial wealth in a few hands, the consequent growth of a new leisure class, and its concern with politics, power, and prestige. The older aristocracy, popes and cardinals included, took a leading part in the political rivalries and competitive ostentation of the Renaissance, fighting private wars, amassing and lavishing phenomenal wealth. Princes of the church dabbled in pagan humanism, sometimes to the neglect of their spiritual roles.

A reaction against the materialism of the Renaissance soon set in, however, and religious issues were to regain their predominance in thought and politics for a time, until the rationalism and secularism of our own age began to prevail. This religious renewal will be the theme of Chapter 4.

FROM FEUDALISM

TO THE NATIONAL STATE

DESPITE the interdependence of the separate parts of the world today, a characteristic political feature of modern culture is the segregation of peoples into large, discrete, and often antagonistic units—sovereign nations. Before 1500, when whole continents lived in marked independence of each other, and smaller regions of a single continent strove to be isolated and self-contained, western Europe nevertheless seemed to enjoy a unity in one regard of which few, though highly important, traces are left today. Perhaps it was not so much a real unity as a relative lack of conflict within a religious

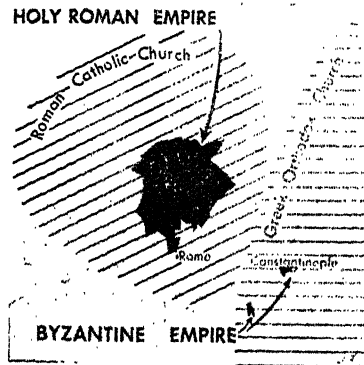
and learned tradition monopolized and fostered by a literate hierarchy. Nevertheless, Roman Catholic Europe was theoretically, perhaps even potentially, a single political and religious whole. The trend toward separate national states was clear but by no means definitive in 1500.

*Ostensible Catholic unity
through church and empire*

IN MEDIEVAL times the Roman Catholic Church had come close to being a super-national govern-

ment for all western Europe. Through its elaborate administrative organization, its universal language (Latin), its quasi-political power, and its all-pervading spiritual and moral influence, it constituted a strong bond among Catholic peoples. Along with the Holy Roman Empire it was heir to the tradition of European unity established by the old Roman Empire. Medieval theorists propounded the idea that God had ordained that the world be ruled by twin powers, the universal church wielding spiritual authority and the universal empire governing temporal affairs.

The Holy Roman Empire was a unique institution of more symbolic than actual significance. Its emperor was elected from among the ruling German houses—and, since the early fifteenth century regularly from the Austrian Habsburgs—by seven leading German princes (called "electors"). In 1500 his empire still comprised the German states of the day (nominally including the Low Countries and Switzerland) and had not actually been repudiated by the non-German states, so that in 1519 it was possible for the kings of Spain, France, and England to compete for the honor of election to the imperial position. The emperor's political power was limited domestically, since most of the states of Germany were governed by their own local rulers; internationally it depended on the strength and resources of his own hereditary Habsburg holdings. But his prestige as emperor was enormous, and his claim to allegiance from the whole Roman Catholic world was not without influence, especially when he acted as the leader of Christendom against the Turks. From the perspective of the fifteenth century no one could be sure whether the emperor would actually make good his claims or whether the increasingly powerful kings with their growing territorial states would prove too strong for him.



Since the Holy Roman emperor and the Byzantine emperor each claimed to be successor to the ancient Roman emperors, both claimed overlordship of all Christendom. In the early fifteenth century each was actually recognized, however, only in the black areas indicated.

*The Byzantine Empire
and the Orthodox Church*

THE POPE and the emperor both claimed sovereignty in their respective spheres over all Christendom, even over eastern and southern Europe, but there was little reality to their claims. All through the Middle Ages southeastern Europe had maintained its independent and highly civilized existence as the Byzantine Empire, with its own church organization. Up to the middle of the fifteenth century the Byzantine emperor and the patriarch of the Orthodox Church at Constantinople had put forward claims to sovereignty in western Europe similar to the claims of the western emperor and pope in eastern Europe, but with as little foundation in reality.

*Moslem states
and Mohammedanism in Europe*

A THIRD religious division of Europe appeared in the middle of the fifteenth century when the Ottoman Turks imposed their rule and began to introduce the Moslem religion over most of southeastern Europe. The Turkish invasion drove the focal point of eastern Christian Europe northward to the Grand Principality of Moscow, which was to become the nucleus of a great Russian empire. For several centuries prior to 1500 Spain, it will be recalled, had also been under the domination of the Moors, but at the end of the fifteenth century Christian Spain was in the process of forcibly expelling the last of the Moors from her boundaries.

*Segregation
and persecution of the Jews*

THE JEWS throughout southern and middle Europe made a fourth exception to the politico-religious unity of Europe. Adhering to their traditional Old Testament religion and law, they had been scattered over the face of Europe in numerous communities, sometimes driven by persecution, sometimes invited by tolerant or selfish rulers who hoped to gain from their presence. In Spain and Germany they had once formed an influential part of the social and intellectual life, but by 1500 they were ruthlessly expelled from the one area and lived a precarious existence in the other. They had fled to Holland, Poland, the Turkish lands, and elsewhere. In times when banking and moneylending were regarded as unchristian pursuits, and peddling was undignified, they engaged in those activities. They were induced to do so by the necessity of putting their assets into easily movable form against the time when they might be driven forth again and by laws that frequently prohibited them from owning land. Despised as "Christ-killers" and usurers, they lived, with rare exceptions, in segregated areas known as "ghettos," often under special provisions or license of the ruler, preserving their ancient Hebrew culture and sometimes producing learned rabbis and scholars who contributed their share to the common European store of knowledge.

*Unity disrupted
by the forces of change*

THUS EVEN before the fifteenth century the European cultural pattern had its heterogeneous elements.

In addition, by 1500, disruptive tendencies had already appeared to lessen even the traditional unity of the dominant cultural group. National loyalties were growing up among the peoples of Europe; they were beginning to think of themselves first as Englishmen, Frenchmen, Austrians, or Spaniards and only afterwards as members of Christendom. In several realms the kings were strengthening their authority, increasing the territory subject to their rule, laying the foundations of strong dynastic states. The lack of travel, the slowness of communication, the ignorance of the aspirations and customs of other countries, and the frequent threat of war made each dynasty seek its own independent welfare. Personal contact and negotiation or actual warfare among rulers were fairly common; yet such interchange involved but few persons directly and only moderately affected the peoples of the countries concerned. Permanent diplomatic legations, long-term trade compacts, and peacetime military understandings were rare. The principal kind of political bond between countries was the marriage alliance, which gave the parties concerned a mutual interest in each other's welfare and sometimes resulted in territorial union. As a general rule, royal dynasties engaged in rivalries disruptive not only of the unity but also of the peace of Europe, while trade rivalries likewise assumed a national character and became a further cause of friction. At the same time, the church's influence was declining not only because prominent princes of the church had departed from the medieval ideals of plain living and orthodox thinking but also because laymen were becoming more and more interested in worldly affairs.

*The beginnings
of national consciousness*

EVEN BEFORE 1500, international relations had assumed a modern aspect in several regards. The

rise of dynastic states hastened the process. The exchange of diplomatic representatives between courts, while still exceptional outside of Italy, occurred more regularly and created a professional group whose business it was to take care of their fellow subjects' interests abroad. Warfare was beginning to involve nations, as it lost the appearance of personal conflict between rulers and their henchmen. The Hundred Years' War, starting in the fourteenth century largely as a dynastic quarrel over French territory between the French king and the English king, had ended in the fifteenth as a patriotic struggle, in which the fervent popular loyalty aroused by the French heroine Joan of Arc played a determining role in the final French victory. In the fifteenth century, too, some rulers initiated competitive economic policies that had popular appeal; the French king, for example, deliberately developed a silk industry in Lyons instead of importing silk from Florence as before.

*Decentralization
and personal rule in feudal times*

IN MEDIEVAL times strong central governments with large and highly organized bureaucracies such

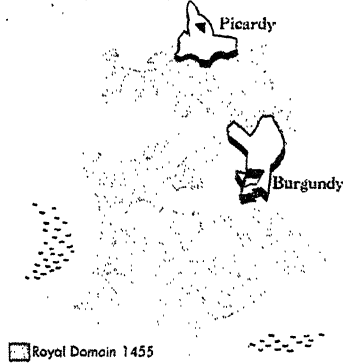
as are common today were relatively unknown. The powers now ordinarily belonging to a central authority—legislation, justice, taxation, foreign policy, war, public welfare, law and order—were exercised by hundreds of nobles on territories small enough for them to rule personally through mounted civil servants and police agents. This decentralized system of political and economic control by means of a hierarchy of nobles, each holding a “fief,” or piece of land, which he governed, was known as “feudalism.” Some nobles owed allegiance as vassals to other nobles as lords, but these relationships were sometimes overlapping and conflicting, and not infrequently the same vassal was under obligation to give feudal service (involving payment of feudal dues, aid in council and in war, and performance of homage) to rival lords. At the apex of the hierarchy stood the king, and all the nobles in the territory over which he claimed suzerainty were his vassals.

*The development
of centralization and royal rule*

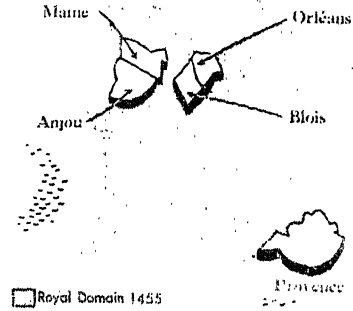
THE KING was the agency through which government eventually became centralized and through

which the dynastic state arose. In the earlier Middle Ages the king's power had sometimes been no greater than that of the great nobles. Like them he was absolute over his own immediate holdings, but these were not necessarily large and his powers over his vassals were seldom more extensive than those any other great lord exercised over his. The growth of the monarchy called for a limitation of the power of the nobles, and this, over a period of several centuries, was done in three ways. The royal domain, the territory over which the king was directly sovereign, was extended; the crown gradually assumed the various political functions performed by the nobles; and royal officials were sent to supervise the other functions still left to the nobles. The extension of territory was accomplished by marriage, inheritance, and war. The extension of political authority was achieved in a number of ways, frequently involving the use of force. Since the increasing use of gunpowder made the common foot-soldier the equal in battle of the armored and mounted noble, the king improved his military power by employing paid professional or mercenary soldiers, thus rendering himself both independent of the nobles for ordinary military purposes and stronger than they if they resisted. A defeated king was likely to be replaced by the victor, and thus the strongest noble to survive this sort of elimination contest was able to ascend the throne and dictate to the others. Hence the royal legislative power was made supreme throughout the realm, in the holdings of the nobles as well as on the royal domain. The king established himself as the fountainhead of justice by creating efficient royal courts, to which cases could be appealed from the

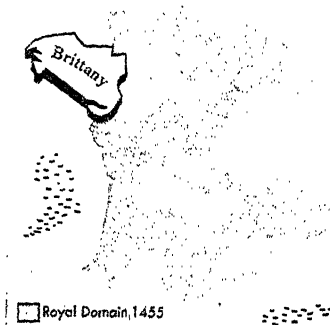
ADDED BY CONQUEST



ADDED BY INHERITANCE



ADDED BY MARRIAGE



ROYAL DOMAIN 1498



This series of maps indicates the piecemeal fashion in which a fifteenth century state was put together. Louis XI of France won Picardy and Burgundy after prolonged and bitter warfare against Charles the Bold of Burgundy. Maine, Anjou, and Provence fell to him upon the death of their last rulers. His successor, Charles VIII, married Anne, duchess of Brittany. Charles' successor, Louis XII, first of the Orleans line, brought the family possessions of Orléans and Blois to the royal domain.

lower courts and in which certain kinds of cases were tried exclusively. He restricted the taxing power of the nobles and extended his own. He strengthened his executive and administrative power by creating a large and loyal bureaucracy. Professional administrators and technicians implemented his policies at court, while in the provinces his agents proclaimed and enforced his ordinances, maintained law and order, and administered local government in accordance with royal policy.

By 1500 the major western nations—England, France, Austria, and Spain—had achieved a large enough measure of territorial unity and administrative centralization to effect the end of political feudalism. But these royal states were not yet so unified or so systematically organized as some of the twentieth-century nations. Still-powerful nobles rendered the king's position in each country by no means secure, and wide diversity could be found in local laws, customs, and administration within the same kingdom.

The assertion

of royal supremacy over the church

IN WELDING together his state, the king frequently found allied to the centrifugal forces of feudalism

a second influential power—the church. With special privileges and exemptions of its own, the church constituted another area that the king's power did not yet encompass. The king was building on a limited territorial scale; the clergy, advocates of a world-wide Christendom, had for centuries stood for a universal semi-political church organization. Furthermore, although the medieval theory of church-state relations gave the temporal and spiritual rulers coequal authority, for some time prior to 1500 the popes had asserted the superior authority of the church. The ceremony of anointing the king at his coronation as the prophet Samuel had anointed Saul was accepted as symbolizing that the monarch received his right to rule from God through the hands of the church.

Against the church's position some of the kings asserted the supremacy of the state over the church and directed their efforts to securing royal and national churches subordinate to themselves and amenable to their policies. A measure of success was achieved in concordats reached with the popes by the kings of England, France, and Spain, and by some of the princes in Italy and Germany. These arrangements nearly always conceded to the rulers a certain share in the appointment of bishops and other prelates and sometimes attempted to regulate money payments to the church.

The alliance

of the kings and the middle class

AGAINST the nobles and the church the kings allied themselves with the rising middle class. Both

king and businessman were struggling to free themselves from the decentralizing forces of the past. Businessmen served their kings as administrators, technicians, and local officials, and when income from lands and taxes lagged, the kings borrowed substantial sums from wealthy bourgeois. In return, royal power was counted upon to provide nation-wide police protection, to free trade and industry from feudal barriers such as seigniorial tolls and taxes, to maintain roads and bridges, to keep rivers and harbors navigable, and to protect national interests abroad. Royal enforcement of law and order created business stability, and royal development of national economic resources encouraged business enterprise.

The idea of representative government, once familiar to Greeks and Romans, was a relatively strange thing in 1500. Europe then knew little about democracy from actual experience except where city-states or provincial and cantonal governments were based upon a limited popular suffrage. The prevailing trend in 1500 was in the opposite direction. Absolute and hereditary monarchical authority was growing because of the successful attack of kings and their bourgeois allies upon the aristocracy's claim to the right to share in or to limit that authority. As long as the seigniors' efforts to preserve their local suzerainty presented obstacles to efficiency in government, royal dynasties and bourgeoisie could be expected to overlook the potential danger to each in the growing power of the other.

Origins

of the modern legislative assembly

THE ANCESTORS of the modern legislative assembly elected by popular vote existed in 1500, but

they were hardly recognizable as such except in England. Under feudalism each king from time to time convoked an assembly of representatives of the realm to advise him on political affairs. It commonly consisted of representatives of the most powerful groups of the nation—clergy, nobility, bourgeoisie—chosen by their peers or designated directly or indirectly by the king. Its powers were advisory and consultative and its very existence depended on the will of the king, since he was the only one who could convene it and he could adjourn or dissolve it whenever expedient. Its usefulness to him lay in the fact that it was much easier to raise taxes, wage wars, or carry out national policies if these were previously endorsed by the leading nobles, church officials, and townsmen. Where the feudal nobles were still strong, however, as in Germany and Poland, the representative assembly might exercise considerable power in limiting the king's authority. In England, where both king and assembly were strong forces, the major theme in political history became the struggle between the two. It was out of this struggle that the modern representative assembly and parliamentary system has evolved. The feudal parliament was in the end to become the instrument for the overthrow of absolutism, and it was the middle class that was to use parliament for that end. The bourgeoisie eventually developed into a disruptive force politically as well as socially, intellectually, and economically. In 1500, however, they were still newcomers, in close alliance with the rising dynasties against their common foe, the aristocracy.

Jumble

of medieval laws and courts

MODERN laws and legal precedents are, as a general rule, formally codified or recorded, sys-

tematized on a national scale, made available to all on an equal basis, and interpreted by judicial decisions that are subject to appeal in a recognized

hierarchy of justice. In the countries of Europe in the fifteenth century, however, law and justice developed within a number of confusing and overlapping systems. There were seigniorial or manorial courts to solve disputes among tenants or between the tenant and his lord; guild courts to adjust the disagreements among the members of the respective trades or crafts; provincial and town courts, holdovers from the days of more pronounced political decentralization; church courts, where all cases involving churches, churchmen, and special wards of the church might be tried; and royal courts, which were enlarging their jurisdiction at the expense of the local courts. Various systems of law might prevail within the same country. Roman law was followed in some regions, customary or local feudal law in others, and a mixture of the two elsewhere. Canon law, once queen of the law codes, was practiced in the church courts. And a growing body of royal law was gradually pushing out competing systems. The various systems of law might contradict each other, and the courts sometimes overlapped in jurisdiction, with the result that lawsuits often dragged on for years. To add to the confusion, much of the customary law had never been written down and hence was indefinite and susceptible of change and misinterpretation. Court decisions and practices thus became precedents for future judgments and gave rise to a new system of law generally known as "common law."

*The growth
of royal predominance in the law*

justice. The development of a nation-wide system of courts and laws was one of the welcome ways in which the king consolidated his position against the nobles and strove to unify his country. Royal codes were issued in an effort to diminish legal confusion. Royal courts were created to replace or supplement conflicting or disputed local jurisdictions or to hear appeals from local courts. Royal police and lawyers were made available to law authorities at all levels. In France the king's position was summed up in a proverb: "As the king wishes, so the law wishes." These developments were still, however, in their early stages in the fifteenth century, and it was not yet clear that they would fully mature.

UTTER confusion was usually prevented by the recognition of the king as the highest source of law



In punishment for minor offenses in the fifteenth century, culprits were frequently sentenced to be locked in the stocks. The one above is shown with the jailer and the magistrate.

Warfare

as an instrument of dynastic policy

THEN AS NOW, the ultimate arbiter in politics was force. In feudal times warfare had been almost

chronic, but it was usually a limited warfare between neighboring nobles, waged with small armies and hand weapons, rather than the total, national, mechanized slaughter of today. In the fifteenth century, however, warfare was becoming an instrument of dynastic as well as personal policy. Gunpowder, as we have seen, was revolutionizing the art of war and defense, permitting mercenary or small standing armies to replace the old feudal levies. By 1500 warfare had become less chronic and more organized than in the Middle Ages, but, on the other hand, it was far less intense and devastating than today. The lesser intensity of fifteenth-century as compared to seventeenth- or twentieth-century warfare was due to sparser populations, less effective weapons, smaller armies, more limited areas and periods of campaign, longer lapses between battles, and less emotional and physical involvement of the civilian population. But the ravages of war sometimes remained visible longer because of the slower rate of rehabilitation.

THE EUROPEAN STATES

AND THE DISCOVERY OF THE WORLD

IN THE Europe of 1500 there were many variations from the pattern of culture that we have been describing. Some regions were much further advanced toward modernity than the general pattern; others in 1500 still clung to their medieval ways. Some exhibited characteristics not of the pattern at all. In most, amazing changes might be found alongside of equally amazing lags. For the most part, the cultural tone was set by the Italian city-states, but the course of empire was soon to take its way westward to the Atlantic seaboard.

Italy, a group

of declining powers in 1500

IN ITALY, except in the south, feudalism had never been very strong. Italy had been a predom-

inantly commercial region for centuries and was far in the lead of the rest of Europe in breaking away from medievalism. But it was not the united nation of today, nor was there a single dynasty engaged in an effort to unite the country. Northern Italy consisted of several warring states ruled by hereditary or merchant princes. Among them were the Papal States, governed by the pope, who thereby added a small-scale temporal power to his international spiritual rule, and the Republic of Venice, which had acquired a considerable empire on the Adriatic and in the Mediterranean. Southern Italy, consisting of Naples and Sicily, united in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, was feudal and agrarian. Though still the leader of Europe in com-

EUROPE IN 1494



On the eve of Charles VIII's invasion of Italy in 1494 France, Spain, England, and the Ottoman Empire were firmly entrenched at home. (England held "The Pale" under direct control, and the rest of Ireland still in fief.) Spain was ruled jointly by Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, who had ousted the last Moorish rulers from Granada two years before. The Habsburgs controlled Austria, Franche Comté, the Netherlands, etc., which gave them a sort of pincers to use on the Holy Roman Empire. In the Baltic area, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and part of Finland were joined in the Union of Kalmar. Poland and Lithuania also had a common ruler, and Bohemia and Hungary had elected the same man king. Italy was disunited. The Venetian Republic still held its Adriatic outposts against the Turks. Other Italian republics were Genoa, Siena, and Florence. Naples was a kingdom.

merce, industry, arts, letters, and fashion, Italy in 1500 was declining. In 1494 the French king invaded Italy and started a half-century of wars of which Italy was the major battleground (pages 178-179). These wars, coinciding with the discovery of new Atlantic trade routes and the rise of new commercial powers, played an influential part in lowering the prosperity of Italy and its prestige as both an intellectual and commercial center.

Rise of the states on the Atlantic seaboard

IN FRANCE, England, and Spain, strong monarchs were consolidating their territories and enlarging

their powers. In the middle of the fifteenth century France had driven the British invaders from her soil and had brought the Hundred Years' War to a successful close, but not until the French nobility had been badly decimated, leaving the Valois family firmly ensconced upon the throne. At the

close of the century the Tudor dynasty had emerged from a series of baronial wars, known as "the Wars of the Roses," to dominate the English nobility and people. Spain was still divided between Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, who, however, were man and wife. Eight years before 1500, the Spanish king and queen had secured their rule over the whole of Spain by expelling the Moors from Granada, the last Moslem state in western Europe.

*The challenge to the big powers
by Portugal and the Low Countries*

TWO COUNTRIES bade fair to rival those three in 1500. The first of these two, Portugal, was a rising

power on the international scene, prominent in trade and foremost in the voyages of discovery. It was the Portuguese who opened up the all-water route to the Far East, thereby shifting the lucrative eastern trade from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic. The second of the smaller countries competing with the big three was the Netherlands, or "the Low Countries," which, with well-developed textile and fishing industries and a vigorous merchant fleet, held a key position in international trade. The Netherlands consisted of a series of autonomous provinces, of which the northern group (often called Holland, from the largest province) was Dutch and the southern group (present-day Belgium) was Flemish-speaking in the north and French-speaking in the south. At the beginning of the sixteenth century they were inherited by the Spanish crown, thus adding to Spanish wealth and prestige, though they were developing leaders, riches, and an independent spirit of their own.

*The Baltic countries
on the periphery of Europe*

TO THE north were the three Scandinavian countries, united in this period by a common crown. Den-

mark was the dominant member of the trio, with Sweden an unwilling partner and Norway little more than a Danish province. On the fringes of European politics, they looked to the seas for their livelihood and international prestige. The fish industry and the commerce of the North Sea, the Sound, and the Baltic were their major concern. Their politics and policies revolved around England, France, the Netherlands, the Holy Roman Empire, and Poland, all of which had rival interests in the northern seas.

Of the Baltic countries Poland was the largest. Her power, however, did not correspond to her size. Growing and grasping dynasties in the Empire, Scandinavia, and Russia ruled and gathered strength in the nearby lands, but the undiminished feudal power of the Polish aristocracy kept Poland decentralized. Sometimes the king, who was elected by the nobles, was powerless to defend his country adequately from the repeated incursions by foreign armies. Poland at this time was united to Lithuania by the personal bond of a common kingship. Economically and politically Poland was less advanced than the realms on the Atlantic seaboard.

*Decentralization
in the Holy Roman Empire*

IN THE Germanies the political system was peculiarly confused.

In the eighteenth century the cynical Voltaire was to describe the Holy Roman Empire as "neither holy nor Roman nor empire." Literally hundreds of states made up the German realms. Most of them were small knighthoods and principalities, some of them prosperous city-states, a few of them strong monarchies that could play significant international roles in their own right. The continual consolidation of smaller territories into larger principalities by the more powerful nobles paralleled the rise of national states farther west. If, however, this parallel put an end to some of the more extreme cases of decentralization, it also weakened the authority of the emperor by building up strong opponents within the Empire and made a single German nation an impossibility. In Germany, as in Poland, the more powerful nobility retained enough of their early feudal rights to participate in the election of the ruler, whose title *kaiser* symbolized his theoretical succession from the Roman Caesars. The German cities were still prosperous in 1500, since several of them were allied in the powerful Hanseatic League. The fate of the Hanseatic League was, however, destined to be similar to that of the Italian cities; its strategic position in the commerce of northern and eastern Europe was undermined as maritime power shifted to Atlantic traders upon the opening up of a wider world.

*The independence
of the Swiss cantons around 1500*

IN THE midst of the tallest mountains of the Alps a group of hardy cantons and districts had, since

the fourteenth century, maintained their independence of Austria and other neighboring states. They were called "Swiss" and their land "Switzerland," from the name of one of the leading cantons, Schwyz. The language of some of the Swiss was German, of others French, of still others Italian, and a few spoke a Romance language known as Romansh. In the fifteenth century they acknowledged a nominal allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire, but they had almost no other common bond except their mutual cooperation in the struggle for independence against the Habsburgs. By 1513 the stronger cantons had, however, formed a confederation, and to this confederation the other cantons or districts had become either "subject" or "allied and protected." Thus in an area where the greatest spirit of popular independence and liberty flourished, equality did not flourish with it. Even within the separate cantons not all inhabitants were given the right of citizenship. The reputation of the Swiss as fighters, gained in wars both foreign and civil, made them the most common mercenaries in the armies of Europe. An old English saying originated about this time: "Law, logic, and Switzers may be hired to fight for anybody."

*The emergence of Russia
from the grand duchy of Muscovy*

IN EASTERN Europe the grand duchy of Muscovy had but lately thrown off the yoke of the Mongolian tribes, loosely known as "Tatars," that had kept Central Asia in subservience for centuries. Of the various regions that today form the Russian Soviet Union, the one that was then called the "Grand Principality of Moscow" or "Muscovy" was the most enterprising and was already extending its boundaries and its power at the expense of neighboring territories. To augment their growing power the grand dukes of Muscovy united forces with the influential Greek Orthodox Church, building up a theory of rule by divine selection similar to that of the Holy Roman Empire. With the demise of the Byzantine Empire they claimed inheritance of the Constantinople temporal power matching the spiritual power of the Orthodox patriarch, but it was not until 1547 that Ivan IV took the title of *czar*, thus continuing the eastern rivalry over the German *kaiser's* claim to the inheritance of the Caesars. Russia was an inland agrarian country. It had little contact with the rest of Europe except through quarrels with Poland, Lithuania, and Hungary and through Hanseatic trade centered in the Novgorod region. For a long time it was doubtful whether the countries east of the Baltic that eventually became the Russian Empire would be the easternmost of the European nations or the westernmost of the Asiatic nations.

*Advance of the Turks
into southeastern Europe*

THE OTTOMAN TURKS reintroduced a non-Christian empire into Christian Europe. When Constantinople, hopelessly besieged and cut off from all its hinterland, fell in 1453, the Byzantine Empire fell with it. The last Byzantine ruler, Constantine Paleologus, died a death worthy of the last of the Roman emperors, fighting nearly alone in the midst of the enemy. The Turks continued their advance northward through the Balkans to the Danube and around the coast of the Black Sea. They subordinated the Christian peoples whom they conquered, organizing them into vilayets, or semi-autonomous provinces, which paid tribute in soldiers and money and were governed by stern Turkish officials. The Christian vilayets were suffered, however, to retain their own religious practices and institutions.

*New worlds
discovered by the Europeans*

BY 1500 the relative homogeneity of medieval Europe had long been in the process of breaking up. The countries on the Atlantic seaboard were rising in wealth and power as their commerce increased, their political structure became stabler, and their kings' ambitions soared. In the rise of the Atlantic powers the voyages of discovery played a notable part. Using the new maps and navigational techniques, Portuguese mariners ventured down the coast of Africa, rounded

the southern cape, and finally reached India by way of the open sea in 1498, thus opening up tremendous possibilities for increasing trade with the Far East. In 1492, also searching for a water route to India, the Italian navigator Columbus in the employ of the Spanish rulers sailed west and accidentally rediscovered America. For several years it was thought that he had actually circled the earth and reached the Far East, and the potentialities of the New World were not immediately realized. But in the next century the New World was to influence European tastes, outlook, ambitions, politics, and economic structure, as gold, silver, and other American products poured in from Mexico, Peru, and other American conquests, and as nations competed with nations for possession of the rich lands across the sea.

THE ERA of discovery and exploration was but another aspect of the Renaissance interest in the world and man. Arising out of the changing pattern of life, the voyages of discovery accelerated the pace of European change and were the first step in the long, long process by which three isolated worlds in 1500 were to become one interdependent world today. Had Europe remained feudal in political structure and manorial in economic organization, probably only slow change, if any change at all, would have come from the discovery of the new worlds, if their discovery had even been possible. It seems likely that without capital investment and dynastic ambitions, there could have been no extensive explorations, settlements, and conquests in America and Asia, and those continents might never have become fields for European exploitation and influence or sources of new products, ideas, and empires for Europeans. In the course of the centuries before 1500 Europe passed from the medieval guild and manor to the putting-out system and the early factory, and from local barter to international banking. It saw the emergence of a competitive and individualistic bourgeoisie that felt cramped by traditional institutions and reached out for social and political change. And it witnessed the elimination or restriction of powerful feudal families in favor of dominant royal dynasties which came just in time to make Europe competent and aggressive in its relations with the less efficient and more passive cultures that now challenged its men of greed and talent, its restless and persecuted, its adventurous and curious.

Once in existence, Europe's competent and aggressive spirit began to produce its own effects, and we shall soon see the competence and aggressions of Europeans in America and Asia making capitalists richer and dynasties stronger, and hastening the tempo of change in Europe. Part of the new spirit in Europe came from the realization that these remote cultures, even if less efficient and more passive, were sometimes more ancient than Christendom and, even when primitive, had something to offer to Europeans.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

4th-11th centuries	The early Middle Ages
11th-12th centuries	The rise of merchant guilds
11th-13th centuries	The Crusades and the rise of towns in Italy, etc.
12th-14th centuries	Development of craft guilds
13th-17th centuries	The Renaissance
1224-1274	St. Thomas Aquinas
1233	The Inquisition inaugurated by Pope Gregory ix
1265-1321	Dante
1304-1374	Petrarch
1313-1375	Boccaccio
1325	Gunpowder, already known for about sixty years, applied to the cannon
1337-1453	The Hundred Years' War
1348	The Black Death
1396-1475	Uccello
c. 1400-1474	Guillaume Dufay
1401-1428	Masaccio
1452-1454	Introduction of printing in Europe
1452-1519	Leonardo da Vinci
1453	Capture of Constantinople by the Turks and the fall of the Byzantine Empire
1469	Marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile
1475-1564	Michelangelo
1478	Publication of the first arithmetic textbook
1485	End of the War of the Roses in England and the accession of the Tudor dynasty
1492	Discovery of America by Columbus
1492	Expulsion of the Moors from Granada by Ferdinand and Isabella
1492	Expulsion of the Jews from Spain
1494	French invasion of Italy
1497-1498	Vasco da Gama's voyage around the Cape of Good Hope to India
1506	Charles of Habsburg's succession to the crowns of the Netherlands and Castile
1516	Death of Ferdinand. Succession of Charles to the crown of Aragon, as Charles I of Spain, uniting most of Spain under his rule
1519	Selection of Charles I of Spain as Holy Roman Emperor

CHAPTER II



The World beyond Europe around 1500

IT COMES as something of a shock to most people of the Occident that during the thousand years of the Middle Ages the civilization of that comparatively small peninsula off Asia known as "Europe" was one of the most backward in the world. Nevertheless, the triumph of the European way in many non-European areas of the world is of recent date. Until the late Middle Ages, western Christendom was sometimes in danger of being engulfed by peoples of Asiatic culture. Except for the Crusades, undertaken spasmodically from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, it was not until the fifteenth century that western Europe became a threat to the other continents.

Medieval Europeans were nevertheless not indifferent to the eastern world. Trade contacts had long been maintained with a fair degree of regularity between the Italian cities and Constantinople, eastern outpost of Mediterranean Europe. Nomadic raids upon eastern and southern Europe and the alarm occasioned by Moslem and Mongol threats had forced medieval Europe to recognize that noteworthy and dynamic peoples existed even beyond the frontiers of Christendom. Fantastic reports of lands far out in the Atlantic Ocean sometimes beguiled imaginative minds. Still, in 1500 Europeans were essentially Christian in culture and parochial in outlook, and the non-Christian world beyond Europe was not a matter of major concern.

Around 1500 Europe began to establish closer ties with the East and the Americas. But before discussing those ties, we shall do well to survey the cultural development of the great non-Christian civilizations up to that time. Starting with the Moslem world, we shall move eastward to India, China, and

Japan; finally we shall cross the Bering Straits, following in the footsteps of the first Mongoloid invaders of the Western Hemisphere, and examine Amerindian cultures of North and South America. We shall find that belief in the Judaeo-Christian tradition and affiliation with Greco-Roman cultural patterns were not indispensable prerequisites to learning and achievement. In fact, it will become evident that European civilization was enriched as it gradually added importations from other areas to its cultural accumulation.

THE MOSLEM WORLD

THE FOLLOWERS of Mohammed today number about 200,000,000. They once dominated the Near East, northern Africa, and the Iberian Peninsula, as well as the Moslem areas elsewhere in Asia and Africa that they still control. At the end of the fifteenth century, they began definitely to be pushed back by the Christians of western Europe.

*Teachings
of Mohammed (571-632)*

UNTIL the sixth century the deserts of Arabia were populated by Bedouins (tent-dwelling nomads). Among the Bedouin tribes almost no bond of unity existed except their Semitic languages. Their religions were diverse, most of the tribes holding firmly to ancient animistic beliefs or to modifications of Jewish, Christian, and Zoroastrian (Persian) doctrines. Nevertheless, among these unpromising beginnings arose the camel driver named Mohammed who became the Bedouins' prophet and gave them religious unity. His concept of Allah as the one true God was a monotheistic doctrine partly derived from the Hebrew-Christian concept of Yahweh. Yet his teachings were also influenced by the religious customs native to Arabia. One of the places that had been sacred to the Bedouin tribes long before Mohammed's advent was the Kaaba, a shrine enclosing the venerated Black Stone at Mecca near the Red Sea. This stone was a meteorite, to which the tribesmen made pilgrimages at regular intervals. In fact, it was one of the few common bonds in the disunited Arabian world. Thinking to profit by its general appeal, Mohammed adopted the Kaaba as one of the cardinal features of his doctrine. Every follower of the Prophet was to try by all means possible to undertake at least one journey in his lifetime to Mecca. Mohammedans still pray with their faces turned toward that holy city.

In addition to his concept of monotheism, Mohammed adapted other teachings of the Jews and the Christians to his purposes. For the Prophet, the Old Testament contained a true account of creation, the law, and history. He believed that the Hebrews were descendants of Isaac, the son of Abraham by Sarah, and that the Arabians were the descendants of Ishmael, the son of Abraham by Hagar the Egyptian. He held that Allah had spoken through the

Hebrew prophets, among whom he included Jesus of Nazareth. His own position, however, was that of the highest authority among the prophets. "There is no God but Allah," he taught, "and Mohammed is his prophet!"

Like the Hebrew prophets, Mohammed declared that the way to salvation lay through complete faith in the Supreme Being. The Arabic word *Islam* means "obedience to the will of God"; it is often used as a synonym for "the Mohammedan religion." The word *Moslem* means "one who accepts Islam." According to Mohammed's teachings, some are predestined by Allah to eternal salvation while others are doomed to eternal damnation. All must testify their devotion to the faith and their complete submission to Allah's will by certain ritualistic observances—making pilgrimages to holy places, facing toward Mecca when praying, fasting on holy days, giving alms for sacred purposes, and removing one's shoes before entering a mosque.

*Establishment
of the Mohammedan faith*

THE MOHAMMEDAN New Year's day still annually recalls an event in the Prophet's career known as

"The *Hegira*" (the flight). At first, Mohammed had had serious difficulty in winning disciples. The city fathers of Mecca, where the Prophet himself had been born, were suspicious of his motives. They were particularly concerned lest his attack upon the old polytheistic religions halt the pilgrimages to Mecca—an eventuality that would have meant large losses to the city. In 622 he was driven from Mecca to neighboring Medina. This was his *Hegira*. The importance of the episode as a turning point in the Prophet's career is marked by the fact that the Mohammedans regard it, and not the birth of Jesus, as the beginning of their era.

After his arrival in Medina, the Prophet of Allah began to spread his religion by the sword. Seven years later, he was back in Mecca as its ruler. His decision to encourage the pilgrimages to the Kaaba made it much easier for his townsmen to accept his rule. By the time Mohammed died (632), his religion had been extended to the whole of the Arabian peninsula.

*The message
and influence of the Koran*

SHORTLY after the Prophet's death, the written accounts of his revelations and other mystical ex-

periences were compiled in the *Koran (Readings)*. Written in poetical form, and arranged (except for the first) according to length, the revelations of Mohammed are one of our best sources for the understanding of Arabian life. In the opening *Sura* (chapter), the Prophet admonishes his followers to "read, in the name of thy Lord." This emphasis upon individual consultation of the *Koran* was responsible for rapid increases in literacy and for checking the development of a highly trained clergy. In fact, although Islam has inspired teachers and prophets since the time of Mohammed, it still has no priests. Moreover, the *Koran* makes it plain that all who are willing to observe

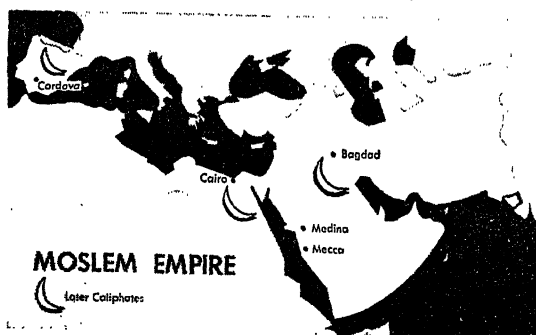
its tenets will be welcomed by the other believers of the Prophet. "Know that every Moslem is the brother of every other Moslem," Mohammed declared; "All of you are on the same equal basis." And the *Koran* promised an appealing reward to the faithful:

All who believe in Allah and His Prophet shall be admitted hereafter into delightful gardens. They shall repose for ever on couches decked with gold and precious stones, being supplied with abundance of luscious wine, fruits of the choicest variety, and the flesh of birds. They shall be accompanied by damsels of unsurpassed beauty, with large, black, pearl-like eyes.¹

*Expansion of Islam
by military and governmental skill*

THE ALL-INCLUSIVE quality of Mohammedanism led to its widespread acceptance. The successors

of the Prophet (the *caliphs*) organized the Arab world into an expanding and aggressive fighting force. Using the standard of Mohammed, the caliphs in the seventh and eighth centuries took the military offensive against the Byzantine Empire, the stronghold of eastern Christianity, and against India, Persia, Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. Advance units proceeded to further conquest in northern Africa and eventually, crossing into Europe, occupied most of the Iberian Peninsula. Thus, by the middle of the eighth century, militant Islam, though divided politically (page 63), had won a precarious hold upon a vast area stretching from the Indus Valley in the east to the Pyrenees in the west, in almost unbroken stretches across Asia and Africa, and with important holdings in Europe. Bagdad, which at one time numbered around two million and was bigger than any city of Europe of that day, was the cultural capital of this enormous empire.



By 750 the successors of Mohammed had extended the Moslem empire from the Atlantic to the borders of India. Subsequently the close-knit empire broke up into several parts, with the Ommiad caliphate of Cordova and the Fatimid caliphate of Cairo rivaling the parent Abbasid caliphate of Bagdad.

¹Mohammed, *The Koran*, as quoted in D. S. Margoliouth, "Mahomet and His Teaching," *The Universal History of the World*, ed. Sir John A. Hammerton (London: The Amalgamated Press, Ltd., 1928-29), IV, 2376.

Unlike its Hebrew prototype, Mohammed's monotheism was a proselytizing religion. Allah was not thought to have chosen the Arabs alone as his people. Implicit in monotheism of any type, however, is a certain degree of intolerance for nonbelievers who reject the only God. So the proponents of the Christian doctrine of salvation fought bitterly with the proponents of the Mohammedan doctrine. The followers of Jesus and of Mohammed, forming hardy religious armies, hoped thereby to contribute to the defense, the spread, and the greater glory of their respective faiths. For nearly two centuries (1096-1291) the Cross and the Crescent fought for control of the Holy Lands—the lands that lay between their respective centers of power—and of the peoples in the Near East. And after these conflicts, known in the West as the "Crusades," wars recurred intermittently. The Crescent was generally victorious.

Contrary to the popular impression, the success of Moslem power was not based exclusively upon the ferociousness of the desert warriors or upon their general acceptance of a fatalistic attitude toward life. Having observed covetously for centuries the wealth of the Mesopotamian and Nile areas, the Arabs sought to subjugate, but not to exterminate, their wealthier neighbors. Since the conquerors exacted heavy tribute from nonbelievers, while exempting the followers of the Prophet from taxation, many of the conquered were not unwilling to become converts to the faith. Acceptance of the Prophet's teachings was followed in most cases by intermarriage and close association between peoples of highly different backgrounds.

The influence

of antiquity upon Moslem culture

MILITARY conquest of the great centers of antiquity affected materially the institutions and culture

of the Moslem world. Practices and customs of the desert were found to be inadequate for the government of more complex societies. In many instances, the political organization of the conquered peoples was permitted to remain intact. Trusted Arabs were usually placed in strategic offices, but the early caliphs also used natives successfully at almost every level of government. In primitive areas, the conquerors introduced advanced administrative practices adapted from the institutions of Persia and Byzantium. By this political amalgamation, the Arab conquerors imposed upon the Moslem world a more or less unified political organization and similar institutions.

Arabic achievements

in agriculture, trade, and industry

BY THE eighth century of the Christian era, the heterogeneous state of the Arabian desert thus

attained a size and a degree of unity and stability rarely achieved in the western world of that day. The Arabs attained commercial significance likewise. Caravans traded from Bagdad on the Tigris River to Granada in Spain over the routes of antiquity. Arab merchants traveled into Russia, western Europe, India, and beyond. Swords from Damascus in Syria, perhaps the oldest



This illustration from a European travel book, dated 1486, shows a European woman, a veiled Moslem woman, an Arab trader, and two turbaned Saracen soldiers.

continuously existing city in the world, were exchanged for oriental wares along the great routes that ran from the Moslem world across Asia to the fabled silk-producing regions of China. Arabic coins of the eighth century have been found in such widely separated places as Scandinavia and the Malay Peninsula.

Arabian agriculture and industry also reached a level of achievement far higher than that of western Europe at the time. Irrigation, fertilizer, and other means of intensive cultivation were used in the rich farm lands of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile. New products of the soil were transported from one area to another. The bitter orange and the date were grown for the first time by the Arabs in Spain. New varieties of flowers, such as the morning glory, were transplanted from region to region, and were eventually introduced into western Europe.

Commerce and the crafts benefited by the exchange of ideas, workers, and commodities throughout the Moslem world. For instance, the paper-making craft, which had originated in China, was imported into the Arab realms and was established in Bagdad in the year 800. In their development of the textile enterprises the Arabs profited from their location halfway between East and West. On the one hand, the silk of China, woven in Arab Syria into textiles of different weights, was widely distributed to the great Moslem cities, and, on the other, woolen goods and tooled leather, imported from Spain, appeared in the Arab bazaars. The Arab market places featured a fine goatskin leather dyed with sumac, which is still called "morocco." Glass from Syria and rugs from Persia, the Caucasus, and Central Asia added to the elegance of the Arab world. This commercial prosperity continued unabated until the fifteenth century.

*Moslem scholarship
influenced by Greek thought*

THE SCHOLARSHIP and culture of the Moslem world was at a much higher level than that of contemporary Europe.

As in the field of politics, the Arabs soon realized that they had much to learn from the conquered peoples about philosophy, science, and art. Their political control over some of the ancient seats of learning had a marked influence upon the growth and development of Mohammedan phi-

losophy. Particularly important in that regard were the cultural and intellectual traditions of ancient Greece and India.

Arab scholars visited these centers of antiquity, collected the writings of the older philosophers and scientists, and translated them into Arabic, the common language of the Moslem world. The works of great Greek scientists and philosophers like Hippocrates, Galen, Plato, and Aristotle, as well as the Hebrew Old Testament, were translated. Euclid's geometrical dissertations and Ptolemy's geographical and astronomical observations also appeared in Arabic versions. Libraries and museums were established, the greatest of these being the House of Wisdom in Bagdad. The caliphs of the Arabic renaissance unstintingly patronized the arts, science, and literature.

*Advances
by the Arabs in science*

Arabs, was readily assimilated. With no priesthood or other agency of orthodoxy to put a hard and fast interpretation upon nature's mysteries, Arab scientists built quickly and well upon other foundations of knowledge wherever they appeared. Careful records were kept of stellar movements, stars were cataloged, and the calendar was calculated more accurately than ever before. Thus astronomy advanced. Mathematics also occupied their attention, and the adoption of Hindu-Arabic numerals made computation much simpler than the cumbersome symbols of the older culture. Furthermore, the concept of zero, a device unknown to Greek and Roman mathematicians, proved invaluable in the construction of our modern method of numerical notation. *Algebra* is an Arabic word, reminiscent of the fact that, without having invented this branch of mathematics, the Arabs rediscovered and developed it.

GRECO-ROMAN and Hindu science, superior to the primitive lore previously current among the



The Moslems profited from the exchange of knowledge that had already taken place between ancient cultures. This "Constellation of Perseus" represents a mixture of Persian and Greek science and lore.

Arabic scientists were likewise interested in chemistry and medicine. Like the Greeks, the Arabs sought to make gold from baser metals such as lead and iron. They searched for the elixir of life, which was supposed to cure all disease and to make the old young again. Although they were unsuccessful in these objectives, their experiments added significantly to our knowledge of metals, alloys, and chemical compounds. *Alchemy* (also an Arabic word), the forerunner of modern chemistry, resulted from these pseudo-scientific efforts, and the "alchemists" made many valuable, even though incidental, discoveries in their fruitless search.

Meanwhile, Arab physicians learned how to render practical aid to the ailing and the aged. Being opposed to the dissection of the human body, the scientists of Islam were unable to contribute much to the earlier anatomical work of the Greek Hippocrates and Galen. In general medicine, however, and particularly in the use of drugs and the description of symptoms, their achievements were far beyond anything then attained elsewhere. Their work in dentistry was noteworthy too, for they evidently understood the adverse effects of malnutrition and tartar on oral hygiene.

The influence

of Aristotle among the Moslems

UNTIL the twelfth century, Aristotle was "the philosopher" of the Moslem world, as he afterwards

became for the medieval Christian world. His intellectual achievements were thought to be supreme and unquestionable. The last and the greatest of the Moslem commentators on Aristotle was the Spanish-Arabian, Ibn Rushd Averroës (1126-1198). Averroës followed the rationalism of Aristotle unhesitatingly to its logical conclusion. Despite orthodox Moslem and Christian opinion, he conceived of God as the perfect intellect or soul, immanent in the world, but left no place for Him to intervene actively in human affairs. This philosophy led to a doctrine of "two truths"—a truth of reason based on experience and a truth of faith based on revelation—which might contradict each other. To devout Moslems this philosophy seemed to be a movement away from orthodoxy to materialism. Largely through Averroës' writings, Aristotle and his commentators gave rise to bitter dispute among Moslem intellectuals and also profoundly influenced Christian philosophers, like Thomas Aquinas, who adapted Aristotle to Christian theology and vigorously opposed Christian followers of Averroës. The Arabs also made significant contributions to the study of history and jurisprudence. Arabic thought had passed its peak before the dawn of the European Renaissance.

Contributions

to literature by the Arabs

PERHAPS the most original contributions of Arabic civilization came in literature. Although the

62 language of the desert was not well suited to the technical needs of scientists and philosophers, its poetic imagery and vitality were used effectively by

storytellers and poets. Ancient Persian literary sources were tapped by writers such as the eleventh-century scientist and poet Omar Khayyám. His *Rubáiyát* ("collection of quatrains") typifies the hedonist thought of his day:

Come, fill the Cup, and in the Fire of Spring
The Winter Garment of Repentance fling.
The Bird of Time has but a little way
To fly—and Lo! the Bird is on the Wing.

Oh, come with old Khayyám, and leave the Wise
To talk; one thing is certain, that Life flies;
One thing is certain, and the Rest is Lies;
The Flower that once has blown forever dies.²

In hundreds of other quatrains, many now as well known in the West as in the East, Omar sang of the pleasures and frustrations of this world.

More popular than Omar's rhymes among contemporaries were the tales told around the campfires and recorded in such collections as *The Thousand and One Nights*. Drawn from Indian, Persian, Egyptian, and Arabian lore, these tales reflect the fullness and richness of everyday life in the Moslem world. *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves*, *Sinbad the Sailor*, and *Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp* have delighted children and their elders alike whether in thirteenth-century Arabia or in twentieth-century America. Only in the eighteenth century, however, did this fairyland of the oriental imagination become familiar to occidental readers.

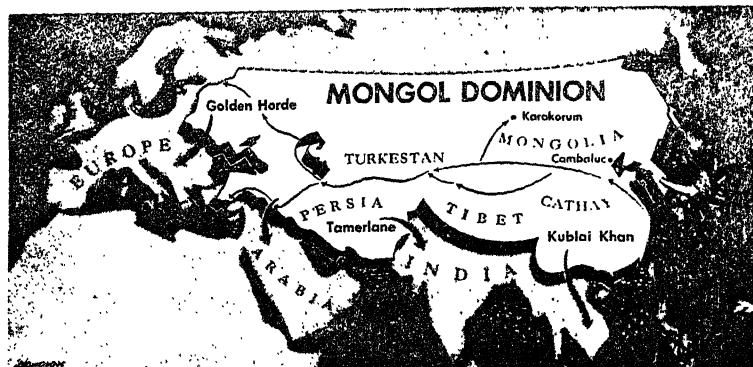
Divisions

arising within the Moslem world

THE BRILLIANCE of Arabic accomplishments served to unite the Moslem peoples and to make

Moslem culture one of the most refined of the world. Nevertheless, by the fifteenth century, numerous conflicts and invasions had disrupted the Islamic countries. Had it not been for these divisions among the Mohammedans, the effort of the Europeans to check the spread of Moslem power would have had a much slighter chance of success. Religious divisions had arisen early among the Mohammedans when the traditional Sunnite and the more devout Shiite sects engaged in bitter dispute regarding the true succession to the Prophet. A branch of the Shiites had thereupon established a separate caliphate (i.e., a rival line of successors to Mohammed) at Cairo in opposition to the Sunnite caliphate of Bagdad. At Cordova, in Spain, still another caliphate had been established. The countries of the Mediterranean thus became pawns in the struggle of rival Moslem groups long before the Holy

²Omar Khayyám, *The Rubáiyát*, trans. Edward Fitzgerald (1st ed. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1859).



In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the Mongol domain sprawled far into Christian Europe. Russia was conquered, and the Poles and Bulgarians suffered the atrocities characteristic of Mongolian warfare. But trade from the East continued to reach Europe over the Mongolian-controlled routes of Inner Asia and Russia (thin arrows), and the Italian adventurer Marco Polo was hospitably received at Karakorum and Cambaluc.

Land became the objective of Christian Crusaders; and these countries have remained divided ever since.

Revival of Islam

inaugurated by the Seljuk Turks

MEANWHILE new peoples had adopted Mohammedanism and had challenged Arabic supremacy

in the Moslem world. In the tenth century, the Moslems had won a new and vigorous ally by the conversion to Islam of the Seljuk Turks of Central Asia. Soon the new converts became the overlords of their Arab teachers, and the Turkish leader had become "King of the East and West, Commander of the Faithful." Learning from those whom they vanquished, the Seljuk Turks proceeded to make new conquests at the expense of the Byzantine Empire. By the energy thus infused into the Moslem world, they inaugurated a revival that made Mohammedanism more menacing than ever to Christendom. It was the Seljuk Turks who bore the brunt of the Crusades that Christendom unsuccessfully launched against the infidels in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The terror

of the Mongol invasions

IN THE thirteenth century chaos in the Moslem world was increased by the expansion of conquering Mongol hordes from eastern Asia. For a while it looked as if the Eurasian continent (as Europe and Asia together are commonly called) would be dominated by Asiatics rather than Europeans. China, Central Asia,

64 and large parts of western Asia and eastern Europe succumbed to the war-

riors of Jenghis Khan, a great Mongol emperor. Terror held both the Moslem and the Christian worlds in thrall as the Mongol hordes ravaged and destroyed wherever they appeared. Jerusalem was sacked, the Mesopotamian cities were pillaged, and the caliph of Bagdad was murdered. The eastern half of the Moslem world was subjected to the Mongols. The southern areas of Russia and large parts of Slavic Europe were also overrun and occupied. Native civilizations were checked in their growth, and commerce and industry stagnated. Life in the eastern half of the Moslem world was particularly affected, because it was one of the areas most systematically ravaged and longest controlled.

*The successes
of the Mameluke Turks of Egypt*

EGYPT and northern Africa remained the only unravished citadels of Moslem strength in the thirteenth century. Under the Mamelukes of Egypt, a vigorous state was organized, in which a military oligarchy made and unmade sultans. Exploiting their own organizing skill and vigor, and profiting from the fact that the Mongol empire was itself torn by bitter internal feuds, the Mamelukes gradually won back Syria and other eastern areas, where Islam continued to be the prevailing faith. Gradually, too, the Mongols were pushed out of nearly all of Slavic Europe, where Christianity prevailed (pages 188-189).

*The rise
of the Ottoman Turks*

AS THE Mongol wave receded, new tribal groups endeavored to unite the Moslems of Asia. The most important of these groups were the Ottoman Turks of Asia Minor. Their ascent to power was made possible not only by the political vacuum left in western Asia as the Mongols departed but also by the decline of the Byzantine Empire—in part as a result of the disasters suffered from the Crusades and the Mongol invasions. Constantinople, the center of eastern Christian civilization, was gradually surrounded on all sides as the Ottoman forces subjected the Moslem and eastern European areas to their control. In 1453, the final blow was delivered when the great city on the Dardanelles fell into the hands of the Ottomans after a long siege and bombardment, in which the invaders used stone-firing artillery in a most effective fashion.

The Ottoman Turks took over a civilization in decay. The raiders from the east in the four hundred years preceding the fall of Constantinople had left painful impressions upon the Arabic lands. The trade that had enriched such cities as Bagdad and Damascus was partially cut off by wars and invasions. The enterprising farmers who had once lived in the Mesopotamian Valley were dispersed, and the land was allowed to lie idle. Industries languished, and arts and crafts were forgotten as the peoples of the Moslem world were forced to turn from the pursuits of peace to those of war. What-

ever trade remained in their hands in the fifteenth century was to be gradually lost as explorers from Portugal and Spain, having established as a certainty that Africa could be circumnavigated, exploited the direct water route between Europe and the Far East.

The centers of commercial and intellectual influence thereafter moved steadily and quickly toward western Europe. Christian Europe, no longer easy prey for Asiatic nomads, had become a dynamic and aggressive world force by the time the Ottoman Turks established themselves in Constantinople. In 1492, the last Moslem stronghold in Spain was forced to capitulate to its Christian rulers. Although the Turks remained a complicating factor in subsequent European warfare and diplomacy, and although Moslem influence still holds a prominent place in the culture of Spain and eastern Europe today, the Moslems were subsequently unable to effect serious modifications of European civilization.

INDIA

LONG BEFORE the Bedouins of Arabia emerged from their desert civilization, the Indian peninsula was the scene of great intellectual and religious achievements. Today over 300,000,000 people are the direct and for the most part respectful heirs to this ancient culture. But it has undergone many changes.

*India's history
conditioned by her geography*

LIKE THE European peninsula, India juts out from the Eurasian continent and has periodically

been invaded by Asiatic tribes looking for sanctuary or loot. On the north, India is protected in part from land invasions by the loftiest system of mountains on earth. Curious and determined men on both sides of the mountains, however, have found trails and passes and have penetrated nature's wall. Throughout history, the passes of the northeast and the northwest have provided a highroad for invaders from Central Asia, and their invasions have frequently been decisive factors in India's history.

The ocean barriers separating India from the rest of the world were more effective in protecting the "subcontinent," as it is sometimes called, from invaders. Although the seas were from time immemorial used by merchants going to and from India, no large invasion fleets troubled the coastal cities until the advent of the Europeans. Thereafter, however, superiority of equipment and greater skill in navigation gave the Portuguese and the British the advantages they required for successful invasions by sea.

In a way, then, the physical geography of India provided protection from outside pressure. India was thus isolated enough to permit the growth at an



In the Middle Ages the northwest passes were the tenuous avenues of intercourse between Europe and India. Through these passes, also, invaders from Central Asia filtered periodically to conquer the northern plains of India. After Vasco da Gama's arrival in 1498, India's invaders came by sea from Europe.

early date of a high level of civilization and of some degree of cultural unity within certain limited areas.

*Diversity
in every aspect of Indian culture*

NEVERTHELESS, such unity as has existed in those areas has consistently been ethical and spiritual

rather than political. Disunity has been notoriously characteristic of Indian political life. Internal geographical features such as high mountains and wide rivers have aided in preventing national unification. Even more significant in earlier centuries, however, were the great migrations that periodically came

over the northern passes, occupied parts of the subcontinent, and left indelible imprints in disparate languages, political systems, religions, and literatures. By its numerous diversities, India again reminds the observer of Europe.

Invasions

of India by the Indo-Aryans

IN AN area almost as large as non-Russian Europe, the peoples of India developed a civilization that

has been continuous since about the third or fourth millennium before Christ. Unfortunately, however, we know little about India's earliest history. Archaeological remains attest its antiquity, but no accurately dated records are available to substantiate the evidence of artifacts and human remains.

Although the chronology of Indian history is not fully established until the fourth century B.C., scholars have inferred from other sources that the great invasion of the peninsula by a people known as "Aryans" began perhaps two thousand years before the Christian era. The invaders were tall and fair-skinned, and distantly related to most of the present-day inhabitants of Europe. Presumably, they forced the earlier occupants of the subcontinent to migrate southward. Gradually the Aryans extended their control over the two great river basins of the north, the Ganges and the Indus.

The Vedas

and the Brahman religion

INFORMATION about the Indo-Aryan civilization is derived mainly from the literature called

"the Vedas." Written in Vedic (a language close to Sanskrit), these earliest sources of Indian history include hymns, prayers, spells, and incantations. To these were later added some prose writing known as "Brahmanas" (priestly manuals) and "Upanishads" (philosophical treatises on the problems of life). Scholars disagree about the dates that should be attached to the Vedic scriptures, but it may be conjectured that they came from the period between 2500 and 1500 B.C. The Vedas are now the scriptures of the Hindus—a word derived from *Hind*, meaning *India*; most of the people of modern India are Hindus by religion.

Although the Vedas are of various dates, they consistently throw valuable light upon Aryan life and culture. The Aryans appear as a semi-pastoral people who halted occasionally in their wanderings to till the soil. Like most pastoral peoples, they ate meat and milk products, although their modern spiritual descendants, considering animals sacred, refuse to eat meat. The Aryans used the chariot, the bow, and armor in time of war, and apparently knew how to work a number of metals. Their early deities were thought to be benevolent and cheerful.

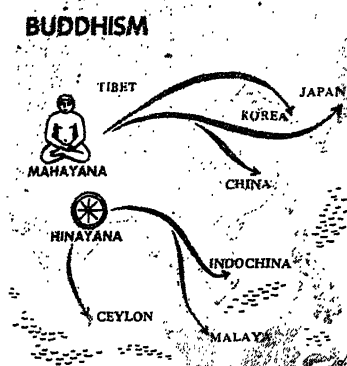
It was long after the recording of the Vedic scriptures that some of the more modern characteristics of Hindu worship began to appear. Influenced by their environment, and in particular by the surrounding non-Aryan peoples, the early Hindus began to develop new religious and social customs.



The grotesque figure at right wearing a papal crown is a Hindu god as conceived by a Dutch Protestant artist about 1600. Worshipers kneel before the idol, and in the foreground is the sacred cow. The drawing of Siva at the left in his "Dance of Destruction," from a fourteenth-century Hindu bronze, shows the god with four arms to signify his various powers.

Priestly sacrifices ceased to be rites of thanksgiving and became rites of propitiation and appeasement. Besides the old Vedic gods, new ones like Brahma the creator of life, Vishnu the preserver, and Siva the destroyer, became important in the Hindu pantheon. Animal worship, especially of the bull and the cow, was introduced. Moreover, the doctrine of rebirth or reincarnation, characteristic of the earlier religions of the peninsula, was soon adopted as fundamental, and along with it the belief in the soul's *karma*. *Karma* is Sanskrit for *fate* or *action*. The Hindus came to hold that each successive reincarnation or future fate is determined by the soul's activities in its previous incarnations. Thus the soul's total effect for good or evil in one stage decides its fate at its rebirth; activity (or *karma*) in one incarnation determines fate (or *karma*) in the next. This ethical principle was the Hindu's effort to answer the eternal question of predestination versus free will—whether man can by his own behavior in any way determine his own fate, and how far.

Perhaps more significant than the theological additions to Hinduism were the social and cultural accretions of post-Vedic times. One of the most significant of these was the caste system. No one knows precisely why or when it came into existence, except that it is not mentioned in the Vedic scriptures. Nevertheless, this institution has had a marked effect upon India's history from the earliest times to the present. The respectable population was divided



Mahayana Buddhism tended to travel east, Hinayana southeast. But these are only the broad lines of their spread. Hinayana also reached China and thence invaded Japan but did not threaten Mahayana predominance in those countries.

by it into four orders: the Brahmins, or the learned and priestly class; the Kshatriyas, or the rulers and warriors; the Vaisyas, or the merchants and farmers; and the Sudras, or the slaves and serfs, usually of non-Aryan stock. The Pariahs and other still lower castes included the outcasts. From the importance assigned to Brahma the creator and the Brahmins, his priests, Hinduism is more accurately known as "Brahmanism." "Hinduism" is a term more commonly used in the West than in India.

Although Brahmanism has been one of the foremost elements in Indian civilization, its appeal has been limited by its rigidity, formalism, and polytheistic character. Traditionally,

it has supported a vast number of priests. In the Upanishads, an effort was made to systematize the faith and to emphasize the need for spiritual content. Brahmanism when fully developed continued basically unchanged as the dominant religion of India.

Buddha and the rise of Buddhism

THE OPPONENTS of Brahmanism, however, have also had their day. One of the most successful

dissenters against early Aryan orthodoxy was Gautama (563?-483? B.C.). Even though Gautama was himself of the ruling class in Hindu society and had been sheltered from evil, he managed to learn about sickness, old age, and death. Thereafter, despite his wealth and social position, he felt unhappy. Like the writers of the Upanishads, Gautama sought to understand the meaning and purpose of life and to penetrate the mysteries of sin and suffering.

At the age of twenty-nine, Gautama abandoned his possessions and his family and retired to a life of asceticism. After much unsatisfying meditation and fasting, he concluded that such practices would give little insight into the problems that concerned him most. Six years of reflection resulted in his "Enlightenment." Now known as "the Buddha," or the "Enlightened One," Gautama spent the remaining forty-five years of his life spreading his faith among an ever-increasing body of followers.

Gautama concerned himself mainly with problems of human sorrow. He granted passing recognition to the Hindu gods and the Vedic scriptures but directed his reflections chiefly to human salvation. He believed formal rites

useless to that end. Basing his thought upon the commonly held Hindu dogmas of rebirth and *karma*, Gautama taught that the soul must strive for freedom from the endless series of rebirths to which it was doomed. The individual, he held, should therefore seek to improve his soul in each successive incarnation so that eventually it might become free, in harmony with the universe, and part of ultimate perfection. This state of spiritual peace depended upon the complete forgetfulness of self and the attainment of right knowledge and right living. Such a perfect state Gautama called "Nirvana" (the soul's extinction by absorption into the divine).

Rites and ceremonies, prayer and worship were held to be ineffective in achieving *Nirvana* since they were performed for selfish ends. The highroad to ultimate purity of thought, word, and deed could be ascended only if the believer himself followed the "Eightfold Path" with its signposts of Right Belief, Right Aims, Right Speech, Right Action, Right Living, Right Endeavor, Right-Mindedness, and Right Meditation. "Right Living" included the avoidance of inflicting pain; hence the Buddhists, like the Hindus, ate no meat. Believers were also admonished to follow a moral code similar in content and phraseology to the Ten Commandments of the Hebrews. By such means, truth and ultimate purity could be gained by every being regardless of caste and without the aid of priests.

*The spread
of Buddhism into the Far East*

AFTER Gautama's death, his disciples codified the substance of his teachings in the "Tripitaka"

("Three Baskets"). The disciples of a later day, however, embellished his teachings, introduced innovations, and developed a complicated theology. Gautama himself was deified, and numerous gods from the Brahman pantheon were also accepted by the Buddhists as minor deities. The new Buddhism, offering the hope of salvation to all, came to be known as the "Mahayana" ("Greater Vehicle"). Those who objected to these innovations held that salvation came only to those who strove for it. Their view was called derisively the "Hinayana" ("Lesser Vehicle"). In their zeal to outdo each other, these two sects of Buddhism developed great missionary fervor. Mahayana Buddhism spread northward into the areas adjoining India. About the time that Christianity was being formulated in the west, Mahayana Buddhism had already moved into Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan. In each case, Buddhism won increasing influence by assuming new forms and adopting new gods congenial to the native environment. Spiritual relations were also established between India and the peoples of southeastern Asia through the spread of Hinayana Buddhism into Ceylon, Burma, the Malay Peninsula, and Indochina.

The spread of Buddhism into the Far East improved relations in other spheres of life and aided in the transmission of Indian art and literary forms. It also was insurance for the future of the creed. With the Moslem invasions

of India, Buddhists were persecuted, and by the thirteenth century, Buddhism was almost smothered out of existence. Today it is found only in the Far East, and in that vast and chaotic area it is the only element that many of the diverse groups have in common. In India, despite its disappearance, it had left an indelible imprint upon art, literature, and surviving creeds that was still visible when the European invasion of India began in the fifteenth century.

*Contributions
of Buddhism to art in India*

BUDDHISM'S contributions to the fine arts of India were mainly in architecture and sculpture, the

two arts most highly developed by the Hindus. Temples and religious statuary were conceived and elaborated along intricate and original lines. Although the temples show architectural kinship to the imposing edifices of ancient Egypt and the Arabic world, the artists of India have usually concentrated upon richness of detail rather than boldness of design. Nevertheless, the pagodas that dot the countryside in India and in other Buddhist areas are as striking in their way as the pyramids of Egypt or the mosques of Arabia are in theirs. They are shrines and storehouses of Buddhist relics. Buddhist statuary is also notable for its occasional disregard of anatomical regularity (after all, gods are not bound by human forms) and for its wealth of ornamentation and variety. Concentration upon detail characterized the products of the Hindus' handicrafts, particularly their carefully woven cotton cloth, their delicate brocades, and their precise needlework.

*The failure
to achieve political unity*

AS HAS already been pointed out, India's great achievements in religion and culture were not matched

by comparable attainments in politics. Having evolved their basic spiritual beliefs, ideas, and institutions by the second century B.C., the peoples of the Indian peninsula sought thereafter, but with little success, to unify themselves politically. Differences of social background, color, caste, religion, and customs made political unity difficult. Frequent invasions added to the complications. The Persian conqueror, Darius I, raided the Punjab, the northern areas of India, which was easily accessible to the mountain passes, and thence reached the Indus Valley in the sixth century B.C. Two centuries later the great Greek conqueror, Alexander of Macedon, repeated this performance. These conquests brought about closer cultural contacts between the East and the West, particularly through some Hellenized colonies in Central Asia, but left no permanent political effects. A semblance of political unity was achieved shortly after Alexander's retirement from India when the Maurya dynasty was established as rulers of an Indian empire. With the death of Emperor Asoka, the third of this line, in the third century B.C., the Maurya empire went into decline, and for five centuries thereafter India experienced little but chaos and disorder interrupted periodically by invasions from the northwest.

A shadowy empire was again achieved in the fourth century A.D. under the ruling house of Gupta, which in the sixth century was overthrown by new invasions from the northwest. The new invaders came from Central Asia and were sometimes called "Huns." They occupied India during the same period that their fellows were overrunning the Roman Empire in the west and attacking the northwestern borders of China. During more than a millennium of invasions and intervening native empires, India failed to achieve a lasting political union.

*The invasion
of India by the Moslems*

SHORTLY after the cessation of the Hunnish conquest, the Moslem empire began to develop and expanded in the manner described above (pages 58-60). At the beginning of the eighth century, when other Moslems were invading Spain in western Europe, the followers of Islam reached the mouth of the Indus. Not, however, until the end of the tenth century, the century of the flowering of Moham-medan civilization in western Asia, did Indian life come seriously under Moslem influence.

The great Moslem attack upon India opened after 1000 A.D. with the accession of Mahmud as ruler of Ghazni, a Moslem state in the area of modern Afghanistan. Numerous expeditions were made into the vast treasure house of India. Artistic masterpieces were carried off and destroyed, and great areas were laid bare by the loot-hungry Moslems. Infidels were mercilessly killed, and the religious images of Brahmanism and Buddhism were destroyed. Resistance continued in India, but to no avail. The Moslems attacked repeatedly and relentlessly, so that by the thirteenth century most of northern India had fallen into their hands. As was true elsewhere, the Moslems succeeded not merely because of their fanaticism and overwhelming numbers but perhaps even more



Knowing India only by hearsay, this German artist, illustrating Alexander the Great's invasion of India in *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, 1501, depicted a miniature elephant with fluted ears and trumpet-shaped trunk.

because of their willingness to accept converts from every level of life. Neither station nor caste was so important to the practical Moslems as was ability. They utilized Hindus and others, and succeeded in establishing a high degree of political unity because of the essential equality offered to their followers in faith.

For the earlier religions of India the Moslem invasions were catastrophic. In northern India Buddhism practically ceased to exist in anything resembling organized form. Its temples and monasteries, religious images and shrines were demolished by the followers of the Prophet. Moreover, the new conquerors were impervious to the missionary endeavors of the Buddhists and the Hindus. Brahmanism was tolerated by the Moslems but only as the faith of an inferior people. Fortunately for the world, the artistic as well as the religious influences of both Brahmanism and Buddhism had earlier been implanted elsewhere in the Far East, and often without the institution of caste.

The Moslems established Delhi as their political capital out of the same strategic considerations that in more recent times caused Delhi to be selected also as the capital of British India. From this vantage point, they exercised control over almost all of fourteenth-century India except for areas in the extreme south. Wholesale executions and ravages ceased as the sultanate of Delhi came to realize that a dead or a starving infidel could not work and pay taxes. New migrations of Moslems continued to strengthen the hold of the Delhi sultanate until the end of the fourteenth century. Before the Delhi government was overthrown, it had converted large parts of northern India permanently to Mohammedanism.

*The unity of India
during the Mogul dynasty*

WHILE the Moslems were thus occupied in India, their fellows in "the faith" were being overrun in

western and Central Asia by the expanding power of the Mongols. Turning away from his invasion of Russia, the great Mongol leader, Tamerlane, diverted his conquering horsemen toward India at the close of the fourteenth century. His onslaughts were, however, of a temporary character. It was not until the sixteenth century that the heirs of Tamerlane were able to follow up his conquests, and to establish a stable government in India. Under the leadership of Babur, the foundation of the Mogul (Persian name for "Mongol") dynasty was laid. Having accepted Islam as his faith, the Mongol leader eliminated the Delhi sultanate but did not alter fundamentally its practices or its institutions. Under the Mogul dynasty, India achieved a fair degree of unity and political stability. In fact, the Moguls were generally recognized as the rulers of all India, in form at least, until the British openly took over political control in 1859.

Early in its history, the Mogul dynasty was confronted by the prospect of an overseas invasion. Hitherto protected by the sea barrier, India became

increasingly vulnerable as the tempo of European discovery and exploration was stepped up. Vasco da Gama's voyages of 1497-1499 (page 112) called the attention of the Portuguese and other Europeans to the wealth of India and to the practicability of the all-water route around Africa. Thereafter, Portugal led the way in the European invasion and occupation that were to be of paramount importance to India in the following four and a half centuries.

By 1500, only a comparative degree of political unity had been established in India. Such as it was, it had been achieved by peoples of Mohammedan faith at the expense of the Hindu majority, Brahmanism, and the flowering Buddhist culture. The genius of India has always been most apparent in religion and the arts. Efforts toward political stability have encountered so far insuperable complications. Divided internally by differing faiths, a rigid caste system, and economic tensions, India proved unable until recently to prevent conquerors and exploiters from profiting openly and continuously from the deep and apparently still irreconcilable cleavages that have existed within her society.

THE FAR EAST

EAST OF the subcontinent in southern Central Asia lie the lands that Europeans (and hence Americans) have come to think of as "the Far East." Separated from India by mountain barriers and surrounding seas, these lands developed until the sixteenth century in semi-isolation from Europe and the rest of Asia. Usually included among the areas of Far Eastern civilization are China, Japan, Korea, southeastern Asia, the East Indies, and the thousands of smaller Pacific islands referred to as Oceania. Living in this vast area are peoples of diverse economies, languages, religions, customs, and traditions. Probably no other cultural area in the world exhibits such complexity of history, and certainly no other area has within it people who differ more widely in degrees of civilization. The cultures of the Far East range from the most primitive to the most advanced.

*The geography
of the Middle Kingdom*

CHINA is the heartland of the Far East. It was called the "Middle Kingdom" by its inhabitants be-

cause it was the center toward which the lesser peoples of eastern Asia traditionally looked for guidance. Its language, its arts, and its crafts molded a way of life that was emulated by the people of the surrounding territories. Self-centered and proud—"ethnocentric," as the modern anthropologist would say—the Chinese confidently believed until the sixteenth century that their civilization was infinitely superior to all others and that non-Chinese were, unfortunately for them, barbaric in manners and inferior in accomplishments. Were they not the "Celestial Empire" ruled by *T'ien Ch'ao* (the "Heavenly



Marco Polo was the most famous of the several Europeans to travel in China before 1500. For centuries before his journey Europe had received a thin stream of luxury goods over the silk routes of Inner Asia. Millet and wheat, grown in China from earliest times, was by 1500 supplemented by sorghum and cotton, while rice culture had become typical in the Yangtze Valley. The Great Wall and the Yellow River are shown here as they were in 1500; the modern course of the river is indicated by a dotted line.

Dynasty")? This assumption of superiority, however, is common to many peoples at a certain stage of development.

The "good earth" of China slopes downward from the mountains of Central Asia to the Yellow Sea. High in the western mountains originate the great rivers that have dominated the history and life of the Middle Kingdom. In the north the Hwang Ho (Yellow River) follows a tortuous course through the loess highlands, and periodically floods the surrounding countryside. Sometimes it has left the old channel and cut a new one. For these reasons the Yellow River is often called "China's Sorrow."

In central China the Yangtze begins in the west as a narrow, roaring stream that through the ages has cut its channel through solid rock into huge gorges. As it nears the eastern lowlands and the sea, it broadens into a mighty river that waters the neighboring land and acts as a vital artery of transportation and communication. Like the Hwang Ho, the Yangtze holds at its

mercy the welfare and safety of the teeming millions who populate the cities or till the soil on its banks.

Because of China's topography, its people live mainly in the lowlands of the east. Only a few are able to survive the hard struggle for existence on the rugged lands of the southwest or on the windy deserts of the northwest. Deriving their livelihood from agriculture almost exclusively, the Chinese have found good land and mild climate only on the seacoast. Moreover, the settled Chinese farmer has been able to protect himself most easily from the roving bands of Central Asia by building the axes of his power and control as far distant as possible from the nomads' grasslands. Like the people of India, the Chinese until the sixteenth century faced their land frontiers and turned their backs to their unthreatened coast. It was because they had become accustomed to invaders by land that, when the Europeans began to invade by sea, the "Celestials" did not, at first, believe the new threat deserving of a serious diversion of their attention.

*China's origin
and the early Shang dynasty*

ANCIENT China was cradled along the banks of the Hwang Ho and its tributaries. As in the case of













India, modern scholars are not certain where China's people came from or when the first human beings inhabited its northern plains. Some have conjectured that the Chinese were emigrants from the west, and others that they came from the south. Still others, including the traditional scholars of China, believe that the Chinese were of native origin.

The first historical period in Chinese history is called "the Shang dynasty." Archaeological finds testify eloquently to the fact that a highly developed civilization existed along the northern border of the modern Honan province as early as the second millennium before Christ. By comparison with the archaeological remains of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, these earliest records of China are relatively recent. Nevertheless, it may be assumed from the advanced state of Shang culture that it had been preceded by a long preliminary development.

*The calligraphy
and language of the Chinese*

THE CHARACTER system still used for Chinese writing was known to the Shang people. Just as it is

highly probable that the western alphabets began with picture writing, so it appears fairly certain that the Chinese characters were originally pictographs. Unlike the Latin alphabet, however, the pictographic symbols used by the Chinese continued to represent ideas and objects. Their characters have never acquired sound values to the same degree as the letters of the western alphabets. Instead, Chinese writing has developed as an appeal to the eye rather than to the ear. Because of these basic differences, Chinese is very difficult

	FIRE	THUNDER	WATER	MOUNTAINS
PREHISTORIC CHARACTER				
EARLY CHARACTER				
LATE CHARACTER				

The three main stages in the evolution of Chinese character writing—the ancient incised pictograph, the reed-drawn early character, and the modern brush character.

for the westerner to learn. Each character with all of its variants must be mastered by itself, and today the Chinese vocabulary includes about seventy thousand characters. During the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in 1945, where Chinese was one of the official languages, it was necessary to have some new characters especially designed, because the

Chinese newspaper presses of San Francisco and other available printers did not have characters for some of the new ideas that had arisen. The grammar and style of Chinese and its offshoot languages make additional difficulties for westerners. Tenses are quite often unexpressed, and inflections are unknown; spelling is one of the few trials spared the student of Chinese.

Like many other Chinese developments, the Chinese method of writing has been adopted in whole or in part by most of the surrounding peoples. Korean, Japanese, and many of the languages of southeastern Asia adopted the character system and adjusted it to the native tongue. Today a number of the characters used by the Chinese are similarly used by the Japanese, but in the spoken languages they are pronounced differently. For that matter they may be pronounced differently in almost every Chinese province. Because of the language's phonetic complications, it has still proved impossible to develop in China a dialect that can be understood by all.

Despite linguistic difficulties, the Chinese people since Shang times have left a rich literary heritage. In fact, their writing brushes have been kept extraordinarily active in almost every historical period. From inscriptions on oracle bones and on pieces of pottery, we know that the Shang people were agriculturists who grew wheat and millet in northern China much as both grains are grown there at present. We know also that the Shang people were troubled, as were most of their successors, by periodic invasions from across the windswept deserts of Mongolia and out of the plains of Central Asia.

*The Chou dynasty
and the cultural growth of China*

IN THE twelfth century B.C. the Chou people supplanted the Shang as the rulers of the great

plain of northern China. Although of a different cultural background, the Chou appropriated the best of Shang culture and designated themselves as the mentors and guardians of its great cultural heritage. Their assumption of power inaugurated the longest and one of the most celebrated periods of

From their capital at Loyang, the Chou rulers extended their political control from the Yellow River area into the northwestern and southwestern parts of China. In the south, the Chou penetrated into the Yangtze Valley. Their hold over their far-flung possessions was, however, far from absolute. Because they apportioned their lands to cooperating nobles and warriors, a decentralized system of government similar to European feudalism came into being. As time wore on, the local rulers became more and more independent of the Chou kings. Revolts flared up frequently, and gradually the Chou kings became pawns, in the hands of their nominal vassals. Soon the most important of the vassals fought among themselves, each seeking to emerge supreme. By the middle of the third century B.C., the Chou dynasty collapsed, undermined by chaotic civil war.

Although the Chou were unable to establish a stable and centralized government in China, their bequest to posterity has nevertheless been great. During a period almost as long as the medieval period of European history, they built the cultural and philosophical foundations of China. In fact, latter-day Chinese look to the Chou period with a feeling of gratitude for their classics, several of their religions, and their basic philosophical schools.

The classics

of Chinese literature

THE BOOKS traditionally regarded in China as classical are fundamental to any understanding of

Chinese literature and culture. Unlike the Vedic scriptures of India, the writings of ancient China were not set down exclusively for religious purposes. Indeed, it may be asserted that literature in all its forms, even poetry, was pressed into the service of the state. One of the most notable exceptions to this rule is the *I Ching (Book of Changes)*, which was probably written as a guidebook for soothsayers and professional oracles. Another of the most famous classics is the *Shu Ching (Book of Historical Documents)*, a collection of materials purporting to be official speeches, proclamations, exhortations, and plans. Of great significance as a literary and sociological document is the *Shih Ching (Book of Poetry)*. The earliest of these poems are sacrificial odes, but the majority of them are short lyrics giving expression to everyday feelings. Admonitions to moral behavior are also common, as for example:

Men who are grave and wise,
Though they may drink, are mild and masters of themselves;
But those who are benighted and ignorant
Are devoted to drink, and more so daily.
Be careful, each of you, of your deportment;—
What heaven confers, [when once lost], is not regained.³

³"The She King," *The Chinese Classics*, trans. James Legge (London: Trübner & Co., 1871), Vol. IV, Part II, Bk. V, Ode II.

Such admonitions are memorized by the Chinese and quoted in games, conversations, writings, and even in official documents, as people in the western world might quote passages from the Bible.

Successive generations of scholars and philosophers have also relied heavily upon the books relating to ceremony and etiquette. Important events in human lives, East or West, are made to conform to a ceremonial pattern. In the West one is baptized, confirmed, married, and even buried according to prescribed rituals. The Chinese have similar rituals and their ceremonial guidebooks are the *Li-Chi (Ceremonial Records)*, *Chou-Li (Ceremonies of Chou)*, and the *I-Li (Book of Rites)*. These works describe the proper ceremonies not only for important occasions but even for such minor problems of courtesy as those dealt with in "books of etiquette" in twentieth-century America.

✓ Confucius,
his philosophy and teaching

IN CHOU times, the troubled political scene led to some anxious soul-searching among Chinese in-

tellectuals. Concerned over the problems of good government and the smooth functioning of society, several thinkers raised stubborn questions about the nature of man and of society. They wrestled with the eternal problems of the ideal state—the same enigma that has bothered Plato, Sir Thomas More, and many other philosophers of all times the world over. Quite naturally, their speculations led them into discussions regarding the relationship of man to the universe and of human to physical nature. Although these speculations sometimes brought on metaphysical wanderings, Chinese thinkers then and now have consistently been concerned first and foremost with the establishment in this world of a happy and well-organized society. Theological speculation on the life after death has never engaged their attention to any notable degree.

The greatest of the Chou philosophers was Confucius (551-479 B.C.). Traditional accounts record that he early exhibited an interest in scholarship and politics, and that he was chief minister of his native state of Lu. Whatever his political career, he attracted students to his side to learn about Chinese ceremonies and the records of China's past. In the course of time, the circle of his disciples grew and he became ever more revered as a great teacher.

Along with other contemporaries Confucius speculated upon the ideal state. Society, he found, is divided into two groups—the governors and the governed. To his students he said: "Do not be concerned because you are not in office, but with making yourself qualified for office; do not be concerned that you are unknown, but with being worthy of reputation." Those born to rule, he believed, should teach by example as well as by strict observance of the proper ceremonies. "When you see an admirable person, think of how you may emulate him. When you see one who is unworthy, examine

your own character." Superior merit and high moral character thus became the true basis of power in Confucian political philosophy. Right, if not the foundation of might, was its purpose. Confucius advised rulers and the ruling class to emulate the examples of good statecraft and moral achievement to be found in the study of the past.

Confucius' own life was an inspiration to those who knew him. His great moral strength left a deep impression upon his students and friends. After his death, they sought to preserve the master's thoughts by compiling his precepts from memory. The imperfect but fascinating product of their efforts is the *Lun-Yü*, or the *Analects of Confucius*.

*The influence
of Mencius' philosophy*

THE MOST important of the followers and interpreters of Confucius was Mencius (373-288

B.C.). Like the master, Mencius held that a good society would come when the governing class became truly virtuous. In his consideration of the metaphysical problems inherent in such a political philosophy, Mencius went beyond Confucius. He asserted outright that men are essentially good and would therefore readily emulate if given good examples. Furthermore, he appeared to share with independent western thinkers the belief that the immoral and unjust ruler would lose his mandate from Heaven through natural disasters or popular uprisings. In his thought he envisaged Heaven as the protector and guardian of the governed. To an important degree, the right to revolt has ever since been an interesting and significant characteristic of Chinese political thought.

*Hsün-tzu
and his philosophy of materialism*

LIKE HIS two predecessors, Hsün-tzu (third century B.C.) endeavored to conceive of the best

possible government in an age when disruption and anarchy were commonplace. Unlike Mencius, Hsün-tzu conceived of man as by nature evil, even though definitely perfectable. He advocated art and good leadership as stimuli to improvement, and education at every level as a universal panacea. Divine intervention in the affairs of men he viewed as a gross absurdity, and denied emphatically the existence of spiritual beings. Thus his answers to human problems resembled that of later occidental materialists (page 503) who looked to social institutions for the solution of man's problems.

*Lao-tzu
and the development of Taoism*

THE NONRELIGIOUS character of Confucian thought provoked a response also from the less rationalistic elements in Chinese society. Traditionally, Lao-tzu, supposed to

have been a contemporary of Confucius, is believed to have founded an anti-Confucian school of thought known today as Taoism. Lao-tzu is also credited by some historians with the authorship of the *Tao Teh King*. It is more prob-



Legend deified Lao-tzu into a carefree god, often pictured seated on a water buffalo.

able, however, that it was the work of a writer, or writers, who composed it several centuries after the presumed death of Lao-tzu.

The *Tao Teh King* expounds the metaphysical concept of the *Tao* (or "the Way"). *Tao* is the essence that gives origin to and permeates the universe. It resembles what western pantheists would call "the universal cause" or "the universal substance." Man's aim should be to merge his existence as completely as possible with *Tao*. He does so by *wu wei*—that is, by permitting nature to take

its course without interfering actively. Originally, therefore, Taoism was a religion of resignation, of submission to the universal unknown. In recent times the Taoists have been chiefly concerned with rites, incantations, alchemy, and other practices that are mainly superstitious. Among Chinese intellectuals Taoism has almost no following; among the common people its practices are a part of everyday existence.

*Mo Ti and the influence
of Chinese thought on the West*

ANOTHER anti-Confucian school was that founded by Mo Ti (probably about the fifth or fourth

century B.C.). Unlike the other Chou thinkers, Mo Ti had a well-defined conception of a Supreme Being. He called the Being *Shang Ti*, a name which indicates that in his conception the Being was personalized. Men, he believed, should love one another, even as *Shang Ti* loves them all. Like religious leaders in other parts of the world, he was vehement in his denunciation of war, and insisted that men should use their time and energies toward perfecting themselves and their relations with one another.

Thus, by the third century B.C., the main currents of China's indigenous thought had begun to appear. To almost all the Chou teachers, the classics provided invaluable texts upon which to base their thoughts. By far the most effective of the thinkers was Confucius, and (with certain notable exceptions) the Confucian school has dominated the philosophy of China's ruling class and intellectuals ever since. European travelers and missionaries were to be greatly impressed by it and to spread its influence into the West (page 765).

82 On the other hand, Taoism has appealed to China's common people.



"Caravan approaching Aleppo, 1597." From Han times through the Middle Ages Chinese silks were brought along caravan routes from China to Near Eastern trading posts, from which they were distributed in Europe.

*Political unity
under the Ch'in dynasty*

ALTHOUGH China is not a nation in the modern sense of the term, since it lacks centralized administration and widespread loyalty, the Chinese have periodically acted along national lines. With the fall of the Chou dynasty, the reins of power in northern China fell into the hands of Ch'in Shih Huang Ti (247-210 B.C.). By a skillful combination of force and diplomacy, the Ch'in ruler eliminated the feudal states of Chou times and established himself as supreme. He centralized the government and organized a bureaucracy charged with the efficient administration of the country. The integrity of Chinese territory was protected from further nomadic assaults by the completion of the most important units in the Great Wall. A single body of law was applied through the Ch'in dominions. Criticism and discussion were ruthlessly repressed. The classical books of Chou times, as well as the writings of the philosophers, were burned in a futile effort to stifle the influence of the past. The general success of these measures enabled the Ch'in to bring China together polit-



Knowledge of the Orient was limited in Europe in 1500, as indicated by this German artist's woodcut of the emperor of Cathay at the dinner table. The long fingernails of the emperor are the only oriental detail in this distinctly European scene.

ically; and in spite of occasional periods of disunity, it has held together for over two thousand years — long after the Ch'in dynasty passed on. The western world refers to the Middle Kingdom as "China," a word derived from the name of the short-lived dynasty that politically unified that vast country.

Great as were the political accomplishments of the Ch'in, the principal bond that has kept the country united over the centuries has been its cultural heritage, which remained

unbroken despite the Ch'in book burnings. Even today China is more accurately termed a culture than a nation. The only empire of that day which was roughly comparable was that of Rome in the west. Like Rome, China had numerous barbarian invasions; unlike Rome, China survived them as a political and cultural unit. No other people of our time has had a record of continuous national survival that matches the Chinese.

Administration under the Han dynasty

AT THE end of the third century B.C., the Ch'in dynasty was overthrown by Han Kao-tsu, a com-

moner who rose to power in the civil strife that followed the great Ch'in ruler's death. The new dynasty was customarily called "Han," and it survived, with but one short intermission, until the third century of the Christian era. Profiting by the grandiose achievements of their predecessors, the Han rulers preserved the imperial system of the Ch'in. They extended the frontiers of Chinese civilization in all directions. At the head of the state was the emperor, who ruled through a bureaucracy, as in Ch'in times. The basic political and social philosophy was derived from the teachings of Confucius.

The Han rulers of China established permanently the essential characteristics of Chinese civilization. Officials came to office through a merit system based upon passing examinations in the classics and the Confucian

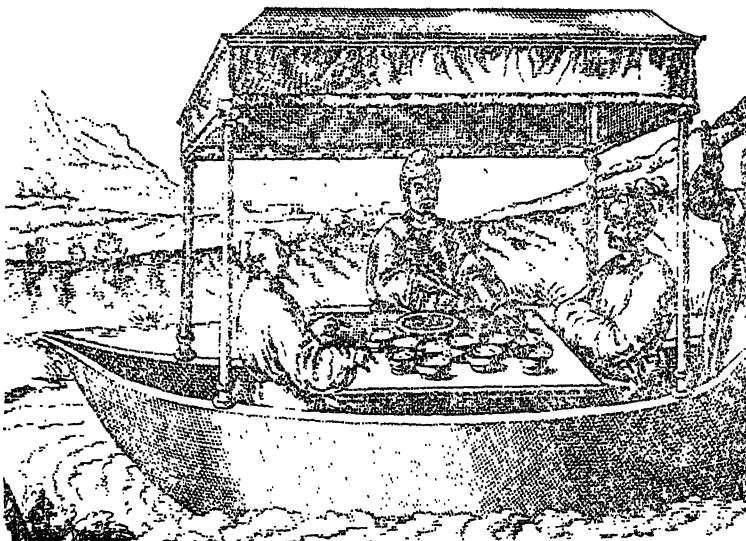
writings. Such a system involved long years of education and preparation. Therefore, although offices were theoretically open to all men of talent, those who prepared for officialdom usually came from the classes that had sufficient wealth to afford leisure and education. This did not mean, however, that a hereditary aristocracy ruled China. Over the course of years the names of the "great families" changed as some disappeared and others came to the forefront. Like some western countries, but for different reasons, China has traditionally been dominated by a bureaucracy, but it is a hierarchy of the learned, or a "literocracy," rather than an aristocracy. In any event, no tradition of representative or democratic government developed.

*Expansion
under the Han dynasty*

THE HAN dynasty pushed its territorial domination to the west, north, and south. The Great Wall

was extended as the imperial generals established control over lands farther and farther to the west. In fact, detachments from the Han armies invaded Central Asia in the vicinity of modern Afghanistan, and probably encountered representatives from the Hellenistic cities that had been established in the heart of Asia by Alexander the Great. Other Chinese armies invaded the great plain of Manchuria, while their compatriots marched into northern Korea. Chinese settlers followed the Han armies into Korea. Cities were established in the Korean peninsula that soon became great centers of trade, wealth, and civilization. In the south the Sons of Han likewise pushed the frontiers outward. They penetrated the area around modern Canton and moved into the Indochinese peninsula. Again the armies were followed by colonists familiar with the civilization of the north. To the southwest the

By 1600 Europeans, aware of the luxury and comfort of Imperial China, had more accurate knowledge of a Chinese dinner.



frontiers were pushed outward toward Burma, but great areas of the southwest resisted the northern invaders successfully. Nevertheless, by the beginning of the Christian era in the west modern China's frontiers had been outlined. It was left to succeeding dynasties and centuries to fill in the details.

*Contacts
of China with the Occident*

OF UTMOST significance for China's future were the contacts stimulated by the enterprising

Han rulers. Embassies from Rome evidently made their way to the Han capital at Loyang. Relations with India were inaugurated, particularly through the busy commercial centers of southeastern Asia. Paper and printing began their slow penetration westward. The silk routes across the vast spaces of Central Asia were opened to trade and cultural influences. Trade soon inspired interchanges of ideas and things of the spirit.

*Introduction
of Buddhism into China*

IT is not certain when or how Buddhism first made its appearance in China. Traditionally, it is

supposed to have entered in the first century A.D. in both its Mahayana and Hinayana forms. Neither form was familiar to the Chinese. No major religious or philosophical movement in China had theretofore successfully advocated a pessimistic view of life. The need for personal salvation and for obedience to the supernatural world had been taken care of by Taoism. To the Chinese—who have always made much of filial piety and ancestor worship—the concepts of transmigration and *karma* and of *Nirvana* and release from being must have appeared alien and shocking. How then did Buddhism succeed in fastening its tendrils in Chinese soil so firmly that it continues to exist there today—about six hundred years after its demise in India? It may be suggested that the godlike figure of Buddha and his personal message, like that of Taoism, appealed to the common folk. Buddhism's concern with the supernatural, its varied pantheon, and its promise of spiritual release provided the ordinary man with a sense of security and hope. Buddha's emphasis upon pity and mercy for those who suffer won converts among the numerous poor and downtrodden in China, for it is not easy for those who lead a life of hardship and poverty to doubt eternal justice and to forego salvation.

By the end of the third century A.D., almost four hundred Buddhist works had been translated into Chinese. Meanwhile, Indian monks journeyed to China to establish monasteries, to teach, and to translate. Numerous Chinese entered the Buddhist orders, and in the centuries that followed many made pilgrimages to India to visit Buddhist sanctuaries. Pagodas modeled on Indian reliquaries were also built in China as storehouses for the sacred works of Buddhism. After the wars and the chaos that followed the collapse of Han political power and after the decline of Confucianism in the third century, the precepts of Buddhism were particularly well received.

*Modifications
of Buddhism by the Chinese*

IN SUCCEEDING centuries, Buddhism underwent marked changes among the Chinese. Impressed by

its cultural attributes, they accepted its philosophical values for a time. Gradually, however, Buddhism's basic concepts yielded to the pressure of native thought. The loss of individual identity involved in the doctrine of *Nirvana* proved repugnant to the ordinary Chinese (and later the ordinary Korean and Japanese). He came instead to think of it as similar to the Christian concept of Paradise. Numerous hells, intercessors, and other beliefs more in line with indigenous thought also permeated the Buddhist world outlook. Indeed, some tenets of Far Eastern Buddhism are today no closer to the original teachings of Gautama than some modern Christian tenets to the teachings of Jesus.

*The Han contribution
to modern Chinese culture*

BY THE end of the Han dynasty, the civilization of China had been molded in many essentials to the

form we know today. Its territorial pattern had been cut, the main lines of its cultural development had been sketched, its political institutions were established in form and philosophy. Taoism and Buddhism continued to be the religions of the people, while Confucianism remained the creed of the more sophisticated. Though under the succeeding T'ang dynasty (618-907) China enjoyed its Golden Age and reached its peak both in territorial extent and in culture, it was the Han dynasty that had laid the foundation of China's future.

*The Chinese conquest
of the Korean peninsula*

LONG BEFORE the Han armies invaded northern Korea, Chinese traders had visited and settled in

southern Manchuria and in the neighboring parts of the Korean peninsula. The Han armies dispossessed the native dynasty, and Korea was afterwards divided politically into three states. During the first seven centuries of the Christian era, the three states fought numerous wars among themselves with help from China and Japan. In the eighth century, the T'ang dynasty virtually took control of the Korean peninsula. Thereafter, Korea acted as a bridge between Japan and the mainland, as the Japanese gradually came under the influence of Chinese civilization.

*The development
of Japanese insularity*

REMOTE though China has been from the rest of civilized mankind, its contacts with the outside

world have been far more intimate than those of Japan. An insular area, similar to England in its continental relationships, Japan before the nineteenth century was the most isolated of the world's important areas. In much the same way that England has been a co-heir of the Mediterranean

and Teutonic cultures, so Japan has inherited its intellectual traditions from China. Like the English, too, the Japanese have never been content to imitate and borrow indiscriminately. They have normally transformed their borrowings from abroad into practices and institutions distinctly Japanese in character.

In the mountainous islands of the Japanese archipelago, independent cultural advances have been few and far apart. Not only have the islanders been separated from the continent, but the islands have been divided from each other by water barriers, and the separate islands have been broken by the ruggedness of the country into comparatively small geographical units. The natural resources of the islands have been sharply limited by nature. Only about 20 per cent of the land is arable. Coal, oil, iron, and the other resources necessary to a modern industrial economy are scanty. Nevertheless, the Japanese have been able to thrive in their pleasant islands by utilizing the resources of the surrounding seas and, in recent times, by harnessing their numerous waterfalls for the production of electric power.

Isolation and economic scarcity have led the Japanese people to cultivate certain traits on such a general scale as to give outsiders the impression that there is a dominant Japanese "national character." The isolation of the Japanese has been a factor in developing a notorious suspicion of foreigners, which has resulted in difficulty in understanding the reactions of other people and has given them a sense of superiority; this attitude has at times been deliberately cultivated by the government. Scarcity has stimulated frugality and glorification of Spartanlike qualities. Physical vigor, precipitancy of action, and stoicism in the face of death are characteristics that have been commented upon frequently by oriental and western observers alike. It may be remarked that while westerners, in general, admired the courage and tenacity of the Japanese, they liked the Chinese for their more humane qualities.

*Transmission
of Chinese culture to Japan*

ALTHOUGH the modern Japanese are basically Mongoloid in background, the earliest inhabitants of

the islands were the Ainu, a people of Caucasian stock who had probably migrated from the continent. The Ainu has never developed culturally beyond the neolithic stage, and now is regarded by the descendants of the later Mongoloid invaders much as the American Indian is regarded by the descendants of his white conquerors. The Mongoloid people of old "Yamato" (the first Japanese state was so called) had probably come from the continent across the Korean peninsula. Subsequent immigrants from China continually brought information and knowledge about cultural and political activities on the continent. The Chinese art of writing was evidently introduced into Japan at an early date. Conscious emulation of the Chinese did

not begin, however, until the end of the sixth century A.D. During the next two centuries of T'ang rule in China, Japan basked directly in the reflected glory of one of the most brilliant ages in Chinese history.

Around the middle of the sixth century, Buddhism made its way into Yamato. Thereafter, Buddhist priests, monks, and students aided in the transmission of Chinese arts, sciences, and ideals to Japan. Perhaps even more important to Japan, however, than this cultural intercourse was the reforming influence exerted upon the rulers of Japan. In the seventh century, Japanese students who had been trained in China according to Confucian precepts came to dominate the island state.

These students sought to create in Japan a government and a culture that would be miniature copies of the T'ang models. Under their influences, the concept of empire and imperial rule began to develop in Japan. Yamato had been ruled by a clan chieftain who was the political and spiritual head of the state. In the seventh century, the institution of the emperor came into existence as the Japanese sought to establish their own Son of Heaven. Below the emperor, the Japanese built up a huge bureaucracy modeled upon the Chinese system of administration. The Chinese form of government was imposed in spite of the obvious fact that it was much too complex and too advanced for the relatively primitive Japanese state. The Japanese even sought to build a capital city similar to Ch'ang-an, the great T'ang capital. The first attempt was undertaken at Nara in the beginning of the eighth century. Shortly after Nara's completion, it was abandoned in favor of Kyoto, which was to remain the imperial capital until 1868.

The Chinese system of land owning, taxation, and military service was also adopted by the sons of "Nippon," as Japan was now called. Law codes were drawn up along Chinese models. Buddhist temples and storehouses for art objects were constructed along Chinese lines. Books were written in Chinese, which was regarded as a classical language, in much the same way that medieval students of Europe wrote in Latin. Histories and dynastic records were compiled in imitation of the Chinese system of recording the past. Costume, speech, and manners were also copied after Chinese originals. Through this studious emulation, the Japanese were able to coat their island civilization with a veneer of Chinese culture.

*The development
of a "Japanese" culture*

IN THE ninth century, the T'ang dynasty of China began to decay.

Subsequently the Japanese regained their spiritual and intellectual independence, and slowly began to weave native and Chinese traditions into a new and unique cultural pattern. The Chinese calligraphic system was modified to conform to the requirements of the native language. With the gradual development of a Japanese system of

writing, native literature came into its own. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, scholars and priests continued to use Chinese, but the ladies of the court wrote prose and poetry in the vernacular. Most memorable was *The Tale of Genji*, a lengthy but interesting novel, written by Lady Murasaki, which has been translated into six volumes in English. Art, architecture, and customs followed in this period a more independent line of development.

This reassertion of independence characterized Japanese political life after the ninth century. The Chinese bureaucratic and imperial system was retained, but with a decided Japanese twist. Candidates for official posts were accepted almost exclusively from the great families irrespective of their educational qualifications. Posts of lesser importance were assigned distinguished scholars without noble lineage. The court and local nobility soon came to dominate the life of the whole country from the imperial palace to the humblest village.

*Domination
of Japan by a feudal aristocracy*

WITH THE ascendancy of the nobility, the emperor's control became shadowy. Although he

continued to be the highest priest in the native religious cult, his political power had almost vanished by the ninth century. An emperor was fortunate indeed if he received any sort of recognition from his nominal vassals. Ultimately, the imperial estates were removed from his hands, allegedly to permit him more freedom for his religious duties. During the ninth and tenth centuries, the Fujiwara family held the reins of government in the name of the emperor. For centuries the emperors were overshadowed and controlled by the descendants of the Fujiwaras. Thus was established the power behind the throne that, continuing down to the end of World War II, has always puzzled foreigners in their relations with the Nipponese.

Although government continued, after the eleventh century, to be in the hands of the aristocracy, it shifted away from the court nobles to the country nobles. Knights (*Samurai*) and their overlords (*Daimyo*), like the warrior aristocrats of Europe, dominated the feudal regime of Japan. Buddhist monasteries had a role resembling that of the Christian monasteries of medieval Europe. Feudal lords contested and jostled with each other for military glory and political control. A code of chivalry and knightly ethics developed along lines similar to the practices followed contemporaneously by the European nobility.

In the contest for political domination, the victorious feudal lords, in typical Japanese fashion, permitted the emperors to live at Kyoto and to conduct what amounted to a sham government. Real control, however, lay in the hands of whatever feudal lord could establish himself as "shogun" (or "generalissimo"). Although the fiction was maintained that the shogun was subordinate to, and the military agent of, the imperial authority, few in Japan

were unaware that the shoguns possessed the actual power in every phase of political life. In the twelfth century, they established a capital at Kamakura, which became the focal point of all government activity. This dual political system continued in force until the sixteenth century, when the first Europeans made their appearance in the Land of the Rising Sun.

*Mongol invasions
and the subjection of China*

WHILE feudal society was developing in Japan, most of the Asiatic continent was thrown into

turmoil by the Mongol invasions. In the latter half of the eleventh century, the tribal groups north of China's Great Wall began to unite. Although they had grouped together before, the nomads of the steppes and deserts were almost unknown to the great centers of civilization. Their first attacks were, of course, directed against the wealthy Chinese Empire. China had long been torn by internal strife following upon the overthrow of the T'ang dynasty in the tenth century, and was unable to organize a united stand against the Mongols. Indeed, factions within China sought aid in their fratricidal strife from the nomadic barbarians. By playing the rival groups off against each other, Jenghis Khan, as well as his predecessors and his successors, succeeded in subjecting large parts of China piecemeal to the Mongol yoke.

In the thirteenth century the marauding tribal armies that conquered much of eastern Europe (pages 64-65) also extended their control, shaky though it was, across the length of Asia. In eastern Asia, Manchuria and Korea were occupied by the Mongols. At least two sea-borne invasions of Japan were attempted, but the water barrier, storms, and Japanese military skill prevented the Mongols from adding the Nipponese to their list of conquered peoples. Perhaps even more significant than the actual conquests were the psychological repercussions of the Mongol attack. For the first time in history, China, the purveyor of civilization in the Far East, was subjected to foreign control. China was therefore forced to give up its isolation. Japan, the heir of Chinese civilization, triumphantly withstood the Mongols, however, and by so doing accentuated the national sense of superiority. Thereafter, the Japanese were more than ever convinced that isolation and independent development were the keystones of their success.

*Mongol China
and the influence of Europe*

THE TEMPORARY political unity of Asia under Mongol sway enabled the Europeans once again

to establish contact with China. Christian missionaries were sent from western Europe to the Mongol court at Karakorum, north of the Gobi Desert, whose ruins are still one of the famous sights of modern Mongolia. Many captive Europeans had been taken back to the Mongol capital to teach the nomads the arts and crafts of a settled civilization. Chinese and other east Asians were also numerous at Karakorum. Soon, however, disruption within

the far-flung territories of the khans made communication increasingly difficult between the opposite ends of the Eurasian continent. In the disruptions of the latter half of the thirteenth century, the successors of Jenghis Khan gradually came to identify themselves with the peoples whom they had conquered. The Mongol khans assimilated the superior civilization of the people closest to their seats of power. For instance, in 1267, Kublai Khan, who became emperor of China, established at Cambaluc (the site of modern Peiping) a capital that was Chinese in culture as well as in location. There the famous Venetian adventurer, Marco Polo, visited him, and from there Polo traveled into the widely different parts of China described in his *Travels*.

*Mongol rule
followed by the Ming dynasty*

WITH THE settling down of the
Mongols, the old patterns of life
gradually reasserted themselves

throughout the Asiatic continent. Under Kublai Khan, China continued to practice its traditional arts and to develop its ancient institutions. Buddhism, favored by Kublai, spread rapidly through his dominions. Even though the Mongols lent themselves easily to Chinese ways, the Sons of Han struggled bitterly in the fourteenth century to remove the Mongols from power. Rebellions were frequent, and finally the Mongols were expelled and the native Ming dynasty gained control (1368-1644). Except for additions to China's power and influence, the Mongols had made little contribution to Chinese culture in the three centuries of their domination. Under the Ming rulers, China returned to her old customs and to her old state of isolation.

THE AMERINDIAN CIVILIZATIONS

PEOPLE of European extraction are so accustomed to thinking of America as having been "discovered" by voyages across the Atlantic from Europe that it seems paradoxical to go east from Asia in order to include the American Indian in a study of Asiatic cultures. Nevertheless it now seems practically certain that America was first peopled by migrants from Asia.

Stone Age men crossed from Asia to North America about 13,000 B.C. over a then extant land bridge (indicated at upper right). Once on the North American continent, they followed temperate-zone game, to which their hunting equipment was adapted, down the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains, diverging on the Great Plains and reaching the southernmost tip of South America by 3000 B.C. By 500 A.D. the Mayas had built their temples on the Yucatan peninsula and had evolved their glyph writing. When the Spaniards landed, the Aztecs dominated a loose empire of tribes in the Valley of Mexico, and monumental pyramids like the one shown here formed an important part of their religion. By that time the Incas of the Andes had organized a large part of the west coast of South America into a short-lived empire. The Incas are symbolized here by the mystical House of Three Windows, in which they believed they had had their origin.

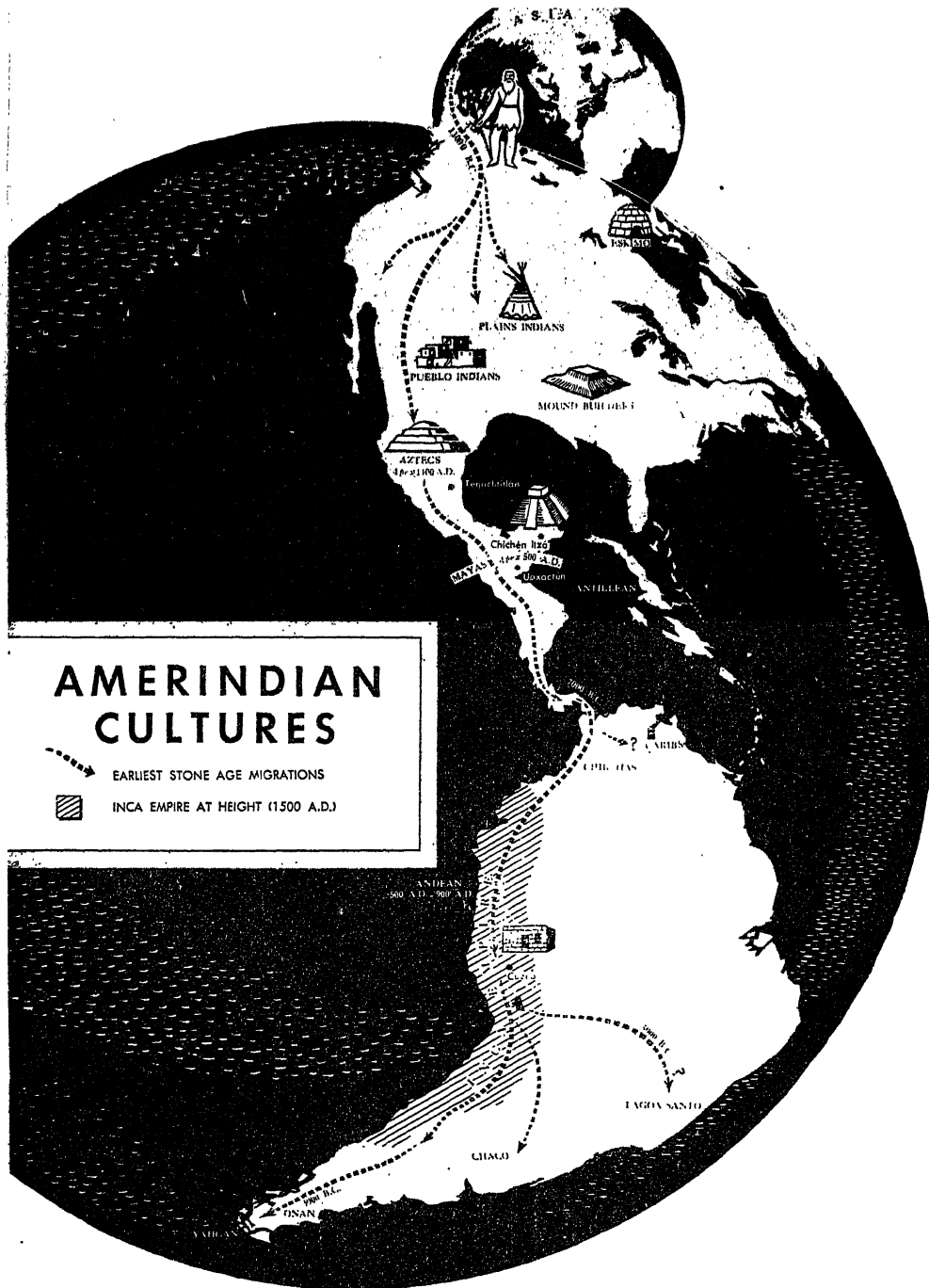
AMERINDIAN CULTURES



EARLIEST STONE AGE MIGRATIONS



INCA EMPIRE AT HEIGHT (1500 A.D.)



*Theories
concerning Amerindian origins*

REMOTE though Asia is from twentieth-century America, the two areas had much in common in the distant past. Indeed, when Christopher Columbus, thinking he had reached India, named the primitive peoples of America "the Indians," his misnomer very nearly approximated the truth. His contemporaries, once they realized that the great sailor had not actually reached the Far East, sought to unravel the fascinating tale of where the American aborigines had come from. Some scholars suggested that they had migrated to the Western Hemisphere from the lost continents of Mu and Atlantis. Others proposed the theory that they were descended from the lost tribes of Israel, the Homeric Greeks, or the early Phoenicians. Still others asserted that man had originated in the New World, perhaps in Central America or Argentina. Most plausible, however, of all the suggestions is the view that thousands of years ago the American Indians had migrated from northeastern Asia across the Bering Strait into Alaska, and that over the centuries they had moved southward in search of land, food, and security. They were probably detached from the early Mongols between 10,000 and 15,000 years ago. After they had emigrated to America from their Asiatic homeland, climatic and physiographical changes appear to have cut off their return.

*The culture
of the primitive Amerindians*

CULTURALLY, these primitive peoples were only slightly beyond the old stone age. They probably used bows and harpoons for their hunting and fishing. Among their accomplishments they counted the ability to make fire with a drill, baskets from rushes, and implements from chipped stone. Evidently the migrations from Asia ceased before the Mongol peoples had learned anything of agriculture and the implements of farming. Although the primitive Americans had domesticated the dog, they were unaware of the horse and the cow. Neither did they know about the wheel and its uses; they dragged or carried their burdens. They painted and tattooed their bodies, hunted the animals of forest and field, and gathered wild fruits and roots.

*Migrations
of the Amerindians southward*

IT TOOK many centuries for the aboriginal peoples to populate the vast reaches of the Western Hemisphere. They probably arrived in the Valley of Mexico around 8000 B.C., and it took more than a thousand years longer for them to penetrate South America. Thick jungles, abundant flora and fauna, and high mountains discouraged the rapid advance of these early nomads. In the areas where climate, topography, and natural abundance made life comparatively easy, they settled down and started soon to develop an agricultural economy and a high degree of civilization. Around 4000 B.C. they began a primitive kind of

agriculture in Mexico and Central America. Pottery and loom weaving were among their earliest inventions. Architectural remains dating from as early as 3000 B.C. have been discovered among the jungles and forests of the Yucatan Peninsula and Central America.

*The lost civilization
of the Mayans in Central America*

THE EARLIEST of the Amerindian civilizations (i.e., advanced cultures) of which we have rec-

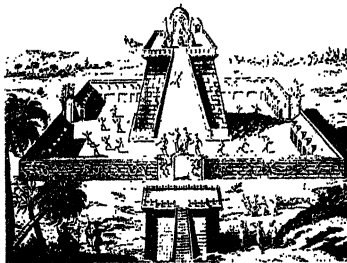
ords was that of the Mayan people. At the dawn of the Christian era in Europe, Mayan culture had apparently reached a high point in Central America. Archaeologists have uncovered the remains of great cities of undeniable antiquity. Buildings of intricate construction and design still stand in the forests, many of them temples and pyramids on which the Mayans had carved pictures, designs, and symbols. Their capital city was evidently Uxactún, located in what is now Guatemala. By 500 A.D., the Mayan civilization had reached its zenith. Thereafter, its decline was abrupt and swift. The reasons for this Mayan decline have never been clear.

Mayan achievements, although known to us only in small part, were distinguished and impressive. Their hieroglyphic language has so far defied complete decipherment. We know, nevertheless, that they had a relatively accurate calendar and a system of chronology that may date as far back as the seventh century B. C. Polytheistic in religion, they worshiped an invisible god as the greatest of their supernatural beings. The high priest of the Mayan faith was also the political head of the state—a dual supremacy perhaps similar to that enjoyed until recently by the Japanese emperor.

*The rise
of the Aztec civilization*

THE MAYAN was not the only great civilization in Mexico. Many of the other smaller Indian groups

spoke the dialect called "Nahua." From the sixth century A.D. onwards, the Nahuatlans tribes established themselves as the predominant peoples in the



These illustrations of the interior and exterior of the Aztec temple at Teotihuacán were made by a European traveler in 1695. The idol seated on the great sacrificial altar is a purely fanciful figure and does not resemble any of the known Aztec gods.

area from central Mexico south to what is now Nicaragua. After incessant struggle, the Aztec tribes in the twelfth century managed to create a political confederation of the Nahuatl-speaking peoples. In the centuries following, the Aztecs became the leading group in the Mexican cultural area. By the fifteenth century, they had subjugated the other tribes and had created a political empire, with its capital at Tenochtitlan (now Mexico City). It was a shaky empire, however, and their control over the vast dominions nominally in their hands remained uncertain even in the sixteenth century. When Hernán Cortés and other Spanish conquerors landed in Mexico, they soon realized the political weakness of the Aztecs and proceeded to play the discordant Indian tribes off against each other.

*Hierarchy
in the Aztec system of government*

BECAUSE the Spanish observed the Aztecs as they conquered them, more knowledge has sur-

vived about Aztec civilization than might otherwise have been the case. Like the Mayan rulers, those of the Aztecs were both kings and high priests. Surrounded by great wealth and luxury, the Aztec monarchs governed through a complex hierarchy. At all levels the secular and the religious areas of life were intertwined, although priests and secular authorities formed a class apart from the rest of the population. A feudal, or provincial, nobility jealously guarded its position as the arbiters of local problems. Despite their efforts at centralization, the Aztec rulers were never able to extend their absolute power into the smaller territorial units of government.

*Development
of Aztec economic institutions*

THE LAND was held mainly by the kings and the nobility. Although peasant proprietors were not un-

known, the most common method of land holding and farming was by a communal system. Raising maize, beans, and chili, the Aztec farmers paid their taxes in portions of their crops. Occasionally slaves were used, but most of the work was done by free peasants. Trading was carried on mainly by barter, since gold was ordinarily used for ornamental rather than monetary purposes. Skilled though they were in fashioning objects from gold, silver, and copper, the Aztecs knew nothing of iron and the harder metals.

*Social practices
common among the Aztecs*

LIFE WAS far from dull in the Aztec world. Periodic feasts were laid for the numerous holidays

and days of celebration. Their home-grown maize was used to make tortillas, and their beans and chili were combined in another spicy dish. They knew how to make rubber from the gum of the Para rubber tree, and athletics, particularly a game played with a hard rubber ball, enlivened most occasions. At times they turned for stimulation to a native liquor called pulque,

distilled from the sap of the maguey, by comparison with which the wines from Spain must later on have seemed mild and harmless. The Mexican Indian still lives on maize, tortillas, beans, and chili, and drinks pulque. These foods, along with words like *tomato*, *coyote*, *ocelot*, and *chocolate*, connoting other new ideas to Europeans, were permanent Aztec contributions to world civilization.

*Religious beliefs
and customs of the Aztecs*

RELIGION played a prominent role in the lives of the Aztecs. Worship of the sun, moon, and

stars was fairly common. Numerous other deities of greater or lesser potency were also revered. Most important in their pantheon was Teotl, an invisible and hence undescribed god, reminiscent of the highest god of the Mayans. Another religious figure was Quetzalcoatl, the feathered snake, who was conceived of as a bearded, white god. He was the legendary hero who had taught the Aztecs agriculture, metallurgy, government, and the reckoning of time. He was also supposed to have been carried off to the east with the promise on his lips that sometime he would return. Some Aztecs identified the Spaniards with this god when they appeared in their great ships from the east.

The Aztecs believed in life after death. Their hells were almost as numerous and as fearful as the hells of modern Buddhism. In their concept of heaven the class distinctions of earth were continued and were even more clearly delineated. The Aztec gods were closely associated with the life of the believer, and unless they were continuously appeased, terrible calamities were to be anticipated. Sacrifices in fruits and in agricultural produce were common. Certain finical gods, however, demanded animal and human offerings. In times of crisis or celebration the human sacrifices often numbered thousands in a single day. Usually the victims were slaves, prisoners of war, criminals, or children.

*Achievements
of the Aztecs in science*

SUPERIOR though the Aztecs were to other native groups, they were still hardly removed from the

stone age, and, in comparison with contemporary Europeans or Asiatics, were at a lower stage of civilization. In certain sciences, such as astronomy and mathematics, their achievements had been truly remarkable. Like the Mayans, they had an accurately reckoned calendar. Besides, they were familiar with the use and function of zero, a mathematical device inherited by Europe from India. In land transportation, mechanics, warfare, navigation, and literature, however, the Aztecs were in nowise comparable to their Spanish conquerors. Knowledge of harness, the wheel, firearms, armor, the sail, the phonetic alphabet, paper, and the printing press was to give the invading European an insurmountable technological superiority.

*The Chibchas
of Central and South America*

SOUTH of the Aztec cultural zone,
as far as the area now known as
Colombia, resided the Chibcha

tribes. They constituted a semicivilization in the midst of undeveloped peoples. Like the Aztecs, the Chibchas were agricultural and lived sober, industrious lives. Situated in the lands between the Aztec and the Incan civilizations, the Chibchas conducted whatever trade there was between these greater centers of civilization. They themselves produced salt and supplied it to their neighbors. They organized fairs to facilitate trade and exchange. Although they had no fixed system of weights and measures, they used golden disks as a means of exchange.

Most striking to Europeans were the Chibchas' religious beliefs. Like the Aztecs, they worshiped nature. Animal and human sacrifices were frequently offered to the sun. Spiders were sacred, for they were believed to be the companions of the dead in the hereafter. Among their sacred rendezvous were five lakes, of which Guatavitá was the most important. Fantastic accounts of the wealth abounding in the vicinity of their sacred places were probably responsible for the growth of the Spanish legend of "El Dorado," a land where gold and riches were to be had for the taking.

*The Incan empire
of western South America*

FAR BETTER known than the
Chibchas were the Incan tribes,
who lived on the western coast

of South America from the equator south to the Desert of Atacama. High in the Andean plateaus, the center of life even in pre-Incan times was the ancient city of Cuzco in what is now Peru. Architectural remains still make clear that until 900 A.D. a highly developed civilization had existed for more than four centuries in an area extending from modern Ecuador to Argentina. Anthropologists believe that the tribes comprehended within that civilization lived in a loose unity and perhaps employed a common language. After 900, however, their civilization apparently disintegrated, with resulting disunity and continual warfare. Not until the thirteenth century was unity once more restored to the Andean plateau tribes. Ruled over by the "Incas" (the word refers to both a tribe and the war chieftains of that area), the Indians of the Peruvian region gradually organized an empire that reached its height at the end of the fifteenth century. When the Europeans invaded their realm in the sixteenth century, it was frequently asserted that the Incas ruled over a territory extending three thousand miles south of the equator.

*Religion and politics
interwoven in the Incan tradition*

THE INCAN tradition was a tight
intertwining of religious and po-
litical lore. Their supreme god

was referred to as the "Creator of the Universe." Moreover, each tribe had its imaginary ancestor to worship. Often these supposed progenitors assumed

the form of birds, animals, or other similar objects. In addition, the Peruvian Indians, nature worshipers like the Aztecs and Mayans, deified the sun, the moon, and the stars, as well as the products of the soil. They built massive, stone-fitted temples and fortresses and well-paved roads. Their emperor, known as "the Inca," was regarded as a direct descendant of the Sun-God.

*Continued unrest
within the Incan empire*

BEFORE the rise of the Incas, the tribal groups of the Andes were incessantly at war with each other.

Because of the shortage of good agricultural and pasture land, the Andean peoples were forced into bitter conflict to maintain even semicivilized standards. Jungles, deserts, and steep mountain slopes limited the areas of cultivation to the isolated and narrow valleys and to the high but spacious plateaus. Under pressure of these circumstances, the Peruvians had domesticated the llama and frequently also employed the dog as a farm animal.

Operating from Cuzco, the Incas had extended their rule over the Andean peoples by force and by threats. The Incas were a militaristic tribe trained from youth for conquest and martial activity. Even the peasants were required to perform stipulated military duties. Ruthless conquerors, the tribe from Cuzco extended its control by blood and devastation or by marriage. They did not permit the conquered to retain their own customs and institutions. Submission to the Incas meant adoption of the Incan language, religion, and economy. In maintaining their control over conquered areas they transferred populations from place to place and established garrisons at strategic points. Through this military despotism, the Incas created a semblance of unity and a high degree of central political control that was tempered by only occasional acts of benevolence. Frequently the conquests of the Incas have been romanticized; to the people whom they conquered, however, their rule must certainly have been despotic and almost intolerable.

An indication of the widespread unrest in the empire is found in the civil wars that raged at the time of the Spanish conquest. Cruel, fratricidal strife between the followers of rival pretenders to the position of the Inca dominated the history of the Peruvian empire in the early sixteenth century. Thousands of people were put to the sword, towns were ruthlessly destroyed, and the city of Cuzco was reduced to rubble. These intense internal conflicts made it possible for the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro to subjugate the Incan empire, whose culture was in some respects superior to his own, even though his army was few in numbers and operated far from its base of supplies.

*The Indians
who inhabited North America*

NORTH OF the Rio Grande lived somewhat more than one million Indians. They had founded no

great empires comparable to those of the Aztecs and the Incas. Nevertheless, in the area of Canada and the United States that centers around the Mohawk

Valley, the Indians who belonged to the Iroquoian linguistic group had achieved a notable degree of political and military cooperation. By the time the English and the French came to fight for control of this area, some of the Iroquois had formed a strong, democratic confederacy known as "The Five Nations" (Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas), to which the other Iroquois tribes sometimes adhered.

The Iroquois Confederacy came into frequent combat with the Algonquian-speaking tribes that were thinly spread throughout the region from Labrador to the Rockies. The Algonquins lived mostly by hunting, although they had made a few clearings in the forest where they practiced some agriculture; and they had only a loose political organization. Nevertheless, the conflict between them and the Iroquois was indecisive, and gave to the incoming European settlers an opportunity to take sides between the warring tribes.

In what is now the southwest of the United States (particularly New Mexico and Arizona) lived groups of peace-loving Indians (Zuñis, Hopis, etc.) who had developed a certain degree of agricultural skill. As farmers they were a sedentary people and had established closely knit communities known as "pueblos." The typical pueblo was a sort of communal apartment house, each apartment accessible only by an outside entrance (the upper ones usually by ladder). For better protection against their enemies, the Indians generally built their pueblos upon steep and unapproachable mesas. They were made of native brick, called "adobe," which, from the color of the local clay, gave them a deep yellow surface that is still familiar in the neighborhood of Santa Fe.

The most warlike of the North American Indians were the Apaches and the Comanches. The Spanish never were able to conquer them, and after the United States claimed their lands, they were not fully subdued until the middle of the nineteenth century.

*The general pattern
of Amerindian development*

WHETHER one describes the growth of the great Indian empires of Mexico and South Amer-

ica or merely catalogs the more primitive hostilities of the lesser tribes of North America and the Caribbean, the pattern in aboriginal America is everywhere cut along the same general lines. As the tribes settled down to an agricultural economy and began to develop the arts and crafts necessary to a settled existence, their struggles were gradually transformed from conflicts over hunting grounds to wars for possession of land and waterways. The disunion that prevailed in all parts of America, in addition to the widely varying degrees of civilization and the sparseness of population, facilitated the European conquest of the Western Hemisphere. Tribal enmities and the wide, undefended spaces enabled the white men to use to utmost advantage

their superior equipment, their greater rapidity of motion, and their more highly developed mechanical and military skills. The overseas invaders thus were responsible in large part for a steady decline of Amerindian civilization in the years of Europe's rapid expansion, but they seem only to have hastened a process that was perhaps already under way.

As a whole, whether in Asia or America, the non-European world was not ready for the dynamic upsurge that emanated from Europe around 1500. Contacts between Europe, the Moslem world, India, and the Far East had previously been intermittent though, at times, highly important, particularly when trade and conquest had brought them together. Yet East and West were still largely ignorant of each other. By far the most isolated of the three major areas of the world (Europe, Asia, and America) before 1500 had been America.

The venerable societies and civilizations of Asia were somewhat better prepared than their cultural inferiors in the Western Hemisphere to cope with the new impacts from Europe. The helplessness of most of the American Indians before the European invader stands out in marked contrast to the resistance of the Moslems and the Chinese. It more nearly resembles the surrender to the threat from Europe in the more apathetic and disunited areas of India. But parts of India were to resist longer and in the end more successfully than any of the American Indians, who were doomed, as a general rule, either to assimilation or to segregation.

The recent challenges and the new attitudes that around the fifteenth century had raised doubts and weakened the medieval cultural unity of western Europe had no effect upon the non-European parts of the world before 1500. Afterwards, it proved almost as difficult to keep their effects out of the other parts of the world as to repress them in Europe. Certain features of the modern spirit, such as the application of technology to industry, the new sciences, the practical view of life, and efficiency in business and government, along with the Christian missionary spirit, were (and still are) preëminently European. The European impact was to bring some fundamental changes in the less technological, practical, and efficient systems of economy, art, religion, and society beyond Europe. The three areas of the world, hitherto largely independent of each other, were in future centuries to become not only more interdependent but also more alike. In other words, the Moslems, India, the Far East, and the Western Hemisphere were to become "Europeanized." The striking differences among them, despite certain similarities, have constituted the burden of the story of the preceding two chapters. How they became more and more alike is a major theme of the chapters that follow.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

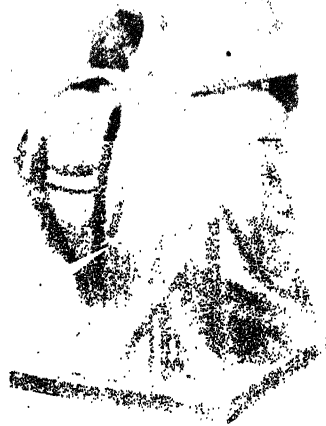
- c. 8000 B.C. Arrival of Amerindians in the Valley of Mexico
- c. 4000 B.C. Agriculture established in Mexico and Central America
- c. 2500-1500 B.C. Aryan invasions of the Indian peninsula
- 6th century B.C. Founding of Taoism by Lao-tzu
- 563?-483? B.C. Gautama Buddha
- 551-478 B.C. Confucius
- 202 B.C.-220 A.D. The Han dynasty in China
- 1st century Spread of Buddhism to China
- 6th-8th centuries Spread of Chinese cultural influence to Japan
- c. 500 Zenith of the Mayan civilization in Central America
- 552? Buddhism introduced into Japan
- 570?-632 Mohammed
- 7th-13th centuries Spread of Mohammedan power from the Indus in the east to the Pyrenees in the west
- 618-907 The Golden Age of China under the T'ang dynasty
- 800 Papermaking imported from China into the Arab world at Bagdad
- 10th century *The Thousand and One Nights*
- 1037-1095 Rise of the Seljuk Turks in Asia Minor
- c. 1070-1123 Omar Khayyám—*The Rubáiyát*
- 1096-1291 The Crusades, in which Christians and Moslems fought for control of the Holy Lands
- 1126-1198 Ibn Rushd Averroës, Moslem commentator on Aristotle
- 1155-1258 Invasions of the Mongols in central and western Asia and eastern Europe
- 1206 The Mongol chief Temujin proclaimed "perfect warrior" (Jenghis Khan) of the Mongol Empire
- 1260-1294 Centralization of the Mongol Empire under Kublai Khan
- 1275-1292 Travels of Marco Polo in the service of Kublai Khan
- 1368 Expulsion of the Mongols from China and return to power of a native dynasty, the Ming
- Late 14th century Mongol conquests under Tamerlane
- 1453 Final collapse of the Byzantine Empire with the capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks
- Late 15th century Zenith of the Incan civilization in western South America
- 1492 Capitulation of the last Moslem stronghold in Spain
- 1497-1498 Voyage of Vasco da Gama to India
- 1518-1521 Hernán Cortés in Mexico
- 1526 Establishment of the Mogul Empire in India under Babur
- 1531-1541 Spanish conquest of the Incan Empire under Pizarro

The emergence of the modern spirit (1500-1660)

INTRODUCTION

IN EUROPE the century and a half following Columbus' sailing beyond the horizon was a period of innovations that shook men loose from medieval traditions. The dual control of empire and church encountered many challenges: the unknown worlds that suddenly opened across the seas, a growing spirit of inquiry, an increasingly secular orientation, an influx of wealth, an expanding economy produced by commerce and industry rather than by agriculture, a new vigor in royal dynasties, and international rivalry. These new forces found expression in baroque art, in the Reformation, in the Commercial Revolution, and in bitter wars.

The Florentine Michelangelo is generally considered the greatest artist of the early sixteenth century. Thoroughly grounded in the classics in the school and household of Lorenzo de' Medici, he drew heavily on Greek and Roman art but was not content merely to imitate classical examples. Religious subjects in his hands reflected through artistic media the same spirit that induced humanists like Reuchlin and Erasmus to go back to the Hebrew and Greek sources of Christianity and scientists like Copernicus and Galileo to scan the skies. Michelangelo's "Moses" (right) is believed to represent the indignant patriarch just after he has found his people worshipping the golden calf.



MICHELANGELO: MOSES



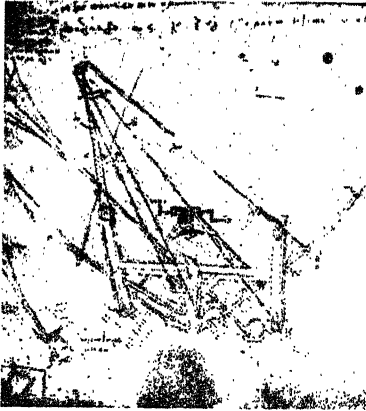
LEONARDO
DA VINCI:
MADONNA
OF THE ROCKS

Michelangelo was perhaps the greatest artist of the Renaissance, but Leonardo da Vinci was its most versatile genius. He had the "virtuosity" idealized by the age. Perhaps best known as a pioneer and theorist of painting, he was also a writer, courtier, scholar, scientist, inventor, engineer, statesman, administrator, and architect. The scientist in him lent the artist an exact understanding of human anatomy, perspective, atmosphere, and light and shade. Leonardo was one of the Renaissance artists who used living models for religious paintings, and the model of the Madonna in this picture is apparently the same as the one in his more celebrated "Mona Lisa." Under his leadership, the school of Milan became famous, attracting artists from the north who came to study and eventually carried back with them the stamp of his genius.

Abandoning the medieval stronghold, rich men of the Renaissance, prelates, nobles, and merchant princes alike, lived in graceful homes ornamented inside and out by the painter's, sculptor's, goldsmith's, and weaver's arts. Music, no longer so dependent upon church choirs and organs as before, took on secular, dramatic, and orchestral functions as new song forms and musical instruments were developed. Stationary theaters, greatly resembling the balconied inn-courtyard, were becoming familiar by the time Shakespeare began his London career at the end of the sixteenth century. At the same time, as printing improved and vernacular literature grew, books were gradually being brought within easy reach. Italian artists of the sixteenth century still preferred a sedate style already considered classical, but a different style was spreading in the north. The realistic portrayal of scenes from everyday life had been known to classical and medieval art. It became popular, however, only in the sixteenth century, largely through the paintings of Peter Brueghel the Elder. It was known as "*genre painting*," and was to reach its high point among the Dutch painters of the seventeenth century. Brueghel is probably best remembered for his scenes of robust peasant life.

PETER BRUEGHEL THE ELDER: THE WEDDING DANCE





LEONARDO: SKETCH FOR AN AIRSHIP

The great scientists and men of genius in the days before governments granted patents for inventions and copyrights for books were frequently dependent upon wealthy patrons for their living. Thus the growth of science became involved with the rise of royal dynasties and a wealthy middle class. Daring intellects like Leonardo da Vinci and Andreas Vesalius set the pace for the scientists of their time. They studied with a critical attitude the texts handed down by the medieval church as well as the rediscovered science of the Greeks and the Romans, and discarded what they found by logic or by experience to be false. Vesalius'

Seven Books on the Structure of the Human Body was published in 1543, the same year as Copernicus' great work on the heliocentric theory. Its title page describes Vesalius as the doctor of Emperor Charles v. Leonardo's plan for an airship illustrates the difficult mirror handwriting that he used to keep his secrets. Outstanding examples of the merchant-banker patron were the Fuggers of Augsburg, whose fourteenth-century founder had been a weaver. The Fugger family helped to elect Charles v emperor and received for their loyalty titles, estates, and the right to coin money. They turned their wealth to low-cost housing, extensive libraries, collections of art, and subsidies for artists, musicians, and scientists.

TITLE-PAGE OF VESALIUS' BOOK



MALER: FUGGER





JOÃO DE CASTRO'S TRIUMPHAL PROCESSION THROUGH THE STREETS OF GOA

Financial empires such as those of the Fuggers received fresh impetus from the expansion of Europe overseas in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while the financial structure of Europe as a whole underwent great changes. Money became more and more plentiful, and the use of credit jumped. Increasing demands by rival dynasties and commercial competition put more money into circulation, expanded credit, and encouraged the debasement of coinage. Spain and Portugal were the first to feel the effects of the "price revolution," for they were the pioneers in the overseas trade, but England, France, and Holland soon experienced it too. The interests of the Portuguese overseas are reflected in this Brussels tapestry, which depicts a triumphal procession through the streets of Goa celebrating the victories over native rulers of João de Castro, commander of the Portuguese Indies fleet after 1545 and viceroy of the Portuguese Indies from 1547 to 1548.

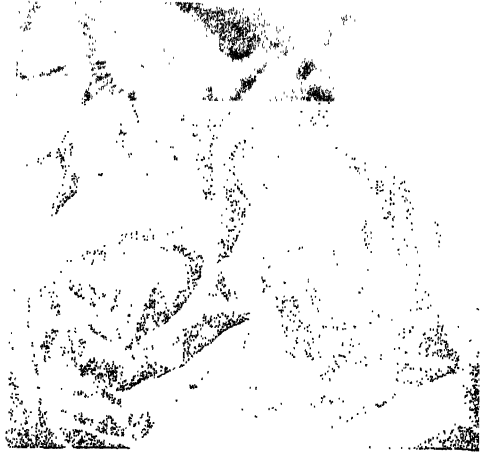
R. M. Chapin Jr.

Indian Ocean

EL GRECO: CHRIST AT GETHSEMANE

In the sixteenth century deep religious schisms developed within the once-uniform Christendom of western Europe. The authority of the medieval church had withstood direct challenge by earlier heretics, but now a general spirit rather than a set of individuals issued the challenge. Martin Luther unintentionally began the revolt. As the Reformation spread, the Church of Rome itself experienced a rebirth of vigor. Alessandro Farnese, a patron of Renaissance art, became Pope Paul III in 1534.

He excommunicated Henry VIII of England, sanctioned the Jesuit order, and convoked the Council of Trent. The Greco-Spanish painter called "El Greco" eloquently expressed the religious spirit of the Counter Reformation. A century of unrest, persecution, and repression on both sides, heightened by political opportunism, was to culminate in thirty years of bitter war before even a limited religious toleration could be formally accepted.

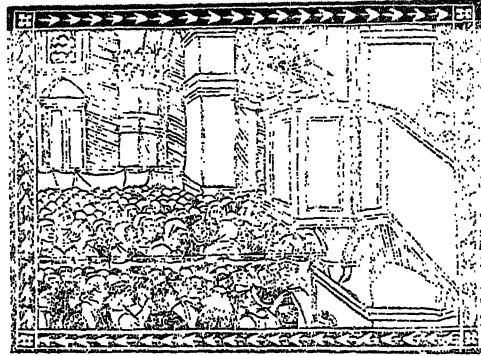


WORKSHOP OF CRANACH: LUTHER



TITIAN: POPE PAUL III FARNESE





Innovation and ferment, 1500-1600

IN WESTERN Europe, emerging from medievalism politically, economically, and intellectually, the Church Universal and the Holy Empire still proclaimed the supposed unity of Europe and Christendom. But the exploration of the world, the ferment of ideas, the development of commerce, the rise of dynastic ambitions, and other factors were challenging the medieval faith and the institutions which embodied that faith. A world that was generally thought of by all but the learned in Europe as flat, habitable only on one side, centering upon Jerusalem, and itself the center of the encircling sun, moon, and stars and of God's attention now was to prove to be a round globe containing many unknown lands and peoples, and a mere speck in an infinite universe. Agriculture, which keeps men close to their land and frequently makes them provincial in their outlook, was yielding some of its predominance to commerce and industry, as towns continued to grow in wealth and influence. New commercial methods were being devised and old ones improved to cope with the enlarged world and the fresh fields of enterprise. Innovation bred innovation; strange commodities, fresh ideas, untried opportunities for adventure, glory, enterprise, and wealth challenged men of spirit and talent in the New World and in new fields in the Old World. Science, literature, music, art, and scholarship found ready patronage in a period of rising prices and expanding economy, as the old aristocracy and the newly enriched, less concerned than formerly with eternal salvation, strove to achieve a pleasant life here below. The church's claims to be the guardian of traditional morality and truth were challenged and even ridiculed by the new thought and its champions, and the way was prepared for a greater schism in Christendom than had ever occurred before.

COLONIES

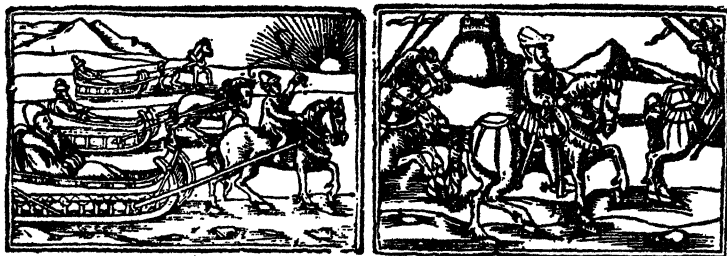
AND THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION

IN THE centuries following Columbus' discovery of America the leading monarchs of Europe sponsored voyage after voyage to Asia and the New World in intense and bitter rivalry for commerce, colonies, and prestige. They were seconded by merchants bent upon acquiring new wealth, adventurers eager for glory and personal gain, and missionaries seeking to convert the heathen. To merchant companies and adventurers, royal patrons often granted the rule and the revenues of new domains. For example, Emperor Charles v granted territory to the Welsers, a leading German banking house, which had lent great sums of money to him. Thus the dynasties of Europe—intent on building personal empires to strengthen their positions at home—fostered contact with the outside world.

*The search
for a water route to the East*

THE RICH spice trade with the East that had first encouraged mariners to make their historic

voyages at the close of the fifteenth century became a more powerful attraction than ever when Vasco da Gama returned to Lisbon from India bearing a cargo worth sixty times the cost of his expedition. The Portuguese quickly followed up Da Gama's successful voyage and within a remarkably short time wrested the spice trade from the hands of Arab and Italian merchants and established a Portuguese monopoly. The search for new water routes to India began to monopolize the energies of daring sailors and the dreams of merchants and kings. As early as 1497 John Cabot, sponsored by Henry VII of England, vainly sought a northwest passage to India. The same fruitless search was repeated later by Giovanni da Verrazano for King Francis I of France, then by several mariners for Queen Elizabeth and a group of London merchants, and later still by Henry Hudson for the Dutch East India Company. A northeast passage was as ardently and as fruitlessly sought, mainly at the instance of a group of English merchants chartered by the crown as the Muscovy Company, and later by the Dutch. Although failing to open a passage to India, the Muscovy Company established trade relations with the Muscovites and expanded the lucrative Russian fur and timber trade; the Dutch founded trade settlements in the Arctic region above Siberia, thus bringing Russia further into the European orbit. In 1519 Ferdinand Magellan sailed west to South America, passed through the straits that today bear his name, and succeeded at last in finding the westerly route to the Orient. After claiming the Philippines for Spain, Magellan was killed there in a skirmish with the natives. His men sailed on to Spain, thus becoming the first to sail around the world.



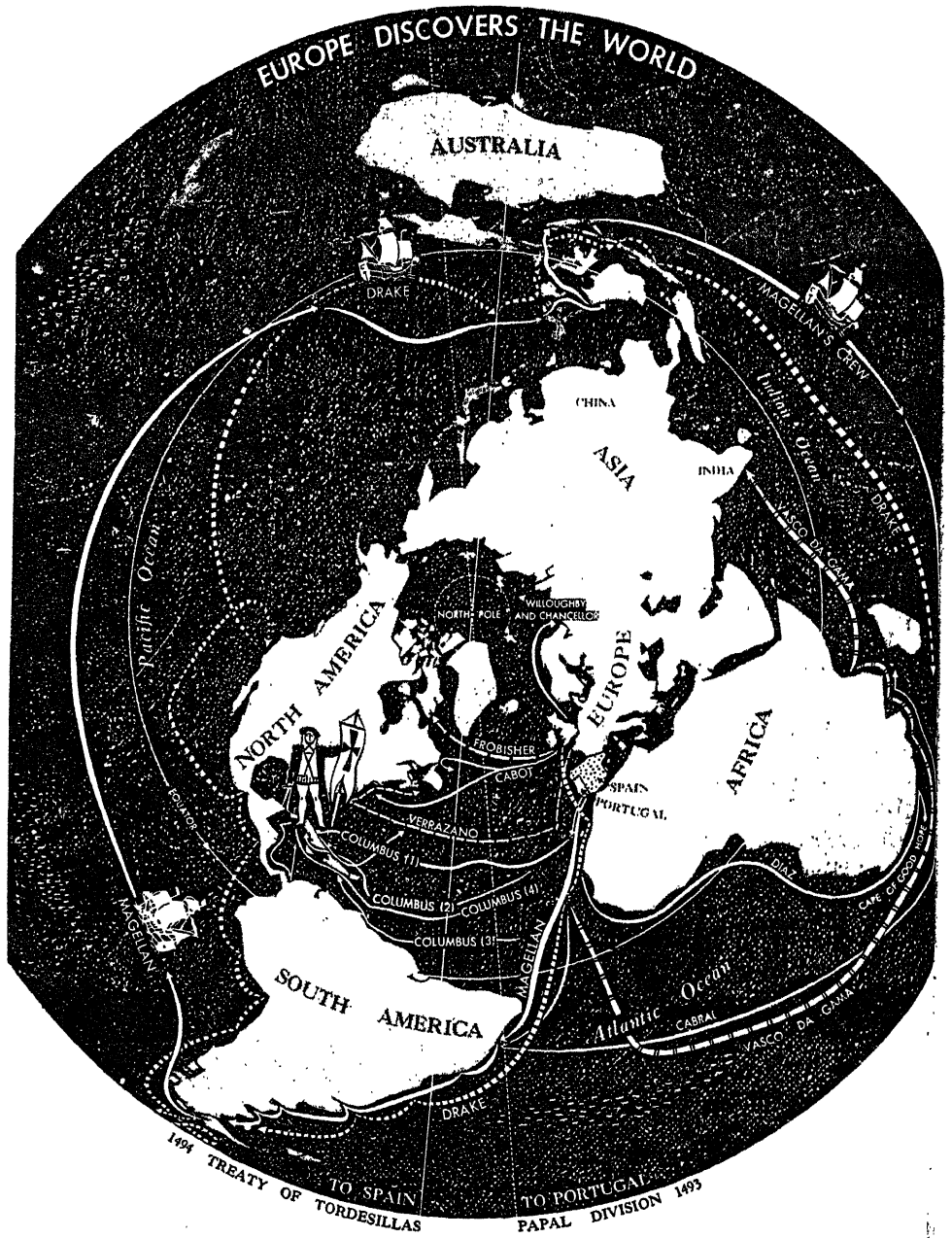
Throughout the sixteenth century trade and transport increased rapidly. These contemporary pictures show traders, explorers, and missionaries traveling in sleds, on horseback, in four-wheeled carts, and in larger, compass-guided ships.

Division

of the spoils among the Europeans

FOR A time it seemed that Spain and Portugal would monopolize the colonial world. Indeed, soon after Columbus' first voyage, these two countries, with the pope acting as arbiter, had divided the whole of the non-European earth between them; the Spanish king conceded to Portugal all lands to the east, and Portugal conceded to Spain the lands to the west with the exception of Brazil. But the other monarchs of Europe were not ready to acquiesce to such a division of the world's riches. While searching for new routes to the East to break the Portuguese monopoly there, explorers boldly claimed for their royal patrons the new areas they discovered. Thus from Cabot's search for the northwest passage stemmed England's titles to North America; on Verrazano's search for a western route to the East was based the French claim to much of the same region. In addition, France and England, in the effort to wrest the riches of the New World from the exclusive control of Spain and Portugal, made several unsuccessful attempts to establish colonies along the American coast. The French and especially the English waged an undeclared war of piracy and plunder. English freebooters, like Sir Francis Drake, with the tacit consent of Queen Elizabeth, attacked and plundered Spanish galleons.





*The colonial empire
established by Spain in the west*

TO THE west the lands found
Columbus were soon revealed—
be not the Indies but new regions

rich in gold and silver and, unlike the East, well adapted for settlement by Europeans. Far more scattered and less civilized than the eastern peoples, the native Americans were no match for the adventurers who wrested their lands from them on the part of the Spanish king. The names of the conquistadors are familiar and will be mentioned again below (pages 247-249)—Cortés in Mexico, Pizarro in Peru, Balboa, Coronado, and many more. Settlement was pursued in spite of formidable difficulties, and the native populations were systematically subdued, converted, and exploited for the benefit of the mother country. In the course of the sixteenth century Spain consolidated her hold on the Americas from Mexico to Buenos Aires and further made good a claim to more than half of what is now the United States.

*The challenge
to Spanish-Portuguese ascendancy*

BY THE end of the sixteenth
century the Spanish-Portuguese
ascendancy in colonies and com-

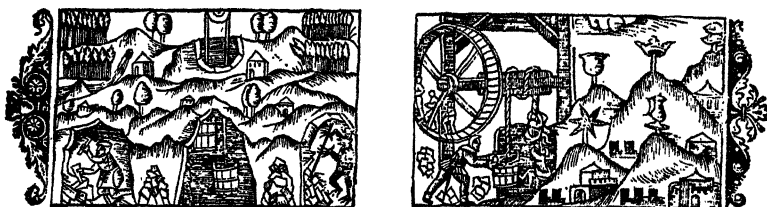
merce was declining. The sporadic efforts of France and England to break the Spanish monopoly in the New World gave way to concerted efforts at colonization as European developments (pages 195-196) led to greater international power for France and England and to the decline of Spain. Though Spain lost no territory to the other countries until the seventeenth century, her colonial expansion in the West came to an end earlier. In the East, Portuguese fortunes were also on the wane. The king of Spain temporarily (1580-1640) acquired the Portuguese crown and thus Portugal became involved in Spain's wars with the Dutch and the English. Enterprising Dutch and English merchants challenged the Portuguese spice monopoly in the Indies. During the seventeenth century the Dutch East India Company was to break the Portuguese power in the East Indian islands, while the English East India Company was largely to replace Portugal in India.

*Commercial companies
and development of capitalism*

A NATURAL result of the expanding
European markets abroad
was an enormous increase in the

volume of trade. This increase quickened economic change in Europe in a number of ways. New products, a growing home market stimulated by new wealth and new tastes, rising prices and profits, new fortunes seeking investment, and new opportunities for investment encouraged the development of capitalism both in commerce and in industry.

From the small European peninsula of the great Eurasian continent daring men sailed south, west, and north in search of sea routes to the East. In so doing they discovered new continents, charted the geography of new lands and waters, encircled the globe, and furthered the expansion of Europe overseas.



The illustrations on pages 116-118 depict sixteenth-century industry and commerce. Above (left) is a cross section of a Swedish mine. On the ground (right) a man-propelled wheel was used to hoist the ore.

The overseas trade was typically handled by a new form of business organization—the chartered company. The earliest chartered companies, known as “regulated companies,” were associations of individuals who financed their own businesses independently of each other. Although they often competed with other members of the same company, they maintained a common purse for collective defense and they abided by definite rules and concepts of fair practice. These rules had been designed by the group to protect against unfair competition the trade in which they had a mutual interest. Among the early English-regulated companies were the Merchant Adventurers, founded in 1351, and the Muscovy Company, mentioned above (page 112). The joint-stock company, the ancestor of the great corporations of today, began only in the sixteenth century. Chipping in for a so-called “joint-stock enterprise” became a common way for groups of members within a regulated company to finance and share the risks of specific ventures. Statements indicating the share each investor had in the “stock” of such a joint enterprise became negotiable and gave rise to our contemporary “stock certificate,” indicating a nonwithdrawable investment in a permanent corporation but one freely transferable from person to person.

*Royal regulation
and commercial monopoly*

IT SOON became obvious that only large, powerful, and wealthy companies could raise the capital

necessary for long and dangerous voyages and settlements that might take years to produce profits or that might even end in ruin because of hostile natives and piratical Europeans. The company that could afford to send out its vessels in flotillas, speedy and well armed, was likely to defend its investments best, make the biggest profits, and bring the greatest prestige to its stockholders and patrons. Hence, governments promoted the creation of big companies by a few selected men, granting royal charters with special privileges or even monopolies to favored commercial companies. These privileged companies thereby tended to become still bigger and more profitable; at the same time, they probably were more easily regulated



Metallurgy had long been a small-scale process using comparatively simple equipment (left). Hammers and bellows run by water power (right) were becoming better known in the sixteenth century.

than many competitive small companies might have been. Powerful merchants often themselves took the initiative in seeking royal patronage.

The increase of capitalism in industry

CAPITALISM in industry, already expanding, also received an impetus from the spread of world

trade. The growth of capitalism was most pronounced in England. Established industries such as mining, metallurgy, salt manufacture, glass making, and shipbuilding boomed and required still larger plants and more machinery than before. Newer industries such as those that produced soap, alum, beer, sugar, gunpowder, and paper also demanded expensive machinery or equipment—cisterns, boilers, presses, furnaces, vats, etc. Capitalistic organization was natural to these expanding industries, which tended to develop in towns free of the guild system or in rural areas. Centered around equipment that required cooperative handling by several workers, the new industries commonly adopted the factory form of enterprise, sometimes twenty or more workers being employed in a single establishment. In the textile industries, however, where the work was easily done in cellars, garrets, and small shops, the individual handicraft system continued to prevail.

In France industrial expansion was not so rapid as in England. The luxury industries, in which France excelled, tended to retain the older domestic system of production. In the few heavily capitalized industries that arose, the crown took an active part. While royal control thus encouraged capital investment, it also tended to perpetuate the guild system and therefore the small shop.

New techniques employed in business and finance

THE GREAT increases in trade and industry encouraged new methods of business and finance. In me-

dieval times, calculations had been made with the abacus, or counting frame, as they are still in many parts of the Orient and provincial areas of Europe. This method has obvious limitations for large-scale business. In addition, Roman numerals were commonly used in the keeping of commercial

accounts, in part because of the belief that Arabic numerals were too easily falsified. By the sixteenth century, however, Arabic numerals and ordinary arithmetic, permitting merchants to add, subtract, multiply, and divide complicated sums directly, had become general, and double-entry bookkeeping, already fairly well known to Italian accountants, was more widely used, enabling business houses to calculate their assets and liabilities, profits and losses, payables and receivables with relative ease. The double-entry book-keeping system, according to which each transaction is entered twice, once as a credit and once as a debit, provided a means of checking the accuracy of the accounting. The new technique permitted increases in the complexity, and hence in the scope, of business dealings through the extension of credit.

*Development of banks
and their credit functions*

MONEYCHANGING, letters of credit, bills of exchange, and other credit transactions were more

than ever important in an age in which travel and trade were increasing. Still the confusing variety and the fluctuating values of the many local monetary systems remained as baffling as ever. Local laws sometimes forbade money-changers to lend money, and moneylenders to change money, and a general tendency existed to keep money and credit operations separate.

The demand for credit and the easy conversion of credit instruments into goods grew, however, as foreign trade grew. Thus, the modern public bank, which performs all kinds of saving, credit, and exchange operations, began to develop. At first it was usually a "deposit-and-transfer bank," specifically forbidden to make loans but permitted to accept deposits and to transfer credits from one account to another. The earliest of these banks was established in Barcelona in 1401. After the voyages of Columbus and Da Gama, they became more numerous. In the sixteenth century two were established in Italy. In the seventeenth century this type of public bank became common north of the Alps; the most famous of them were the Amsterdam and the Hamburg banks. Meanwhile, in Italy another type of public bank, which was empowered to make loans, put in an appearance. It combined the granting of state credit



118 *A fish drier (left) and furrier (right). Closer relations with the New World and Russia brought increased supplies of fish and furs to western Europe.*



The young emperor of Germany, Maximilian I, visits his mint-master (above). The table of squared numbers (right) was taken from an arithmetic book printed in Arabic figures in 1491.

>1	>1	5041	91	91	8281
>2	>2	5184	92	92	8464
>3	>3	5329	93	93	8649
>4	>4	5476	94	94	8836
>5	>5	5625	95	95	9025
>6	>6	5776	96	96	9216
>7	>7	5929	97	97	9409
>8	>8	6084	98	98	9604
>9	>9	6241	99	99	9801
80	80	6400	100	100	10000

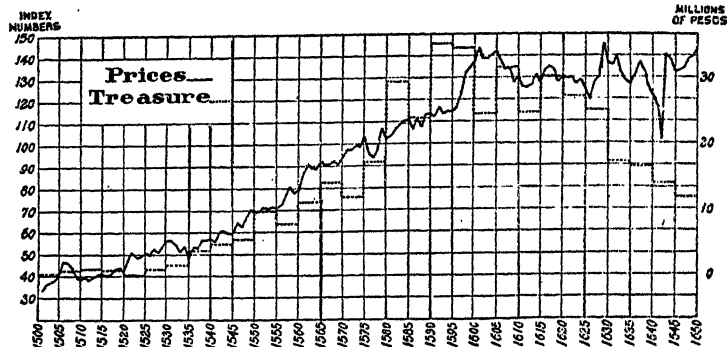
81	81	6561			
82	82	6724			
83	83	6889			
84	84	7056			
85	85	7225			
86	86	7396			
87	87	7569			
88	88	7744			
89	89	7921			
90	90	8100			

and financing of state enterprises with its function of transfer. By 1600 paper receipts and orders to pay, closely resembling modern banknotes and bank checks, began to be used. Thus credit was further expanded as the public grew accustomed to accepting promises to pay money at some future date (in place of hard cash immediately) if a reputable bank acted as intermediary.

Risk sharing

by means of marine insurance

THE SHARING of the risks of ocean transportation by a system of marine insurance was already common in the sixteenth century and was greatly stimulated after further voyages of discovery. Known in various forms to the ancient Greeks and medieval Jews, insurance had developed in Italy when that region was the undisputed leader in overseas trade. The customary procedure was for an agent, or "broker," of a merchant to go from one underwriter to another gathering subscribers, each individual underwriting a portion of the total, until the required amount had been secured. When underwriters formed the habit of meeting together at a designated place such as a prominent coffee house, the broker's work was facilitated. From these crude forms of risk sharing—which amounted in fact to the underwriters' sharing a bet that the underwritten venture would succeed—arose our modern corporate insurance company. Lloyd's, a London association of insurance underwriters founded in the 1700's, still writes insurance in that fashion. Marine insurance policies to this day, even when written by the newest companies, differ little from those of the sixteenth century, and include insurance against piracy and spoilage as well as fire, storm, collision, and other hazards of the sea.



In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the prices of commodities in Spain rose and fell more or less in proportion to the volume of imported treasure. The discrepancies indicate that other factors (such as war and credit expansion) were also operative.

Inflation and the price revolution

IN AT least one respect the opening up of the New World did not redound to the unqualified advantage of Europeans. Money, it proved, bought less and less goods as the years passed. "The price revolution," as this particular inflationary movement is sometimes called, was produced in part by the continual influx of large quantities of gold and silver bullion from the mines of the New World, which, when coined, increased the amount of money in circulation throughout Europe. Two other factors that contributed to the phenomenal rise in prices were the expansion of credit and the debasement of coinage, which was almost universally resorted to by governments during that century of dynastic warfare when even loans and taxes could not keep the royal coffers filled. Prices measured in silver rose more than threefold between 1520 and 1650. The results were similar to those one might expect of any inflation—disaster for some and good fortune for others. Those with stable incomes—such as nobles whose money rents from their peasants were fixed, workers whose wages were set by law, and peasants whose feudal obligations had to be paid in produce of which the market value kept going up—suffered badly. For long periods in some regions all types of wages tended to lag behind the cost of living, and cheap labor became an incentive to investment in industry. Merchants, who bought and sold on a steadily rising market, usually could count upon a profit. The price revolution thus favored the trading, industrial, and capitalist groups—although not exclusively, for the enterprising peasant was also able to derive benefit from the rise in prices of farm products.

*Mercantilism
in overseas trade and industry*

MERCANTILIST policies begun in previous centuries were articulated and implemented in the sixteenth century by the strong monarchs and their supporters in England, France, Spain, and elsewhere. Royal control of commerce and the regulation of industry were quickly applied to the new settlements overseas. In the Spanish colonies, the crown early took back the governmental control which had been given originally to independent individuals. A viceregal system was developed through which the king's authority was delegated to agents who could be closely supervised. A Council of the Indies, ruling from Spain, determined all colonial policy and closely regulated the rich colonial trade through a subsidiary body called "the Casa de Contratación," which had headquarters in Seville. Commerce was narrowly channeled between Seville and a few selected ports in the New World. All other ports were closed to Spanish commerce, and all ports were closed to outsiders. Intercolonial commerce was prohibited. By these stringent measures the Spanish monarch hoped to keep a careful account of trade, tax it more efficiently, and protect Spanish shipping more easily. A fifth of all the gold and silver coming into Seville from the Americas (the royal *quint*) was appropriated for the king's use and provided the government with an important source of revenue.

The economic life of the colonists was as narrowly regulated as their commerce. In good mercantilist fashion the colonies were regarded as outlets for Spanish manufactures and as sources of raw materials. Accordingly colonial economic activities were restricted to the production of raw materials and to agricultural and pastoral pursuits not competing with those of Spain. In sum, the colonies were treated as little more than adjuncts of the mother country to be exploited for her benefit.

Portuguese colonial policy differed in detail but not in essence from that of Spain, being closely controlled in the interests of the Portuguese state. Other countries, acquiring their colonies in the next century, were to regard them in the same fashion and to apply similar principles of economic control—with important variations, however (page 366). This colonial policy grew naturally out of the preoccupation with home industries that characterized dynastic mercantilism everywhere.

*Royal control
of industry through the guilds*

ROYAL control over home industries was maintained in two ways: by royal regulation through the guilds and by crown participation in industrial enterprise (pages 18-20). Guild membership was compulsory for all craftsmen in France in the sixteenth century. General laws regulating industries were reinforced by scores of specific acts applying to single towns or even single guilds. They fixed wage rates

and conditions of work, opposed industrial concentrations (for example, the potters in one town were ordered to reduce the number of wheels in their shops), established uniform standards of production, and in general maintained industrial organization at the handicraft level. In England, industry was similarly regulated, although the guild system did not flourish as vigorously as in France. Nor was enforcement equally successful in England. Whereas the French king could utilize his salaried royal officials, the English king had to depend on the unpaid justices of the peace, who often engaged in business themselves and therefore were most likely to object to government regulation. The Elizabethan Statute of Apprentices was a lengthy act, the most important of many such, designed to extend the rules regulating industrial apprenticeship and conditions of work. In Spain the pattern of royal protectionism was similar, the crown regulating the guilds minutely.

*Industries
under royal patronage and control*

IN ENGLAND, France, and Spain the crown took a direct part in certain forms of industrial enterprise. Gunpowder, ordnance, and mining of precious metals were typically royal monopolies. In France, in addition, the sale of salt and the granting of mining concessions of all kinds were monopolies of the crown. In all three countries the kings sought to establish royal control over new industries by granting monopolies through charters or letters patent in the same way and for the same purposes that trade monopolies were granted to the chartered trading companies. From this practice of granting royal monopolies the present-day system of patents for inventions developed. By such grants, the crown fostered and controlled whatever industries it considered most necessary to dynastic power and national wealth. In France the emphasis was on luxury industries. In Spain the crown favored the wool industry through privileges granted to the sheepraisers' guild. In England, because of effective competition from private enterprise, attempts of the throne to grant and maintain monopolies and to encourage particular industries over others were less successful. Private enterprise expressed its opposition not only by invading the field of the licensed monopolies but also by opposing monopoly in Parliament, which had much greater influence as a representative body in the sixteenth century than either the Estates General of France or the Cortes of Spain.

*Some results
of royal economic control*

SPAIN'S colonial economic policy had in effect a tendency that was the reverse of what contemporary economic theorists maintained she could logically have expected. Her increasing supply of gold and silver, while lining the pockets of her merchants and helping to pay for the costly wars of her kings, also obscured her basic poverty as a nation, occasioned in part by a general indifference to commerce and industry. Spain did not achieve even that "favorable balance of trade"

which mercantilists thought desirable. High prices in Spain made it possible for foreign traders, despite the restrictions upon them, to make good profits by selling in Spanish ports. Hence countries like England and France, whose industries were more advanced than Spain's, provided the Spanish with manufactured commodities in return for gold and silver, which thus kept streaming out of Spain about as fast as it came from the colonies.

Elsewhere extreme royal protectionism had similar tendencies. In France, where, by the seventeenth century, royal control was most complete, the free development of economic enterprise was also hindered. In England, where royal control was the least thorough, marked advances were made in industrial technology, capitalist organization, quantity production, and the introduction of new industries, so that England secured a lead in industrial development which was rivaled only by the bigger and more populous France.

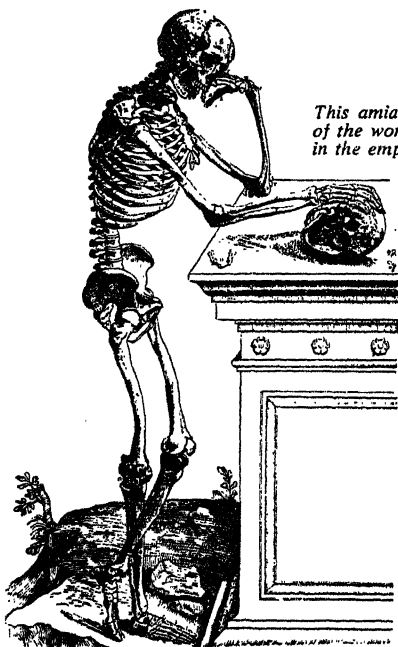
THE BEGINNINGS OF MODERN SCIENCE

IN CERTAIN fields the survival throughout the Middle Ages of some classical knowledge was sometimes as much a hindrance as an incentive to new developments. In most of the universities the reverence for classical authorities had precluded criticism and creative thought. Medicine was studied from the works of the Greek physicians Hippocrates and Galen and the eleventh-century Arab Avicenna rather than from observation of man and his ailments. Physics was dominated by Aristotelian logic, and astronomy by the Ptolemaic theory of an earth-centered universe, rather than by observation of nature. So strong was the adherence to the authority of the ancients that isolated individuals who dared to observe, experiment, and follow out the dictates of their own logic were generally discredited by the schools, if not actually persecuted for their trouble. The new spirit of inquiry that came with the Renaissance and was reinforced by the geographical knowledge and the cultural contacts that resulted from the voyages of discovery led to skepticism regarding the prevalent scientific theories.

*Copernicus' theory
concerning the solar system*

SOME GREEK astronomers of classical times had disagreed with Ptolemy's geocentric theory and

had contended that the theory of a heliocentric, or sun-centered, universe provided a better explanation of the phenomena they desired to explain. During the Middle Ages the Ptolemaic theory had prevailed nevertheless, because it was commonly thought to be more in keeping with the Biblical account of creation. The heliocentric hypothesis was revived by some Renaissance scholars in Italy. A Polish astronomer named Nicolaus Copernicus became ac-



This amiable skeleton appeared in an early edition of one of the works of Vesalius. It symbolizes the author's interest in the empirical study of the human body.

quainted with the heliocentric theory on a journey to Italy and made some careful studies of his own. His observations and calculations convinced him that the traditional astronomy was wrong and the heliocentric theory was right. His remarkable deductions were made without any kind of telescope since no such technological device was yet available. A manuscript version of his theory was circulated widely for many years before its publication in book form. Published in 1543, as he lay dying, his book, entitled *Concerning the Revolutions of Heavenly Bodies*, set forth more convincingly than ever before the thesis that the sun is the cen-

ter of a vast system of planets of which the earth is only one. It was discreetly dedicated to the pope.

Opposition to the Copernican theory

PEOPLE generally found it hard to conceive of any other system than that of a stationary earth

around which all else revolved. Both the traditional Catholic Church and the newer Protestant sects expressed opposition. The Copernican theory was propounded at a time when religious revolt colored every controversy, sectarian passions ran high, and both Catholics and Protestants were girded for battle. The Catholic Church, now definitely on the defensive, considered any attack upon long-accepted beliefs to be dangerous to the whole body of Catholic thought and practice. Protestants were shocked by the new theory's apparent contradiction of Scripture. Had not God created a flat and stationary earth out of chaos and had he not created it before the sun, the moon, and the stars? In one way or another many eminent men of letters and of science revealed the prevalent doubt concerning Copernicus' theory. For example, Shakespeare, and even Milton a generation later, continued to employ in poetry the familiar ideas and images associated with the old cosmology. The English champion of modern scientific method, Francis Bacon, looked askance at the new view. The Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe developed a theory that was a compromise between the geocentric and Copernican systems, and in the

process added significantly to the sum of astronomical knowledge. Religious conflict may have postponed general acceptance of the heliocentric system, but scientists for the most part early came to accept the Copernican theory, and the great astronomical discoveries of the next century became possible.

*Paracelsus
and his contribution to medicine*

MEANWHILE the new spirit of inquiry had affected other fields. The Swiss physician Paracelsus,

a contemporary of Copernicus, doubted the value of some of the medical practices borrowed from Hippocrates and Galen which were taught at the universities. His method was based upon direct experience and observation, in contrast to the method of deductive scholarship practiced in many universities. He betook himself to the mines of the Fuggers in the south Tyrol, where he studied at first hand the diseases and accidents common among the miners. Paracelsus' observations led him to conclude that the body was constructed of various chemicals, that a disorder of these chemicals in the human system caused disease, and that order could be restored by the administration of the proper chemicals in the proper proportions. Thus he took a long step in the development of the modern science of chemotherapy, despite the fact that he also retained much traditional alchemical theory in his method.

*Paré's development
of new surgical techniques*

THE FRENCH surgeon Ambroise Paré developed new techniques in surgery, also through experi-

ment and experience. Attached to the French army in Italy, he had ample acquaintance with wounds made by the new firearms. Discarding the old treatments of boiling oil for wounds and of cautery for amputations, he used the simple bandage and the ligature. The ligature was of particular importance in major amputations, since no adequate way to control arterial bleeding had previously been known. Paré's innovations were opposed by the professors of the more conservative schools of medicine, but his methods came to be widely used. Deaths were still frequent from shock and septic poisoning, since doctors still were ignorant of anesthesia and germs, but at least human suffering was somewhat mitigated.

*Vesalius' contributions
to the scientific study of anatomy*

A THIRD scientist who came into conflict with the devotees of Galen and Hippocrates was the Flemish

Andreas Vesalius. Vesalius, without denying the merit of the great Greek physicians, nevertheless insisted that the human body rather than the ancient texts was the proper medium for the study of human anatomy. But the laws limited the number of human bodies that the schools could use, and he had to supplement his experiments with dogs and such cadavers as he could secretly acquire. Eventually he sought to further his training by moving to Italy, where

a more favorable scientific atmosphere prevailed. He became professor of anatomy at the University of Padua, and helped to make that university temporarily the foremost medical center of Europe. In 1543, the very year in which the Copernican theory was made public, he published a great work entitled *On the Fabric of the Human Body* that pointed out many insufficiencies in the classical theories of anatomy.

*Evolution
of the empirical method*

PARACELSUS, Paré, and Vesalius were important not only for their contributions to scientific knowl-

edge and technique but also for the blows they struck against the restrictive domination of classical authority. Instead of blindly accepting the pronouncements of past masters, they insisted that further experiment, observation, and generalization were needed. It remained for the English thinker Francis Bacon in the next century to articulate their empirical approach and develop a unified philosophy of the newer scientific method.

*Effect of the new science
upon philosophy and religion*

THE CONFLICT of the new science with theology is glimpsed in the fate of the Italian philosopher

Giordano Bruno and the Spanish physician Michael Servetus. Both men had come to think of the world and God as unitary. Bruno started his career as a Dominican monk. Influenced by the Copernican theory, he developed a philosophical system that became a sort of pantheism obnoxious to both Catholics and Protestants. He viewed the universe as a unity of which God was the immanent cause and the unifying principle. Forced to flee from Protestant and Catholic countries alike, he was finally executed by the Roman Inquisition. Servetus, a distinguished physician and scientist, likewise offended the orthodox in both camps by his belief in the single nature of God. His heresy was that he attacked the Trinity, or threefold form, of the Christian Divinity. Condemned to death by the Inquisition in France, he tried to flee to Italy, but the Protestant reformer John Calvin ordered his arrest in Geneva and Servetus, too, was burned at the stake.

THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

126 **A**gainst a background of continual warfare, as the leading monarchs of Europe fought for possessions in Italy and Italian princes fought among themselves or joined forces with opposing foreign invaders, the Italians of the sixteenth century continued to foster the new art and the free thought that they had already so brilliantly advanced. The first decades of the century

were a period unsurpassed in history for creativeness and outstanding for the homage rendered the artist by adoring courts and princely patrons, of whom the popes were among the most lavish. Artists and architects carried further the earlier Renaissance innovations in style, technique, and purpose. The use of light and shade reached a new perfection. Painting and sculpture continued their secular trend, even religious subjects being executed with such realism as to displace in large part the otherworldliness of medieval art.

*The classic
and the baroque in architecture*

THE ARCHITECTS of the sixteenth century were intent upon decorative innovations. Ornamental balustrades, arcades, and cornices characterized their buildings. Such features were frankly adapted from Greek and Roman buildings. In the hands of earlier Renaissance architects each individual architectural member received its own classic structural unity and harmony. Bramante, the original designer of St. Peter's Church, was a prominent figure in the classic school. Michelangelo, another universal genius like Leonardo da Vinci, also excelled in the translation of classical forms into the Renaissance idiom.

Palace and church were equally the objects of the architect's attention. He devoted himself to one or the other according to whether his patron was a temporal celebrity or a prince of the church. Built for elegant living rather than defense, the homes of the day began to reflect the splendor and love of luxury of princes and *nouveaux riches* alike. A mixture of classical arches, domes, and colonnades with elaborate cornices, statuary, balconies, and scrollwork soon became the vogue, the individual architectural members no longer having independence but being subordinated to a dominant motive. First prominent in Italy, this more highly decorative type of architecture, the so-called "baroque,"



The many-sided genius of Michelangelo reached its height in his superb representations of the human form. This drawing of the Libyan Sibyl was made for the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel at Rome.

invaded the rest of Europe, and baroque palaces, villas, monasteries, or churches could be found in Paris or Dresden as well as in Milan or Venice.

*Various trends
in painting and sculpture*

THE PAINTING and sculpture of the period mirrored the many-sidedness of the Renaissance. In

the work of Leonardo and others the influence of science on painting is revealed in the handling of anatomy, perspective, and design. Michelangelo transformed anatomical knowledge into paint and stone, and with unique genius gave the figures in his frescoes and sculpture overpowering monumentality. The human body seemed to him most worthy of representation and he impregnated his twisting, turning, and bending figures with incomparable energy, power, and expression. Raphael achieved a different kind of perfection. The figures in his graceful compositions have an ease and naturalness which few other painters have ever achieved. A seemingly effortless harmony in his work hides the strict formal principles to which Raphael conformed. Both Michelangelo and Raphael discovered new visual worlds, and for centuries their masterpieces served as an inspiration for others. The work of the goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini—also a sculptor and the author of the famous *Autobiography*—reveals still another aspect of Renaissance society which helped produce the baroque—a tendency to elegance and luxury and the adaptation of art to ostentatious living. The varying subject matter of the artists—the religious sharing honors with the human and the secular—reflected also the diversity, and sometimes the conflict, of their interests and values. At least one major artist, Sandro Botticelli, after having painted such famous pagan scenes as the *Birth of Venus* and *Spring*, turned his back on the newer themes, became intensely religious in his choice of subjects, and went so far as to destroy some of his earlier nonreligious works.

*Religious reactions
to the Renaissance in Italy*

IN HIS return to a purely religious art, Botticelli was moved by the hypnotic eloquence of the Domin-

ican preacher Girolamo Savonarola. This inspired Dominican mystic exerted an enormous influence upon those who came under his sway, until he was executed as a heretic in 1498. He attacked the church as degenerate and exhorted the people of Florence to forego the vanities of the Renaissance and to live a purer life. His career was in some ways prophetic of the forthcoming Reformation and its action upon the Renaissance spirit.

Most Italian churchmen, however, were more willing to compromise than Savonarola. To them, the new art and learning did not seem inconsistent with the old creed and hierarchy. The inclusion of mythological figures in the decorations of the papal palace, and papal patronage of secular art and letters were expressive of a recent trend of thought that might have led to a moderate reforming movement within the church itself. A considerable body, to which

Savonarola leading the reaction against Renaissance worldliness.

many high ecclesiastics belonged, sought to harmonize the new culture within the larger purpose of religion, to enlarge and revise approved theology so as to encompass the new thought, and to rededicate all art and all learning to the greater glory of the church. The violence of the religious revolt known as "the Reformation" reinforced the opposing trend; the

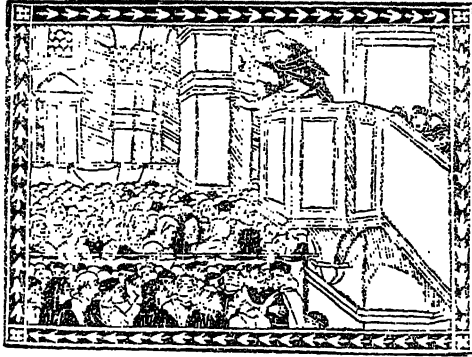
church ultimately choosing to reject the new religious thought and stand its ground steadfastly. Even at the height of clerical reaction, however, great artists like Michelangelo and Cellini continued to flourish.

*The Venetian school of art
and the peak of the Renaissance*

trines, central Italy was to be ravaged by civil war and invasion. Nevertheless, in Venice, where the impact of Savonarola, the Reformation, and the invasion were not decisive, painting continued on a high level. The declining commerce of Italy that resulted from the diversion of trade to the Atlantic seaboard had not yet destroyed Venice's former prosperity, since her trade with the Turks still prospered. With the Vivarini and the Bellini families of painters, and especially with Giovanni Bellini, a Venetian school of artists had appeared who in some ways gave to the Renaissance artistic spirit its fullest expression. The distinguishing mark of the Venetian school was their interest in bright color, vast spaces, and brilliant landscape in contrast with the heroic and statuesque themes preferred by other Italian painters. The Venetians emphasized color rather than form, the senses rather than the intellect, sensuousness and softness rather than severity and precision, whether in Biblical, mythological, or historical scenes. The traditionally opulent and materialistic atmosphere of Venice is mirrored in some of the masterpieces of her painters—Tintoretto, Veronese, and, par excellence, Titian. The introduction from Flanders of the new technique of oil painting enabled the Venetian artists to achieve a greater flexibility and richness than tempera alone had permitted.

*New modes
of literary expression in Italy*

of literary expression. Boccaccio's *Decameron*, a fourteenth-century collection of spicy prose stories in vigorous vernacular, had many imitators, good,



ABOUT the same time that the Reformation was to reemphasize the significance of the old doc-

SINCE Dante's and Petrarch's day, polished Italian had begun to supersede Latin as the medium

bad, and indifferent, in the popular *novella* of the time. The pasquinade, a virulent and libelous form of satirical prose, appeared in the sixteenth century to entertain the scandal-minded. A new kind of epic poetry imitating the medieval tales of chivalry, touched with classical allusion and peopled with typically Renaissance characters, brought a modernized form of chivalry into vogue—the polished manners of the courtier, or *courtisio*. Count Castiglione, attached to the court of the duke of Milan, wrote *The Courtier (Il Cortegiano)* in 1528; it is a discussion among several ladies and gentlemen of an Italian court that shows that the fundamental standards of gentlemanly behavior have not changed much in four centuries. Among the poems that celebrated “courtesy” were Boiardo’s *Orlando Innamorato* and Ariosto’s classic *Orlando Furioso*. Unlike the epic of earlier centuries, these were full of the author’s personal commentary on his characters and the life of his own day. Toward the end of the century, Italian literature, under Spanish political domination, became overrefined and tended toward an empty, elegant imitation of the classics. Nevertheless, Torquato Tasso’s epic of the Crusades, *Jerusalem Delivered*, stands out in pleasant contrast to the imitative classicism of lesser writers by its sincerity and lyric romanticism.

*The secular note
in Italian Renaissance drama*

ITALIAN drama too was influenced by the revival of interest in classical literature. No less than the

religious sentiments of the Middle Ages, the secularizing tendency of the Renaissance found expression in the development of the theater. The vernacular was substituted for Latin, and the classical or historical theme for the Biblical. Eventually a form of play on contemporary subjects, known as the *commedia dell'arte*, arose in Italy and spread northward. It grew more or less spontaneously from the efforts of companies of traveling players, somewhat like the one in *Hamlet*, to put on stock plays about contemporary life; veteran actors took regular roles (Harlequin, Columbine, Pantaloon, Scaramouch) and made up their lines but preserved the plot, as they went along. Some stock companies became stationary, building special playhouses for their performances, deserting church steps and inn courtyards for permanent homes of their own.

*Music
in sixteenth-century Italy*

MUSIC in the sixteenth century followed the same secular trend as art and literature. Josquin Des

Prés, born in France around 1450, was the leading composer among the numerous foreign musicians who migrated to Italy around 1500. He and his Flemish colleagues endeavored, with remarkable success, to reconcile the new harmonic qualities of Italian music with the polyphonic techniques developed in the north. The result was the grand style of Renaissance music, charac-

Emperor Maximilian in his music study (ca. 1515). Among the instruments shown are recorders, a positiv-organ, and a zither-like tromba-marina.



terized by clarity of construction, balance of form, and expressive interpretation of the text. The Renaissance style of music quickly spread all over Europe.

Musical practice now became more elastic. The same music could be performed by any combination of voices or instruments or on any instrument capable of rendering more than one tone at a time, such as the organ, harpsichord, and especially the lute. Whole series of instruments, from the smallest soprano to the lowest bass, were developed, prominent among them the viol (viola da gamba) and, toward the end of the century, the modern violin family. The difference in principle between sacred and secular music largely disappeared. Purely instrumental forms were developed for keyboard instruments and lute, such as the virtuoso *toccata* and the *variation*.

National variants of secular song forms emerged as the Renaissance influence spread. The French elaborated the witty and elegant *chanson*, the Germans the *ensemble-song* and the Lutheran *chorale*, the Italians the madrigal. International exchange and transformation of styles and forms became typical. The Flemish Orlando Lassus was equally master of French *chanson*, Italian madrigal, and German *lied*. Adrian Willaert's school in Venice developed new radiance in its polychoral work (two or more choirs of voices and instruments), while in Rome Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina summed up, in his enormous output of religious music, the conservative polyphonic style and set the musical standard for the Catholic Counter Reformation.

Toward the end of the century, transitional practices led to experiments with "accompanied monody" (i.e., one leading voice with accompaniment). Around 1590 a group of Italian amateurs, poets, and musicians who frequently met together in Florence developed the *stile rappresentativo*, a dramatic recitative with instrumental accompaniment, in keeping with their belief that the Greek stage had already used music as accompaniment to the long declamations of the chorus. Thus was born the opera.



The famous falso-bordone improperia (for Good Friday afternoon) by Palestrina. The "altus chorus" referred to is the other half of the choir singing, in antiphonal alternation, from another book.

The musical and the decorative arts sometimes met when instruments of elaborate design, painted in gold and other bright colors in keeping with Renaissance taste, found their way into the homes of ecclesiastical and merchant princes. In sixteenth-century Italy instrumental music became increasingly popular as secular entertainment—in contrast to the medieval dominance of vocal music. And as music publishing grew into a flourishing business, it became possible for the great masterpieces to be performed all over Europe in cathedral or church, palace or bourgeois dwelling at the same time. Castiglione's *Courtier* expected the accomplished gentleman "to dance well," "to sing well upon the book," "to play upon the lute and sing to it with a ditty," and "to play upon the viol and all other instruments with frets."

Individualism and virtue in the Renaissance

THE RENAISSANCE interest in the individual encouraged the writing of biography and autobiography.

Cellini's well-known *Autobiography* reveals the more adventurous aspects of his age. Swordsman, intriguer, writer, and artist, this man had many of the vices and the virtues of his day. He believed in witches, salamanders, and black magic, and in his own genius. He killed his opponents in duels and brawls and wrought masterpieces of the goldsmith's art on the same day. His age believed in *virtuosity*, a word derived from the Italian *virtu*, which in turn came from the Latin *virtus*, originally meaning *manliness*. A *virtuoso*, one who had *virtu*, was a person who excelled in some ways befitting man;

the more ways, the more *virtuoso*. Cellini was less of a virtuoso than such universal geniuses as Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo. Renaissance virtuosity was individualistic. It had little to do with the Christian virtues of faith, hope, and charity; it was akin to talent and technical skill, not to piety.

*Historiography
in the Renaissance period*

THE NEW approach to history in Renaissance Italy is likewise indicative of the new attitude toward

man and his world. The medieval annal or chronicle had set down occurrences in chronological order with rare attempts at logical arrangement or interrelation and with little explanation of events except in terms of the will of God. In the Renaissance, history began to be written with a fresh and critical, though not always impartial, eye to the lessons of the past and the interpretation of the present. In 1440, Lorenzo Valla had demonstrated, chiefly by skillfully detecting anachronisms of event and style, that the alleged imperial document known as "The Donation of Constantine" was a ninth-century forgery and that the claims of the pope to temporal power in the West could not thereby be historically justified as a grant by the Roman emperor. His method suggested to others the importance of a more careful scrutiny of historical documents for authenticity. Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* and *History of Florence* are noteworthy for their use of history to interpret the present and to influence those in power through the lessons of the past. In Machiavelli's hands, history became the handmaiden of politics, and so it was treated by his continuator Francesco Guicciardini. Guicciardini's *History of Italy* was his masterpiece. More impassive and unbiased than Machiavelli, Guicciardini wrote with the same practical purpose—to furnish political leaders with historical materials to guide them in practical affairs.

Both Machiavelli and Guicciardini were representative of their country and their time. The utter realism of the courses they advocated, their pragmatic views of man and society, and their studied relegation of moral or religious scruples reveal sharply and explicitly the extent to which the Renaissance in Italy had reacted from medieval ideals. Their theses were the result of practical experience, largely free from preconceptions. Both wrote with a strong sense of patriotism. But whereas Guicciardini frankly declared his cynicism, openly doubting whether men ever put the public welfare before their own private interest, Machiavelli's stern philosophy, which subordinated means to a worthy political end, was put forward for a perhaps more commendable purpose—the union of his beloved Italy under a single crown.

*The political theory
of Niccolò Machiavelli*

MACHIAVELLI's masterpiece, *The Prince*, was written in Italy's hour of crisis. When the patriotic Italian

took up his pen, the invading armies of the new dynastic states across the Alps were unmistakably revealing the humiliating weakness of a disunited

Italy. His essay was intended as a practical manual for the man whom he intended to unite Italy. In it he expounded the supreme importance of adapting means to the welfare of the state. Thus he largely separated political science from ethics, power from justice. The same idea was succinctly set forth in his later *Discourses on Livy* (Bk iii, Ch. xli): "For where the very safety of the country depends upon the resolution to be taken, no considerations of justice, or injustice, humanity or cruelty, nor of glory or of shame, should be allowed to prevail." He counseled the stingy distribution of rewards and the quick and thorough application of punishments, the frank playing of fast and loose with power alliances, the open repudiation of subordinates who had become unpopular or suspect—all in the interests of achieving the welfare of the state. *Raison d'état*, which means literally "the state's reason" but which has come to signify the indifference of power politics to ethical considerations, found a most eloquent defender in his philosophy; and today we call such theories and behavior "Machiavellian."

The Prince was of little influence during Machiavelli's lifetime, remaining unpublished until after his death. Then it was translated rapidly into all the languages of Europe and exerted an influence far beyond its original intention. In the religious polemics of the late sixteenth century, Catholics and Protestants accused each other of following Machiavellian methods. In later centuries, including our own, Machiavelli's political theories became the guiding principles of the modern school of *Realpolitik*. Napoleon read Machiavelli. The last chapter of *The Prince*, "An Exhortation to Liberate Italy from the Barbarians," inspired Victor Emmanuel and the other Italian patriots who finally succeeded in uniting Italy more than four centuries after Machiavelli's death. The founder of Fascism, Benito Mussolini, in his youth wrote a laudatory essay on Machiavelli.

THE SPREAD OF THE RENAISSANCE THROUGH EUROPE

NORTH of Italy the intellectual ferment of the Renaissance was also notable, if sometimes less marked than in Italy, before the sixteenth century. Around universities like Oxford and Paris had developed humanist movements that had produced scientists, writers, and scholars no less worthy than those of Italy. In the court of Charles the Bold of Burgundy, himself an accomplished musician, art and music flourished. Commercial cities like Antwerp and Augsburg also became centers of science, art, and learning, where wealthy capitalists matched the generosity and competitive ostentation of the Medici as patrons. Printing developed faster in the German cities than elsewhere. Italy was a sort of Mecca to which men of science, talent, and

learning made pilgrimages and looked for inspiration, but the European Renaissance movement as a whole—its literature, scholarship, creative thought, and art—was by no means the product of Italian influences alone. The same complex of factors that produced the movement in Italy was at work in various ways and in varying degrees throughout the rest of Europe. Everywhere the changing cultural climate of the early sixteenth century revealed a crescendo of secular interest, a growing spirit of inquiry, and an increasing tendency toward criticism of existing institutions. In each country Italian influences were translated into the local idiom.

*Influences
of the Italian Renaissance*

WHEN KING Charles VIII of France invaded Italy in 1494, initiating a sixty-five-year struggle between

the kings of France and Spain for control of the Italian peninsula, he also enhanced the influence of the Italian Renaissance in the rest of Europe. His successor, Francis I, continued both the invasion and the consequent spread of Italian influences. The brilliant civilization of Rome, Florence, and Venice greatly impressed the French invaders, and soon the court at Paris, seeking to emulate the Italian example, became a center of art. Italian artists and Italian styles and techniques were imported to add their brilliance to native French culture. Leonardo spent his last years painting for Francis I; Cellini fashioned his famous gold saltcellar for Francis I and established studios in the king's new palace at Fontainebleau; Andrea del Sarto, one of the best Florentine artists, was commissioned to buy Italian paintings for Francis I. Italian architects spread the new Renaissance fashions in palace architecture and adapted them to French châteaux.

France was but one of many regions where the new movement found favorable reception. Scholars, writers, and artists from all parts of Europe went in greater numbers to study in the Italian schools and universities and brought the new art and learning home with them. Returning soldiers spoke boastfully of the wonders they had seen in Italy. Trade also promoted the diffusion of Italian culture, especially in matters of dress and ornamentation; the silks of Florence, Milan, Genoa, and Venice, and the jewelry and the wares fashioned out of precious metal by Italian craftsmen were eagerly sought by the wealthy everywhere. Diplomatic missions fostered the interchange of ideas, paintings, and fashions. The rapid spread of printing made the rediscovered classical knowledge and the new scholarship and letters the property of the literate in every land.

*Local adaptations
of Italian literary models*

THE INNOVATIONS of Renaissance Italy were carried to other lands, sometimes unchanged,

sometimes modified to meet local tastes and conditions. The English poet Edmund Spenser adapted much from the Orlando epic for his *Faerie Queene*,

making it a moral and political allegory. Wyatt and Surrey's Italianate sonnets were more imitative and less English. In France a group of poets (known because of their number and brilliance as "the Pleiades"), among whom the lyricist Ronsard was the leading figure, applied the disciplines of classical poetry in their writings. Using the French language (now an effective and respectable medium) in preference to Latin, they achieved a delicate, graceful, typically French style of expression. The Italian *novella* had a wide vogue in other countries. In Spain a particular form of the adventure story, the picaresque romance, was developed. Such romances were narratives of adventure and sin against society recounted by rogues with pride in their achievements and contempt for their victims. Italian decoration was blended with gothic in the new French châteaux. The Italian revival of antiquity was extended to include the study of early Christianity in England, the Low Countries, the Germanies, and Switzerland—an emphasis that was soon to have significance in the revolt from Rome.

Naturalism

in Flemish and Dutch painting

THE LOW COUNTRIES, like Italy, had prospered early and had begun to break away from the medieval conventions even before Italian influences were rife. In fact, as has already been suggested, the Low Countries had contributed to Italy the Cambrai masters in music and the technique of painting in oils. In the sixteenth century the Flemish and Dutch trend away from the conventional became still stronger under the growing influence of the Italian movement. But the northern art had a native simplicity and a certain linear quality not characteristic of the subtler art of the Italians. A typically northern development, in which the Flemish painters excelled, was the depiction in realistic fashion of everyday scenes of everyday people as contrasted with the Italian painters' preoccupation with Biblical or mythological scenes peopled by nudes. Despite the marked "Romanist" influences of the sixteenth century, some Flemish-Dutch masters continued to prefer natural, human subjects. Typical of *genre* painting, as this style was called, was the work of the Fleming Peter Brueghel the Elder, whose hearty and earthy interpretations of Flemish life reflect the gaiety and color of his times. Even his Biblical and other religious pictures were painted in terms of the life he knew in the Flemish towns.

Developments

in German Renaissance art

IN GERMANY, medieval traditions were more persistent than in most other regions of the West. Renaissance art was fostered there by some leading princes and by wealthy burgher families like the Fuggers and the Welsers of such cities as Augsburg and Nuremberg. In these places, important points on the trade routes between Italy and the north, Italian influences made themselves felt early, but were generally modified to conform to local tastes. In architecture, the Germans

generally preferred the style that the new generation called "gothic" (i.e., barbarian)—the style of the medieval church with its pointed arches, clustered pillars, and ribbed groin vaults. Hence Renaissance architectural innovations appeared rarely in Germany before the seventeenth-century baroque style set in and generally only as classical modifications of German gothic. German painters, early affected by the Italians, also came under Flemish influence and turned to naturalism and technical mastery, while the tastes of their patrons directed them to realistic portraiture. Such portraitists were Albrecht Dürer and the Holbeins, the most illustrious family of artists of an age that also boasted the Bellinis and the Brueghels. Dürer was perhaps at least as famous for his engravings and woodcuts as for his paintings, while the younger Hans Holbein was proficient not only as a portraitist but also as a designer of jewelry, glass windows, and embroidery, and as a draftsman for woodcuts.

The influence

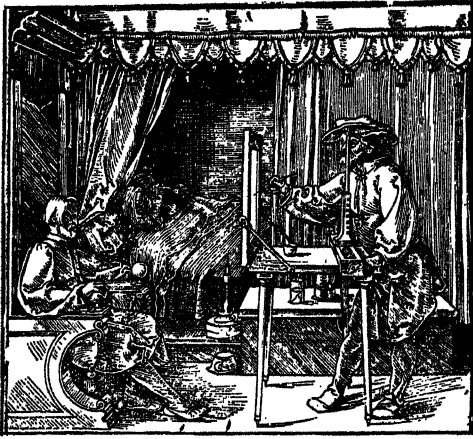
of royal patronage upon French art

PAINTING in France also inclined to portraiture, though here it was because of the preference of the

court. François Clouet stood out particularly as a painter of sensitive portraits of court figures in the reign of Francis I. French art was secular in tone, and



"Summer," an engraving by Peter Brueghel the Elder, is an excellent example of realism in the Flemish art of the sixteenth century.



In this woodcut by Dürer an artist drawing a portrait uses a mechanical device to achieve realism.

often mundane and undistinguished in spite of royal patronage. Where art was confined almost entirely to a narrow, elegant court circle, the artist was no longer revered as in the palmy days of Italy, and his free expression was curbed by royal preferences. The minor arts of enamel work, engraving, and book illustration received royal attention almost equal to that bestowed on painting and sculpture.

Some of the most elaborate examples of manuscript illumination were executed for high nobles at the French court during this period. Tapestry weaving, of which the capitals had until recently been the Flemish-Burgundian towns of Arras and Tournay, now began to center in France; and the walls of new châteaux, as well as old churches, were hung with some fine examples of that intricate and delicate art.

*The religious fervor
expressed by El Greco's paintings*

IBERIAN art of the period centers around the figure of El Greco, a Greek who studied in Venice

before he came to paint in fervently Catholic Spain. The Spanish had lived through a half-century of religious wars and persecutions when El Greco flourished there. Impelled by his own temperament and the taste of his audience, he adapted the new techniques to express religious intensity. His distortion of the human figure for emotional effect, and his use of cold grays, greens, and yellows combined strikingly to express the pious aspirations of his age and of his adopted country. His exaggerated light-and-shade contrasts drew inspiration from the work of Tintoretto.

*The national character
of drama in Spain and England*

ITALIAN drama was popular for a time and was widely imitated in France, but in Spain and England

the drama achieved a distinctively national character. The works, said to number over two thousand, of the prolific Spanish dramatist Lope de Vega are largely free of Italian or classical influence. Both his comedies and religious plays depict the everyday life of his countrymen and appeal strongly to all classes of people. In England, too, the drama, though it showed some classical influence before 1550, nevertheless retained throughout the subse-

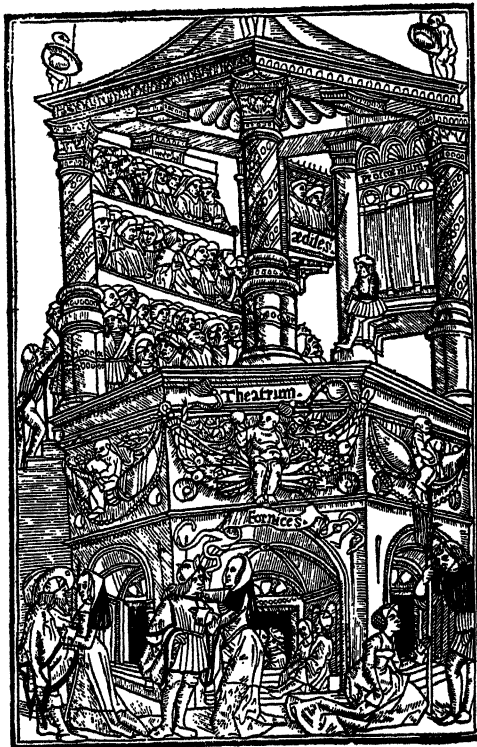
quent Elizabethan period many of its marked native characteristics. With the productions of the master dramatist William Shakespeare and his contemporaries, Thomas Kyd, Christopher Marlowe, and even the more nearly classical Ben Jonson, the London stage, housed after 1576 in several stationary theaters like the Globe, blossomed as a distinctly English species.

*The works
of William Shakespeare*

IN SHAKESPEARE'S works the Renaissance interest in the world and man reaches perhaps its best

expression. It is combined, to be sure, with a strong national feeling, which makes his historical plays an unmistakable reflection of his devotion to "this blessed plot, this earth, this realm, this England" (*Richard II*). Nonetheless he expressed the eternal human emotions, problems, and aspirations in such pat and beautiful terms that his words are probably the most often quoted by those who speak English and, next to the Bible, the most often translated into other languages. *Romeo and Juliet* as a story of frustrated lovers, *Macbeth* as a drama of retribution for crime, *Hamlet* as a depiction of the conflict between filial love and vengeance, *Julius Caesar* as a probing of souls torn between ambition and civic duty, *Othello* as a study of the corruption wrought by jealousy, *King Lear* as a contrast of love and hate in a family circle, and others of his tragedies have stood the test of time in a way that makes Shakespeare, imitated and plagiarized by hundreds of lesser dramatists, still the greatest name on Broadway or Piccadilly Circus. His comedies (*Taming of the Shrew*, *As You Like It*, *Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Twelfth Night*, etc.) are also often produced—sometimes in adapted or modernized versions. And his sonnets remain the inspiration of poets, lovers, and literary critics the world over.

A stationary theater, as conceived by a fifteenth-century artist of Lyons, France. The classical influence on its architecture and arrangements is apparent.



HUMANISM

AS SOCIAL CRITICISM

THE HUMANISTS of northern Europe (pages 141-147) believed, as the Italians did, in the fullest development of the individual as a means toward the betterment of society. Through all their thought may be glimpsed the concept of a world in which evil, folly, injustice, and abuse of power are to be eradicated by *virtu*, enlightenment, common sense, and truth. Existing evils were criticized—social disorders, warfare, ignorance, intolerance, immorality, obscurantism, asceticism, outworn chivalry, and the dissipation of political power by misguided princes. Although humanism north of the Alps, unlike Italian humanism, retained a distinctly religious cast, frequently the church was the butt of the heaviest criticism.

*Increase of literary output
through printing and publishing*

NOT ONLY did printing offer the stimulus of a wide market, but it also facilitated easy interchange of

ideas all over Europe. In addition to permanent editions of important books and musical works, a flood of ephemeral and controversial literature—pamphlets, broadsides, and tracts—came from the presses. A news-pamphlet series, forerunner of the newspaper, first appeared in the Netherlands around 1526. The printer-publisher of the century was himself sometimes a figure of some literary and scholarly importance and often directed and assisted the literary productions of others. Johannes Froben of Basel acquired a reputation for scholarliness, largely because Desiderius Erasmus was his editor for

UTOPIAE INSVLAE FIGVRA



This map of More's island appeared as the frontispiece of his Utopia published in 1516.

a number of years. William Caxton in England and the Estienne family in France are noteworthy examples of printers in whom the scholar, the editor, and the businessman were combined. The Elzevirs of Holland, though essentially businessmen rather than scholars, were an especially noteworthy family of printers, famous for their editions of the classics and for their volumes of history and politics.

Fiction

as a vehicle of social criticism

IN THE struggle for social betterment, the northern humanists added fiction to their arsenal.

Three romances in particular stand out above their contemporaries, their distinction lying less in their superiority as stories than in the skillful use of fiction as a vehicle for humanist thought and social criticism. Early in the century the English humanist Sir Thomas More wrote his *Utopia*; somewhat later the French humanist Rabelais wrote his *Gargantua and Pantagruel*; and at the end of the epoch, when Spain had turned its back on humanism and renewed its medieval ways, the Spanish Cervantes, still a humanist, wrote his *Don Quixote*.

More's commentary

on contemporary social problems

MORE'S *Utopia* (Greek for "nowhere") begins with a searching exposition of existing political

and social evils in contemporary England. Then a fictitious society is portrayed that is so ideal that the word "utopian" has passed into modern languages to signify "impractical" and "visionary." Under the influence of Plato's *Republic* and probably with the newly discovered cultures of America and the Far East in mind, More described an island where everyone was happy. The Utopian had enough work to feel busy and useful but also had enough leisure to do the things, like reading and sleeping, that were good for him. He had no economic worries or competitive impulses since there was no money or private property, and economic necessities were distributed equally. He felt secure from violence because a benign educational system made good self-governing citizens even of criminals in the prisons, all forms of worship were tolerated, and war, being conducted only for defense or resistance to oppression, was rare. Sir Thomas More solved none of the great problems of his day, but he put his finger on some of the sore spots of contemporary society and eloquently articulated a set of social, economic, educational, and international aspirations for an imperfect world.

Rabelais's satire

of the society of his day

RABELAIS was a quite unmonkish Benedictine who used the folklore figure of Gargantua as a literary

device to criticize the social weaknesses of his day and to advocate the new humanism. Gargantua and his son Pantagruel were giants, whose enormous feats and philosophical observations gave Rabelais an opportunity to comment

in broad, humorous, and sometimes scurrilous terms on the foibles of his time. Gargantua's mare was "as big as six elephants" and wore the bells of Notre Dame Cathedral as jingles. Pantagruel's tongue was so enormous that when halfway out it covered his whole army "as a hen doth her chickens." While the bigots and hypocrites among the clergy received Rabelais's special drubbings, kings and magistrates did not go unscathed. In fact, it is sometimes thought that the two giants, whose single meals or suits of clothes consumed their country's total labor for many days, could be only metaphorical kings. "Gargantua" has also entered modern language to designate the gigantic of stature and appetite; "Pantagruelism" is a name applied to coarse and boisterous humor; and "Rabelaisian" has come to mean not only "lusty" but also "loving of life" and "expressive of individuality."

*Spanish life
mocked by Miguel Cervantes*

CERVANTES' satire, not always gentle, is directed at the pageant of Spanish life in his day. *Don*

Quixote is the story of a quaint and woeful knight who pines for the old days before the introduction of gunpowder and the decline of chivalry. His squire Sancho Panza is a prosaic peasant who sees only windmills where his romantic master sees a dangerous giant to tilt against, only criminals under arrest where Don Quixote sees victims of injustice, and only servant girls where the knight sees noblewomen. Sancho Panza's stolid donkey Dapple reflects his practical philosophy just as Don Quixote's "lean, lank, meagre, drooping, sharp-backed, and raw-boned" mount Rosinante reflects the knight's defeated aspirations. Cervantes exploits Don Quixote's weaknesses to poke fun at the nostalgia for the good old days. His pages are peopled with pathetic characters—nobles, priests, traders, muleteers, farmers, thugs, courtly gentlemen, highborn and lowborn ladies—and, while offering no panacea or philosophical system, he amiably makes sport of their follies. "Quixotic" too has become part of the universal idiom as an adjective to describe what is self-sacrificing but ineffectual or what is overchivalrous and romantic.

*Erasmus' influence
on sixteenth-century thought*

THE OUTSTANDING intellectual influence of the first half of the sixteenth century was exerted,

however, by none of these novelists. It came from Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam, a scholar of cosmopolitan interests and ideas, who wrote on behalf of truth, moderation, tolerance, and freedom—though usually on religious and clerical rather than social and economic issues. A Biblical scholar, respected teacher, and trenchant writer, Erasmus traveled widely, corresponded frequently and voluminously with the outstanding intellectuals of his day, and claimed friends in high places and low in many countries. His *Praise of Folly*, written at More's house in 1511, humorously and gently satirized the frailties of man, described by its leading character named

Folly. Through her mouth he made sport of hypocrites and the unrepentantly ignorant—the obscurantists, the pedants, the believers in the miraculous and occult. Churchmen and church practices were mockingly rebuked, from hair-splitting theologians to monks, popes, and cardinals, from indulgences to idolatry. Kings and courtiers also came in for their share of amused censure.

The critical text of the Greek New Testament, carefully edited by Erasmus, was another, more scholarly, assault upon respected institutions. Published with a Latin translation, it raised annoying doubts about the Vulgate version, which had the sanction of the church. Yet Erasmus did not join the ranks of the reformers when the Protestant revolt was under way, explaining that both religious and social reform must come from enlightenment, not bigotry. He was critical of many things in the Catholic Church, but the Protestants seemed to him by the excess of their zeal likewise to have fallen into obscurantism. Erasmus was disturbed but he was also discreet. "All men have not strength for martyrdom," he confessed.

*Montaigne's philosophy
and the evolution of the essay form*

EVENTUALLY, Montaigne inherited some of Erasmus' leadership in the intellectual world. In Mon-

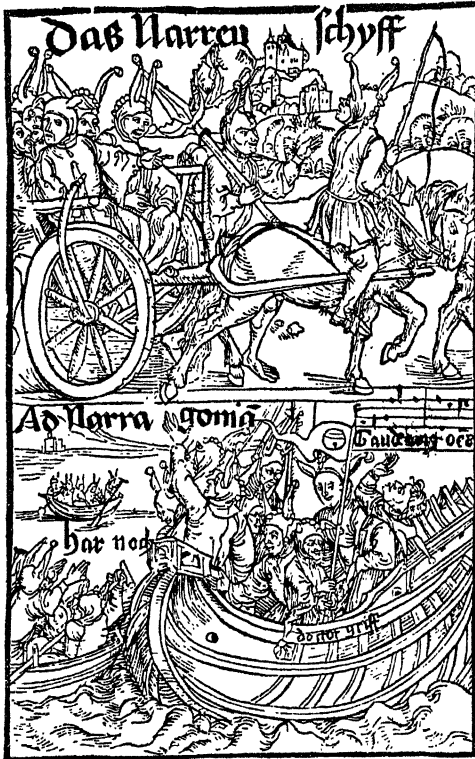
taigne's writings a new literary form—the essay—was evolved. Little prose masterpieces, each on a particular subject, these essays preached toleration and humility before the perennial problems of mankind, and rebuked the pedantry of both the older schoolmen and the newer humanists. True education was not to be obtained by rote, he declared, but by careful questioning and understanding of the problems with which one was faced, and no man dared be so sure of his answers as to be willing to burn at the stake those who had found other answers.

Writing during the years when religious conflict in France was stifling the vital spark of humanism in many places, Montaigne remained detached from the conflict. His philosophy, while asserting the moral and intellectual autonomy of man and the freedom of the individual, also stressed the inadequacy of human knowledge or judgment. He maintained that it is to man's best interest not only to adjust to his circumstances but also to avoid the domination of others, and to temper his passions by discipline and will power. In direct contrast to the philosophy of those Protestant reformers who placed faith above reason, denied freedom of the will, and sought salvation through external forces, Montaigne's philosophy continued the earlier humanist trend toward reason and self-knowledge as the supreme arbiters of truth.

*The contribution
of Bodin to modern social science*

MONTAIGNE'S contemporary, Jean Bodin, is frequently regarded as one of the early founders

of modern social science. His *Republic* was an inquiry into the nature of sovereignty, which he defined as the unlimited authority to make laws and



Frontispiece of Sebastian Brant's *The Ship of Fools* (1494).

decisions, including the declaration of war and the levying of taxes, subject only to the obligation to observe the law of God and of nature. He did not raise the question of the subject's duty in the event that he found himself forced to choose between sovereign and God, since he was concerned with existing facts rather than possible ameliorations. In economics, however, he departed somewhat from the prevalent mercantilism. Though his *Republic* favored high duties and restriction of exports, he pointed out in other essays that the best explanation of the current high cost of living was the abundance of cheap money. In religion, he favored toleration. His *Colloquium heptaplomeres* (*Sevenfold Conversation*) presented the religious views of a Jew, a Mohammedan, a Lutheran, a Zwinglian, a Catholic, an epicurean, and a theist, ending with agreement among them to live in

peace and understanding. His *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem* (*A Method for the Easy Understanding of History*) was a departure from the medieval concept of a continuous history from a lost golden age to a Christian Resurrection. Instead, Bodin suggested a succession of secular empires each adapted to the character of its people and its environment.

Literature of controversy and reform

DURING the same period lived a host of lesser writers. Among them was Juan Luis Vives, the

Spanish humanist, advocate of a program of municipal social services for the poor in a day when charity was largely a clerical obligation, and of education for girls in a day when schooling was generally considered a male prerogative. In Germany the humanist Sebastian Brant wrote pointed criticism of social conditions and especially of the church in the form of a satirical poem, *The Ship of Fools* (1494). In this poem a hundred or so fools—the book-fool, the miser-fool, the fool of useless studies, the fashion-fool, and many more repre-

senting familiar contemporary social types—sail the troubled seas of life together. The ignorance and immorality of the clergy are scored with special emphasis. Another German humanist, Ulrich von Hutten, one of the principal authors of *The Letters of Obscure Men*, united his humanistic desire for reform of the church with a strong feeling of patriotism. In bitter sarcasm he gave voice to the German scholar's resentment of clerical pedantry and ignorance and defended modern learning.

The devotees of scholasticism, who decried the new humanism and sought to maintain the supremacy of the old ways, also resorted to the pen. Their work demands less attention in the study of sixteenth-century ferment and innovation, since its significance was lost in the steady onward push toward change. But as a strong and articulate opposition, it elicited some of the best work of the humanists in reply. On the other hand, a very considerable body of Protestant thought had lasting influence—the writings of the reformers Calvin and Knox (pages 162 and 167), for example. While building on certain elements of humanism, their writings, however, turned the intellectual climate from religious indifference to intolerance and from freedom of thought to a new kind of authoritarianism.

“CHRISTIAN” OR “BIBLICAL” HUMANISM

SCHOLARSHIP was, in fact, everywhere so interwoven with other aspects of humanist activity that its separate treatment is somewhat artificial. Many of the greatest writers were also among the outstanding scholars; and the interaction between scholarship, philosophy, and literature was constant. In one important regard, however, northern scholarship differed from that of Italy. Many Italian humanists, while conforming outwardly to Catholicism, were generally indifferent or even hostile to organized religion; the northern humanists were Christian rather than pagan. In the north the revival of antiquity led to the application of scholarly attitudes and techniques to Biblical criticism and early Christian thought. Study of Latin and Greek was followed by study of Hebrew, resulting in new translations of the Bible, textual comparisons, and Biblical criticism.

*The Brothers
of the Common Life*

THE MOST famous teachers of northern Europe at the turn of the century were the Brothers of

the Common Life, a semi-monastic order that once had distinguished itself by copying manuscripts and, since the invention of printing, had turned to teaching instead. Under the outstanding teacher, Alexander Hegius, their school at Deventer in Holland became especially famous at the close of the fifteenth century. Several of the next generation's most illustrious men, including Erasmus and Pope Adrian VI, studied the classical authors as well

as the Catholic religion there. Luther as a boy attended the Brothers' school at Magdeburg, and Calvin attended a college in Paris founded by one of their pupils. The "new devotion," which permitted a goodly mixture of Latin and Greek scholarship with traditional prayers and religious learning, spread through the several hundred schools and reached the several thousand pupils of the brotherhood all over Europe. The Biblical humanism of the north owed much to the Brothers of the Common Life.

*Humanism
taught by the Oxford Reformers*

IN ENGLAND a group known as the "Oxford Reformers" were especially noteworthy as advocates of combining the new scholarly pursuits with the old. In addition, they exhibited a practical interest in introducing humanism and recent scholarship into education. John Colet, lecturer at Oxford on Biblical literature, turned away from the usual allegorical method of interpretation in favor of a more literal interpretation of Scripture. In a boys' school that he developed in connection with St. Paul's Cathedral in London, he included Latin and Greek in the curriculum along with Christianity. Sir Thomas More, whose *Utopia* formed so influential a part of humanist thought, was a member of this group. While, in common with his friends Colet and Erasmus, he deplored religious conflict, he advocated reform within the body of the church and engaged in controversy with Martin Luther and William Tyndale, celebrated English Biblical scholar and translator, who was later executed for heresy. Another of the Oxford Reformers was Thomas Linacre, who had studied medicine in Italy. Professor of Greek at Oxford, he translated Galen's works into English and helped to found the London College of Physicians. Erasmus was one of his pupils.

*Biblical scholarship
on the European Continent*

BIBLICAL scholarship also made great strides in Spain, before thought was curbed by the Inquisition. The great patron of the new scholarship was Cardinal Ximenes. As part of a campaign to effect the reform of the Spanish clergy within the church, Ximenes established the University of Alcalá, devoted particularly to the study of the languages of antiquity. Under Ximenes' sponsorship were published the first Greek text of the New Testament and the first polyglot Bible, i.e., one containing texts in several languages in parallel columns.

In Germany, scholarship was, perhaps more than anywhere else, centered on the Bible and early Christianity. Johann Reuchlin, outstanding among a number of able scholars, was a pioneer in the study of Hebrew. He published a Hebrew grammar, and, on the basis of his studies, engaged in extensive criticism of the authorized Vulgate translation of the Bible. Like Colet in England, Ximenes in Spain, and Erasmus in Holland, Reuchlin essayed a new, literal interpretation of Biblical texts.

Erasmus also lent his great influence to the new Biblical criticism. As we have seen, he published his own edition of the New Testament with a Latin translation, indicating important errors in the Vulgate version. He also published a paraphrase of almost the whole Bible. Both works were based on an examination of the available manuscripts and became the starting point of modern Biblical exegesis. In his own day, the faith of literate men was rudely shocked by the realization that the word of God had not been previously available in accurate translation.

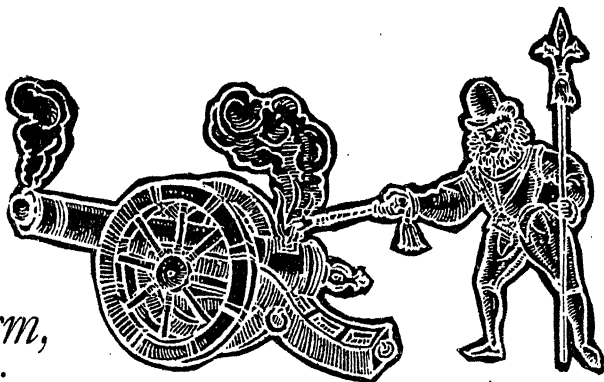
HUMANIST scholarship was somewhat akin to the new science in its rejection of authority in favor of inquiry and observation. It was also akin to heresy in questioning interpretations of the Bible long sanctioned by the church. The new Biblical criticism and the humanist groping toward a religion in harmony with scholarly accuracy reinforced other pitiless attacks on medieval ideology. The discoveries in America and the East had made men aware that the world was far bigger and more varied than had once been supposed. New standards, materials, and subjects in painting and sculpture had unsettled artistic traditions, had produced new techniques, and had opened new avenues for the expression of talent and novel ideas. The Copernican theory had ousted the Earth from the center of God's universe, and the new medicine had shown that man by his own knowledge and skill could play a greater part than had previously been suspected in prolonging his own life span. Valla had raised doubts regarding the authenticity of hitherto accepted historical documents. Satires like Rabelais's and Cervantes', Utopias like More's, pleas for tolerance like Erasmus', Montaigne's, and Bodin's had caused men to smile, sometimes without mirth, at hitherto respected institutions and beliefs. The new theater, the new music, and the new literary genres had made innovation seem respectable. For many, *virtu* began to appear more commendable than virtue, physical well-being more worthy than eternal salvation, local welfare and dynastic aggrandizement better than universal religious unity. This ferment of ideas led inevitably to the questioning of accepted church dogma and practice.

Amid the humanist urge toward Biblical scholarship and religious reform and in the humanist desire to re-create the conditions of early Christianity more than one thinker happened on the views, to be examined in the next chapter, of the religious revolutionary Martin Luther. Luther's impassioned expression of these views, however, uninhibited by the hesitations or qualifications of the scholar, gathered the force of a popular movement. Feeding on the fertile soil prepared by the humanists, the Lutheran movement became a great heresy that led to an irreparable break with Roman Catholicism.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1444?-1510 Botticelli, Italian painter
- 1444-1514 Bramante, Italian architect responsible for designing St. Peter's Church
- 1452-1498 Savonarola, Dominican mystic
- 1452-1519 Leonardo da Vinci, Florentine painter, sculptor, architect, and engineer
- 1466?-1536 Erasmus, Dutch humanist
- 1471-1528 Albrecht Dürer, painter and engraver of the German Renaissance
- 1475-1564 Michelangelo, Italian painter, sculptor, architect, and poet
 - 1476 First printing press introduced into England by William Caxton
- 1493-1541 Paracelsus, Swiss physician
 - 1494 Charles VIII's invasion of Italy
 - 1497 John Cabot's cruise along the American coast
- 1500-1501 Establishment of the Portuguese claim to Brazil by Pedro Álvares Cabral
 - 1514 Machiavelli's *Prince*
 - 1516 Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*
 - 1516 Legitimizing by Charles of Burgundy (later Emperor Charles V) of the slave trade by granting concessions to Flemish merchants
- 1519-1522 Circumnavigation of the globe by Ferdinand Magellan
 - c. 1520 Inauguration of Portugal's systematic colonization of the New World
- 1520?-1569 Peter Brueghel the Elder
- c. 1520-c. 1650 The "price revolution" in Europe
 - 1528 Count Castiglione's *The Courtier*
- 1533-1592 Montaigne
- 1534-1541 Jacques Cartier's three voyages to the St. Lawrence region
 - 1543 Publication of Copernicus' *Concerning the Revolutions of the Heavenly Bodies*
- c. 1548-1614 El Greco
- 1548?-1600 Giordano Bruno
 - 1561 Guicciardini's *History of Italy*
 - 1562 Sir John Hawkins' initiation of the British slave trade
- 1564-1616 William Shakespeare
- 1580-1640 Spain's union with Portugal
 - 1590 Development of the *stille representativo*, the beginning of the operatic form
- 1605-1615 Cervantes' *Don Quixote*
- 1609 Henry Hudson's explorations for the Dutch East India Company

*Reform,
reaction,
and disunion*



THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION involved a great many different kinds of human interests, among which religion was one of the most conspicuous. In outward appearance, at least, the movement was a clerical revolt, which began formally on the day in 1517 that Martin Luther nailed his ninety-five theses to the church door at Wittenberg, and ended with the shattering of western religious unity by the creation of numerous sects that repudiated the Roman Church, formulated their own doctrines and precepts, and established their own church organizations. The origins of the reform movement, the particular way in which things happened, the denouement, and the lasting results, all were shaped, nevertheless, by national consciousness, dynastic ambitions and quarrels, humanism, skepticism, capitalism, geographical discovery, the rise of the middle class, general unrest, and a host of other factors as well as by purely religious considerations. The age of the Reformation was one of change so wide and so profound that, although it was primarily a religious upheaval, all the contemporary tensions found expression in it.

The Reformation was the first wave of socio-political revolution to engulf modern Europe. It was a revolution that faced backward while moving forward. A result itself of the transition from medieval unity to modern diversity, it also furthered that transition in many ways, but religiously and intellectually it sometimes found its inspiration in the medieval tradition and often reacted in a hostile manner to the new spirit and learning.

CAUSES

OF THE REFORMATION

A REVOLUTION does not arise without provocations and a widespread reaction to them. In this case the revolt was, on the surface, against the Roman Catholic Church in western Europe. Even before criticism took the form of open defiance, humanists, like Rabelais and Von Hutten, had held up churchmen to ridicule, or, like More, had pleaded for toleration. or, like Valla and Erasmus, had exposed vulnerable points in ecclesiastical scholarship. Although these men—at first, in any case—did not want and probably did not even expect open revolt against the church, they and their fellow intellectuals articulated and, in their way, helped to foment the unrest that preceded the Reformation. In this regard they played a role very similar to that in which, time and again on the eve of great political and social upheavals, we shall find the intelligentsia cast.

Resentments against the Catholic Church

demand made by various parts of society, each for its own reasons. Only in small part was it due to the public scandal created by the supposed im-

morality, ignorance, and abuse of power among some individual churchmen. (It was rather the church as an institution that was criticized. Some of the church ceremony struck some critics as becoming more and more formal and empty of content and inspiration. Hence arose a desire to return to the primitive church, in which, it seemed to many, the spirit and the teachings of Christ, rather than a barren ritual, had been the central element, and man had had direct communion with God without the intercession of a formidable church structure.) A widespread feeling also arose, thanks to the nascent nationalism of the several European peoples,



The Fall of the Papacy, by Lucas Cranach, Wittenberg, 1531.

that power was too greatly concentrated in the hands of the pope. He was nearly always an Italian by birth and a temporal Italian prince in outlook, and sometimes he wielded his power with apparently little appreciation of the needs and sentiments of the rest of Europe. Many people, the humanists in particular, felt that the church was not keeping pace with intellectual developments. Others, especially the bourgeoisie, felt that many churchmen were lagging behind the times by their interference with exploration and empire-building, interest and prices, Sabbath-breaking, the new science, and other expressions of modern worldliness. Kings, too, found fault with the church; they were jealous of the Catholic hierarchy's wide powers, exemptions, and privileges, which stood in the way of their absolute control. Both kings and townsmen regarded with envy the steady stream of Peter's pence, tithes, annates, and other ecclesiastical taxes, and the payments for confirmation, dispensations, marriages, penance, and other ecclesiastical fees or gifts that went to swell the fortunes of the already wealthy church. The nobility shared with the kings a land-hunger that might be satisfied by the confiscation of monastic properties and the secularization of the many states of Europe that, as ecclesiastical principalities, were indirectly under papal supervision. And the lowly peasant, already in revolt in many parts of Germany because of unbearable feudal oppression, often found it easy to believe that the church, if it did not itself oppress him, lent its support to those who did.

The new spirit

of doubt, inquiry, and innovation

IN SHORT, although scarcely any-
one would have thought to express
it thus at the time, the universal,

unified, dominant church was an anachronism in a world turning toward sovereign nations, cultural diversity, and religious pluralism. The spirit of the Middle Ages was one of a single faith, resistance to innovation, and devotion to traditional institutions like the church, the guild, and the feudal order. These three institutions had frequently conflicted in the past. The clergy, the feudal rulers, the feudal aristocracy, and the guild-controlled towns had striven against each other to prevent domination by any one of them. In that way a kind of system of checks and balances had emerged, leaving a certain freedom of action in the political sphere. But in matters of faith, rarely had freedom been sought or won. That compliant spirit had bolstered the claim of the medieval church to universal spiritual control. The Renaissance, however, now weakened the general willingness to accept old ideas. More conscious than before of his own importance, the individual became less fearful of innovation. He was readier to listen to those who raised searching questions even in the religious sphere, and it became easier for him to find support when rebuking institutions and authorities whose claims to loyalty he had begun to doubt.

*The conflict
of political and religious loyalties*

IT WAS not merely a set of political and religious doubts or moral and financial abuses or legal and economic disputes that provoked the crisis. After all, many of these provocations were no worse now than they had been. Rather they coincided with the new critical spirit abroad in the European world. It was now harder to separate political from religious doubts, forbidding the latter while permitting the former. The emergence of strong dynasties like the Valois of France, the Tudors of England, and the house of Castile in Spain had not only helped to bring about the new attitudes—it had also provided possible defenders for those who might entertain them. Many noble officers, lowly soldiers, and middle-class patriots who followed their countries' fortunes through numerous wars began to think that their kings were as much entitled to their loyalty as was their church. To such royal devotees the concept of a universal empire and a supernational church lost some of its appeal. In addition, the merchant, the banker, the sea captain, or the joint stockholder, who now had a vested interest in the growth of overseas empires, could not help feeling greater sympathy with his king, who shared in his ventures, than with his confessor, who might frown upon them. Even the local feudal baron, while endeavoring to maintain his ground against royal encroachment, was certain to give a welcome ear to those who doubted the sacredness of the alliance of the altar and the throne. Thus, whether they wished to strengthen the king or to weaken him, various groups in society had begun to question the place of the church in the political structure.

*Dissension
within the Catholic Church*

strengthened the forces favoring change but they thereby also revealed internal weakness among the forces resisting change. So long, however, as

WHEN THOSE who were tormented by doubts were themselves clergymen, they not only

the church seemed strong enough to parry or suppress criticism it could survive dissension. It had, in fact, been able to weather storms of reproach and protest, led in earlier generations by such "heretics" as John



John Hus burning at the stake in 1415, from Conciliumbuch, Augsburg, 1483.

Wycliffe and John Hus. Now, however, it was not only facing a stronger opposition from without, but it was also weaker within, as the growing number of clerical humanists revealed.

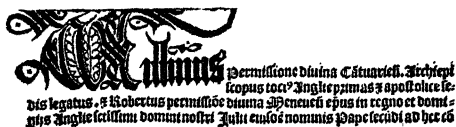
THE REVOLT OF LUTHER

IMPORTANT changes in history are likely to come not so much because something new appears attractive as because the old proves unable to maintain itself and collapses. Seldom has this been more obvious than in the case of the Reformation. The dissatisfaction with the outward forms of the Roman Catholic Church was great before the sixteenth century even among those who wholeheartedly accepted its inward spirit; and yet it survived in western Europe undivided because it had the power to resist its opponents. Now it was to prove too weak to repress either rebels or friendly critics. Only a relatively minor episode, such as might have been surmounted in palmier days, was required to prove its weakness. That episode was the tacking of a protest on the door of the castle church in the small Saxon town of Wittenberg by a hitherto inoffensive Augustinian friar named Martin Luther.

*Luther
in his preparatory years*

LIKE MOST of his contemporaries, Martin Luther in his youth had accepted unquestioningly the doc-

trines and practices of the church. One of the schools that he attended was the cathedral school at Magdeburg, where some of the Brothers of the Common Life were teachers; he then went to the University of Erfurt and finally became a monk. Even as a young Augustinian friar, he displayed an unusual concern about his personal salvation. Diligent though he was about the observance of the church's teachings, Luther spent his novitiate under a terrible cloud of foreboding. It required several years before he could be convinced that God might look with mercy upon what he felt was his utterly depraved soul. Although educated at Erfurt in the strict scholastic tradition, he found it almost impossible to derive satisfaction from his studies of Aristotle and St. Thomas, and occupied himself unavailingly with fasting and praying. "If ever a monk could win heaven by monkery," he said many years later, "I must have reached it." Yet his sense of sin persisted. Misunderstood by his associates, he finally caught the sympathetic eye of John Staupitz, vicar-general of his order and professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg. Upon the advice of Staupitz the young friar sought comfort in the Scriptures and in the writings of St. Augustine. In Augustine's theology the penitent thought he found assurance that the divine gift of faith would bring with it the bequest of eternal salvation. This assurance was to lead him eventually not to peaceful adjustment within the church but to



Four lines and the papal seal from an edition of a papal indulgence published in England, 1508.



revolution in the direction of a new Christianity. For implicit in it was the doctrine that man can be saved by faith alone without "good works" or the intercession of a priestly hierarchy.

Justification

by means of faith and good works

THE DOGMA of "good works," over which Luther was finally to break with the Roman Church,

is based upon the conviction that the observance of the seven sacraments (the ceremonies of baptism, confirmation, penance, the eucharist or mass, marriage, ordination or holy orders, and extreme unction) and the performance of such activities as confession, pilgrimages, obsequies for the dead, the giving of alms, or other hallowed practices are necessary for salvation. Faith—that is, explicit acceptance of the true religion—was also an essential element of salvation, but faith alone without good works was of no avail. In the performance of good works the church, in the person of the priest who administered the sacraments, was the practically indispensable intermediary between man and God, essential to salvation.

A minor incident

from which a major crisis arose

✓ THE FIRST step in the unpremeditated revolt of Martin Luther was a protest against the sale of in-

dulgences to raise money for the completion of St. Peter's Church in Rome. An indulgence was an ecclesiastical promise of remission of the whole (plenary indulgence) or part (partial indulgence) of the penalty that the soul must undergo in purgatory on account of its sins. An indulgence was not a pardon but only a reduction of the penalty for sin. It gave to the sinner, if he were truly contrite, a share in the "Treasury of Merits" that had been accumulated by the vicarious sufferings of Jesus and his saints for the sins of man. A genuinely repentant sinner, having confessed, made restitution, and performed some kind of penance, might, so to speak, draw upon this "Treasury" for some credit to offset his offense. Penance usually took the form of doing some "good works" such as saying prayers, visiting certain shrines, or donating money for worthy ecclesiastical purposes. It is a logical practice in a church that believes in salvation by a combination of faith and good works.

Employed by the archbishop of Mainz, a Dominican friar named Johann Tetzel promoted the sale of indulgences in Germany. Tetzel was perhaps unscrupulous or overzealous. In any event, he misrepresented the nature of the indulgence, playing upon the ignorant piety of those who hoped to diminish the terrors of purgatory for their beloved dead. He even composed a ditty to stimulate sales, which may be translated as follows:

As soon as the coins in the money chest ring,
The souls out of their Purgatory will spring.

Luther, who had been shocked by Rome's worldliness, and who, as an Augustinian, perhaps was also jealous of the success of the Dominican's campaign, was provoked by Tetzel's brash salesmanship to open protest.

*Luther's questioning
of the authority of the church*

LUTHER had no revolutionary intentions when he nailed his outburst against indulgences to the

door of the church at Wittenberg. Nevertheless, the ninety-five theses in which he set forth his argument were copied, translated from Latin, and circulated widely in printed form, arousing a remarkable popular response. In the ensuing controversy between Luther and the defenders of papal practice, Luther's views became sharpened and more startling. Skillful rhetoric on the part of Catholic debaters, especially John Eck of the University of Ingolstadt, forced the Augustinian monk to recognize that in condemning indulgences he was in fact casting doubt upon the necessity of a church that should act as intercessor for man with God, and was denouncing a doctrine that had been approved by popes and church councils alike. Thus he was calling into question the traditional authority of both. Upon recognizing the broader aspects of his position, Luther boldly made his attack on the church more inclusive. From his criticism of a minor abuse of church power, he now proceeded to the censure of the fundamental structure of the church itself. From merely questioning indulgences he moved on to doubts regarding the whole system of "good works."

*Luther's dogma
of justification by faith alone*

THE CHALLENGE that Luther now
flung at the venerable creed of
Catholicism was the doctrine of

justification through faith alone. He had arrived at this extreme position almost reluctantly. As his debates with other churchmen progressed, he had come to lean more and more heavily upon Paul's Epistle to the Romans (1:17): "For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith; as it is written, The just shall live by faith." Luther interpreted Paul's words to mean: Explicit faith that God had sent His only begotten Son to save mankind by His sufferings was sufficient for eternal salvation, and good works were not necessary.

*The break with Rome
dramatically completed*

LUTHER, in the beginning an ardent advocate of internal church reform, now became a passionate

and uncompromising leader of the new dispensation. In 1520 he published three pamphlets in which he explicitly attacked the church, giving the signal for battle in a movement that was to become known as the Protestant Reformation. He appealed to the nascent local patriotism of the German ruling class in *An Address to the Nobility of the German Nation*, urging them to free their people (and incidentally to enrich themselves by confiscating church property within their reach). The Catholic hierarchy and its system of sacraments were exeoriated in *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*. And in *The Freedom of the Christian Man* he held up his doctrine of salvation as a release from religious dependence upon all but true faith and conscience: "A Christian man is the most free lord of all and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to everyone."

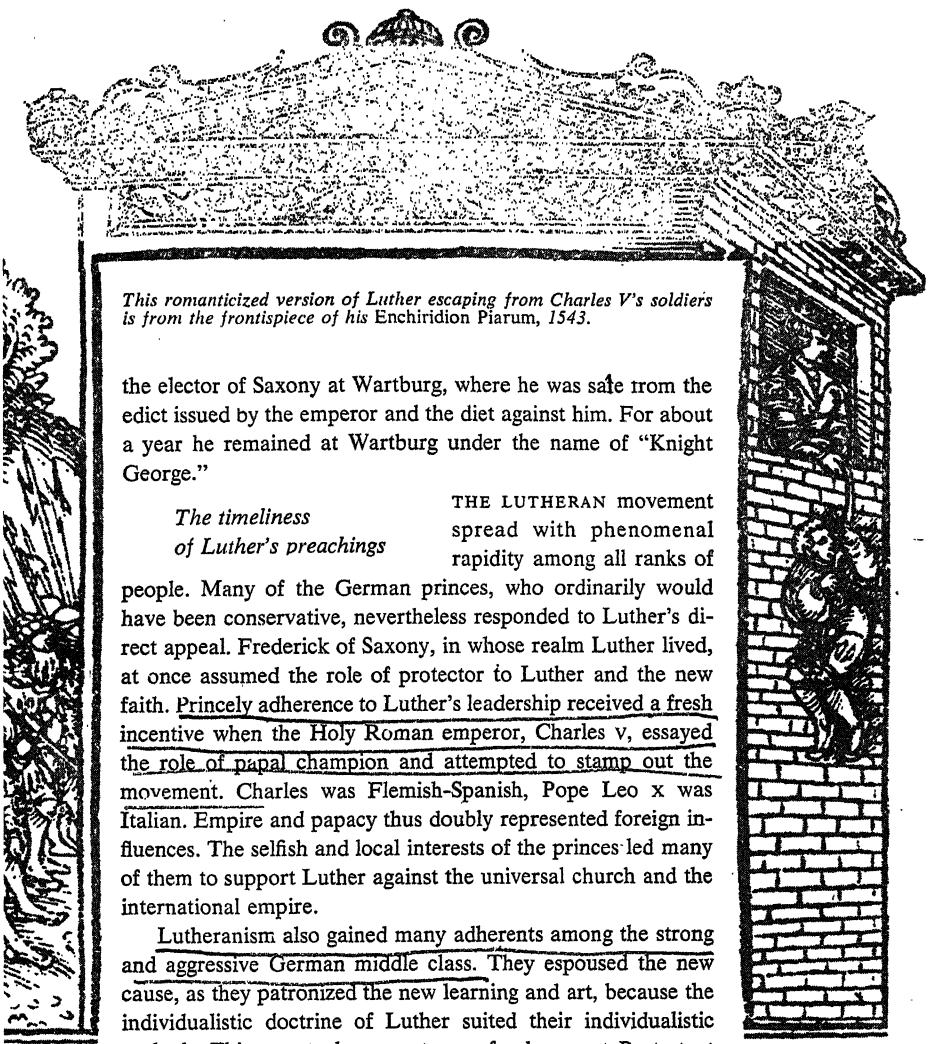
The reigning pope was Leo x, a suave member of the Medici family, who was preoccupied with purely Italian affairs and with the building of St. Peter's Church at Rome. He at first thought of Luther's protests as a "squabble among monks" that could be settled by diplomacy. But now Luther's actions appeared dangerous, and the pope formally declared them heretical, giving him two months to recant or be excommunicated. This ultimatum was contained in a papal "bull," so called because it was sealed with the leaden seal (Latin *bull*) of the pope. Only the most solemn pronouncements of the pope were so sealed. Since excommunication was a form of punishment seldom invoked, Leo x obviously meant to be stern.

The papal threats, however, led only to a further step in Luther's repudiation of the old creed. His reply was to defy the authority of the church, before an approving crowd of Wittenbergers, by consigning the papal bull and some books of canon law to the flames of a bonfire. All hope of reconciliation with Rome thus literally went up in smoke in this "burning of the books," which came to symbolize a sort of declaration of independence in German history.

*Luther
before the Diet of Worms*

SUMMONED the next year before the Emperor Charles and the imperial diet at Worms, Luther was

called upon to recant, but replied, "My conscience is taken captive by God's Word, and I neither can nor will revoke anything, seeing that it is not safe or right to act against conscience. God help me. Amen." He was allowed to depart because the emperor had promised him a safe conduct, but influential friends kidnaped him shortly afterwards and placed him in the castle of



This romanticized version of Luther escaping from Charles V's soldiers is from the frontispiece of his Enchiridion Piarum, 1543.

the elector of Saxony at Wartburg, where he was safe from the edict issued by the emperor and the diet against him. For about a year he remained at Wartburg under the name of "Knight George."

*The timeliness
of Luther's preachings*

THE LUTHERAN movement spread with phenomenal rapidity among all ranks of people. Many of the German princes, who ordinarily would have been conservative, nevertheless responded to Luther's direct appeal. Frederick of Saxony, in whose realm Luther lived, at once assumed the role of protector to Luther and the new faith. Princely adherence to Luther's leadership received a fresh incentive when the Holy Roman emperor, Charles v, essayed the role of papal champion and attempted to stamp out the movement. Charles was Flemish-Spanish, Pope Leo x was Italian. Empire and papacy thus doubly represented foreign influences. The selfish and local interests of the princes led many of them to support Luther against the universal church and the international empire.

Lutheranism also gained many adherents among the strong and aggressive German middle class. They espoused the new cause, as they patronized the new learning and art, because the individualistic doctrine of Luther suited their individualistic outlook. This was to be even truer of subsequent Protestant

movements than of Lutheranism (e.g., of Calvinism). Some of the leading German humanists, too, added their persuasive voices to the spread of the new heresy for which they had helped to pave the way.

The effort to restore the apparently simpler religion of an earlier day also appealed to the peasantry, especially those on ecclesiastical lands. In a world of rising prices, peasants who paid their debts in farm products or labor, as was usual, lost rather than gained, since a bag of flour or three

days' wages now brought more cash than they once had. The lords, recognizing the increased value of goods and services, had become increasingly insistent upon full payment. Agrarian uprisings had broken out all over Germany at the turn of the century. The insurgents used a peasant's shoe as their device, and a peasants' uprising came to be called a *Bundschuh*, which is the German word for the primitive footwear of the peasants. In Luther's defiance of the vested authorities the peasantry perceived a moral reinforcement of their cause. The new dispensation held out the hope of social justice and freedom from class distinction and exploitation.

Everywhere people who were discontented or unhappy were drawn to the new movement. Some of them did not fully understand its implications but were ready to embrace anything holding forth the promise of better days. Among all groups there were many sincere, disinterested, and intelligent reformers and converts. Unfortunately, Luther's boldness also attracted fanatics and malcontents who perverted Luther's doctrines or used the general stir to preach their own pet brands of heresy. It was an unwieldy movement at first, having grown fast and without design, and it required all the skill and attention of Luther and his collaborators to keep it under control.

*The shaping
of the Lutheran Church*

THE DOCTRINAL break with Rome was followed by the withdrawal of Lutherans from the

Catholic Church and the setting up of Lutheran centers of worship in many cities and towns of northern Europe. The main elements of the new religion emerged under the guiding hands of Luther and some of his former brethren of the Augustinian order. The most characteristic elements of Catholicism were repudiated. The pope and the ecclesiastical hierarchy had no place in the reformed faith. Control of the new church was vested within each realm in the prince, because he represented the existing civil order. The priest (or minister) was retained, but the ministry was no longer a class of special privilege. Monasticism was condemned; monks and nuns who joined the Lutheran ranks resumed their civil status and often married; Luther himself married a former nun. Monastic and other church property was appropriated by Lutheran princes; some of it was assigned to the Lutheran Church and some of it fell to the princes' private estates. The sacraments were reduced from seven to three—baptism, marriage, and communion (a modification of the mass, whereby the laity partook of the holy wine as well as of the host, or holy bread, in token of the new relationship between God and man). The elaborate Catholic mass was replaced by a simple service of hymn, prayer, and sermon, and the Latin of the Catholic service was replaced by German. Such "good works" as pilgrimages, fasts, worship of the Virgin and the saints, and, of course, indulgences, were abandoned. The elaborate theology and tradition of the church and its claim to be the final

interpreter of truth were set aside. Instead, the Bible, which Luther, aided by Philipp Melanchthon and other German humanists, translated into German, became the single standard of correct religious belief and the only necessary guide to truth. Indelibly stamped on Protestantism, these practices largely remain to this day features not only of the Lutheran Church but also of other sects that in the early days of Protestantism took Lutheranism as their point of departure. The beliefs of the new church were set down by Melanchthon in the simple Confession of Augsburg, which is still the creed of the Lutherans.

*Luther's support
of the princes in the Peasants' War*

FROM THE beginning Luther was beset with the difficulty of keeping his purely religious reform movement free of political and social complications. Early in the struggle a group of adventurous knights under the leadership of Franz von Sickingen and the humanist Ulrich von Hutten had taken the reformers under their wing. The German knights supported the religious revolution for conservative reasons. They were being squeezed out, on the one hand, by the well-organized commerce of the towns and of the more centralized states, in which they could not share, and, on the other, by disciplined peasant armies. Nevertheless, Luther's sweeping religious movement appealed to their patriotic natures, since many of the largest landowners in Germany were ecclesiastical princes and thus apparently under foreign control. Not without hope of adding to their own holdings, they attacked these Catholic rulers, but in the end were defeated, and their so-called "Knights' War" came to a close.

Two years later a Peasants' War (1524-1526) of tremendous proportions broke out, partly inspired by Luther's attacks on the unjust practices of kings and princes. The peasantry, already engaged in independent revolt, saw in Luther's movement the promise of a true Christianity. By defying the existing ecclesiastical authority, Luther encouraged the downtrodden to hope for a new era of social justice. Reform was implicit in his religious position, and its extension by the leaders of the peasant movement



Drummer and standard bearer of the time of the Peasants' Revolt (1524-1526) in Germany.

to social relationships was perhaps logical. But Luther himself did not recognize the right of political rebellion; rulers must answer to God and their conscience alone for their injustices. Urging the princes to be fair, he nevertheless joined forces with them and exhorted them to stamp out rebellion: "Peasants must hear the crack of the whip and the whiz of the bullet; if they refuse to obey, let the cannon balls whistle among them or they will make things a thousand times worse." Perhaps not realizing that he was himself the greatest rebel of them all, he cried: "Therefore let everyone who can, strike, strangle, stab secretly or in public, and let him remember that nothing can be more poisonous, harmful, or devilish than a man in rebellion."

The princes needed little encouragement to be ruthless. They suppressed the rebels with great bloodshed, and the German peasants had to await the reformers and revolutions of the eighteenth century for amelioration of their lot. It was made clear that Luther was not a champion of the desperate farmer. Thenceforth his appeal was narrowed, and in Germany it became allied to the fortunes and interests of the princes and the middle class.

Lutheranism

subordinated to the princely rulers

IN THIS turn of events, Luther's hand was forced to some extent by the necessity of keeping his movement alive at all. He had to depend on the princes and local aristocracy to defend Lutheranism from the wrath of the pope and the armies of the emperor lest he die at the stake, as Hus had done before him. In 1529 the Lutheran princes defied an edict of the imperial government intended to suppress them. In a formal "Protest," they declared that they would remain loyal to God rather than to the emperor. By thus appealing directly to Heaven over both emperor and pope, they enhanced their claims to a fuller sovereignty. The adherents of that protest became known as the "Protestants"; and it would be difficult to separate their political from their religious motives. It was impossible for the Lutheran movement to stay free of political and social involvements. Whereas the Catholic Church and the temporal rulers had frequently quarreled for supremacy and had managed to retain a fair degree of independence, thus acting as checks upon each other, Lutheranism tended to subordinate the church to the local rulers. They had fostered its rise; without them it had little chance of success.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

BEYOND GERMANY

SINCE the dissatisfaction that the German Protestants felt with the Catholic Church and clergy also existed outside of Germany, the Lutheran challenge reechoed throughout Europe. Sometimes Luther's creed was imported un-

changed into a foreign land, as in the Scandinavian countries, but more often local conditions and partisan considerations led to the development of an independent movement. Wherever it succeeded, it was because the government was either too weak to repress it or hostile enough to the old international church to ally itself with a new national movement. Hence, at an early date, it became clear that Protestantism would not become a single religious organization but would break up into several, varying in accordance with the exigencies of the peoples or the governments that adopted it. The inability of the leading reformers to agree upon dogma reinforced the Protestant tendency toward diversity.

The reform movement

of Ulrich Zwingli in Switzerland

ALMOST simultaneously with the Lutheran revolt in Germany, a Swiss reformer named Ulrich

Zwingli inaugurated in the town of Zurich a movement that paralleled the German movement in many ways. Zwingli was a cleric, as Luther was, and, like Luther, began by criticizing church abuses and ended by breaking away from Rome both in theology and in organization. Like Luther, Zwingli sought to restore the church to his concept of its early purity, and he developed a doctrine of salvation by faith similar to Luther's. But Zwingli was deeply imbued with humanism, whereas Luther was essentially a religious mystic. Their theologies clashed sharply over the meaning of the ceremony of communion. In the corresponding rite of the Catholic eucharist, the Catholics taught that the holy wine and bread actually became the blood and body of Jesus (transubstantiation). Luther retained the essentials of the Catholic belief in the miracle of "the real presence" but modified the doctrine of *transubstantiation* to that of *consubstantiation*, holding that the bread and wine coexist with the body and blood of Christ. Zwingli regarded the rite as purely symbolic, commemorating the Last Supper of Jesus.

In ecclesiastical organization and in the relationship of church to state Zwingli's doctrines also differed from Luther's. Since Luther's movement became identified with the German princes, the Lutheran Church grew increasingly subservient to princely control. In Switzerland, however, the republican ideals and cantonal machinery already prevailing in politics were adapted by Zwingli to the organization of his church. While operating under the civil authorities, the Zwinglian church in each locality was self-governing. Thus was introduced the popular principle in church organization characteristic of some Protestant sects today. Zwingli reverted to the medieval Christian idea of church and state united in a single religious-temporal society, but his was a national rather than a universal unity. In Zurich he was allowed to mold such a unified politico-religious community, exercising both religious and secular authority himself, in contrast to Luther, who sought the protection of friendly princes.

*The unsuccessful effort
to unite Lutherans and Zwinglians*

THE ATTEMPT known as the
"Marburg Colloquy" (1529) to
bring the two Protestant move-

ments together against the common Catholic foe foundered on the intransigence of the two leaders. They met and were able to agree upon most matters but not on the nature of the communion. As a result Zwingli's movement, although it retained some influence in Switzerland, never became deeply rooted elsewhere. Quarrels and eventually civil war broke out between Zurich and the neighboring Catholic cantons, and Zwingli, attending the Zurich forces as a chaplain, was killed in battle. Zwingli's adherents were eventually absorbed in the more powerful Calvinist movement.

*The Calvinist version
of the early Christian church*

UPON THE foundations laid by
Luther and especially by Zwingli,
the Calvinists built a new Protes-

tant sect with a wider appeal than either of the others. Its founder, John Calvin, a Frenchman by birth, had come into contact with Protestant thought while studying law and theology at Paris, where he had met some of the French sympathizers of Luther. He fled his homeland during a period when King Francis I was persecuting Protestants. In 1536, while in exile in Switzerland, he published the *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, in which he sought to reconstruct the Christian church on the basis of the Bible. It was a work of admirable scholarship showing the influence of the humanist tradition, but it did not stop at scholarship alone. It entered the field of religious controversy. By revealing the modifications made in the apostolic church by later Catholicism, it sought to cast doubt on the claim of the Roman Church to direct descent from the apostles of Jesus. Repudiating Roman Catholicism, it set forth a readaptation of the early Christian church as the ideal religious system.

*The church visible
and the church invisible*

CALVIN did not consider a tangible, visible church theoretically necessary for man's salvation.

Christ, he believed, had won for man the grace of salvation. If a man is truly united to Christ, he is one of the *elect* of God; he has faith and is saved, for faith is the divinely inspired recognition of divine benevolence toward man. Having faith and being *elect*, a man lives a righteous life. The visible church is therefore not absolutely necessary either for salvation or for righteous living. Wherever the word of God is sincerely preached and the sacraments are administered according to the teachings of Christ, there is the church of God; and the universal church consists of the elect, who, though divided by distance, accept this common faith. Pastors and teachers are desirable in order to preserve discipline, to administer sacraments, to exhort, and to explain the Scriptures. But even without them, those whom

God has chosen are called to salvation, and their faith and holiness will abide till the end. They are the church invisible; the visible church must endeavor to unite and instruct and be worthy of them.

*The doctrine
of election by irresistible grace*

CALVIN agreed with the medieval theologian, as did Luther, that the major concern in life was salvation in the world to come. Like Luther, at opposite poles from the medieval theologian, he denied the necessity of the church as a means of salvation, positing in its place a personal relationship between God and man. But unlike Luther, Calvin subordinated the efficacy of man's will, holding that it was of no more account in the scheme of salvation than was the mediation of the Catholic Church. In his view salvation was predetermined by an almighty God, against whose will there was no recourse. Man was predestined to be saved or to be damned. Those whom God had determined to save were the *elect* by *irresistible grace*.

*The code
of ethics of the Calvinists*

ACCORDING to Calvin's ethical teachings, good moral behavior was an inescapable outward sign of election to grace. Such moral behavior was defined by the most rigorous standards. The elect would put aside all frivolity and weakness; they would go soberly about their business and forswear amusement and levity in favor of solemn thought and devotion to duty. This puritanical code, vesting the strictest standards of morality with the sanctity of religious doctrine, had a profound influence not only in Calvin's own day but in succeeding centuries down to the present. Brought to America with the Puritan settlers from England and reinforced by Calvinist settlers from other countries, it became woven into the fabric of American life. The fabled thriftiness of Scots and New Englanders is frequently believed to be the result of their Calvinist tradition.

*The political theory
advanced by the Calvinists*

LIKE ZWINGLI's, Calvin's ideal Christian community was a theocracy in which church and state were firmly united. In Calvin's system there was no question of equality of church and state; secular authority existed solely to enforce the dictates of religion, to do God's will. On the other hand, since the elect are all equal, Calvin espoused the elective principle in church government. Thereby he gave to his movement the same popular appeal that Zwinglianism had and that Luther's movement, tied as it was to the princes, lacked.

*Geneva
under the Calvinist theocracy*

IN 1541 Calvin was invited to return to Geneva, which had previously found his austerity too exacting. He now set up a theocracy conforming to the ideal Christian state outlined in the *Institutes*. It was a church that included the whole community,

whose civil government became the agent of Calvin and the elders of his church. Though he espoused the republican principle, Calvin, with the zealotry of the passionate reformer, maintained a virtual dictatorship in Geneva for close to twenty-five years. Geneva was a city of about 16,000 inhabitants, who now were obliged to surrender frivolities like gay clothing, dancing, and gambling. The theaters were closed and the taverns were strictly regulated. Violators of the city's puritanical code were punished severely, banishment and even execution being relatively frequent. Heresy, as in the case of Servetus (page 126), was repressed with the rack and the stake.

*Frustration
of Protestant unity*

EFFORTS were made to unite the Protestant movement by bringing the Lutherans, Zwinglians, and

Calvinists together. The followers of Zwingli acquiesced and united with the Calvinists to establish a single Protestant church in Switzerland; and Calvin accepted the Augsburg Confession. But after Luther's death, the Lutherans rejected all compromise on his interpretation of the communion and so perpetuated the division.

*The revolt
of Henry VIII against Rome*

A FOURTH form of Protestantism appeared in England in the 1520's and 1530's, gradually assuming its

final character in the course of the century. It was in its inception a Reformation from above, forced by King Henry VIII, because his political and personal situation made expedient a break from Rome and the formation of a national church subservient to the royal will. Anti-papal sentiment was also strong among the English people, particularly among the gentry and middle class, who sought increased English independence from foreign influences and were covetous of the wealth and lands of the church. The Tudor monarchs of England, building their own security from the nobles on their popularity with the middle class, were strongly inclined to support middle-class aspirations and to court middle-class favor.

*The domestic complications
leading to the crisis in England*

THE INCIDENT that precipitated the break with Rome grew out of the private ambitions and amours

of Henry VIII. Henry's wife was Catherine of Aragon, widow of his brother. In order to marry her, Henry had secured a special papal dispensation setting aside the ban of the church against marriage with one's brother's widow. Catherine bore him no male heir to the throne, and only a sickly daughter, Mary, survived infancy. He had meanwhile become interested in dissolving his marriage in favor of a lady named Anne Boleyn, who was described by a contemporary as "not one of the handsomest women in the world" though her eyes were "black and beautiful." In 1527, after many years of marriage to

Catherine, Henry asked Pope Clement VII to annul it on the grounds that the earlier dispensation ought not to have been granted by Clement's predecessor.

The dilemma

facing Pope Clement VII

IF THESE had been normal times, Clement might have acquiesced to Henry's wishes, for Henry was a

good ally in the conflict that was then raging with the German heretics. He had personally written a scathing reply to Luther's *On the Babylonian Captivity of the Church*, rallying loyal Englishmen behind Rome; and for his defense of the old religion he had been called by the pope "defender of the faith"—a title still carried by the English king.

But these were times that were sadly awry for the head of a self-styled universal church. If heretics and schismatics were going to be repressed, it would have to be by more forceful weapons than Henry's pen; and for such weapons, Clement had to look to that prince who was at the same time Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire and King Charles I of Spain, and altogether the most powerful ruler of Europe, as well as the one most directly concerned with the preservation of order in Germany. Unfortunately, Charles happened to be a nephew of Catherine, the rejected queen of England, and Charles, for both political and family reasons, was unwilling to have the marriage of his aunt and the birth of her daughter now declared illegitimate. Clement therefore preferred to let the matter drag on without a decision.

Religious revolution

in England under Henry VIII

HENRY would not wait, however, and in a series of measures enacted over a period of years, he

gradually transferred control of the Anglican Church away from Rome and into his own hands. He began by marrying Anne Boleyn and bringing enough pressure to bear upon an English ecclesiastical court in 1533 to induce it to annul his marriage to Catherine. By that time Clement had decided in favor of Catherine, and so Henry was forced into a position where he had to defy the authority of Rome over marriages and dispensations. Thus the whole Roman position in England was undermined, and the next year an Act of Supremacy was passed by an obedient Parliament making the British king "the only supreme head in earth of the Church of England." One of the principal reforms of the new "supreme head" was to abolish the monastic orders, thereby not only persecuting a group of loyal supporters of the pope, whose withdrawal from secular affairs had left them without effective popular backing, but also winning over many powerful henchmen—practically a new nobility—by dividing monastic lands and properties among them. In 1539 Parliament formally approved of this liquidation of the monasteries. By that time Anne Boleyn had been beheaded, perhaps undeservedly, for unfaithful-

ness to Henry; her daughter Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate; and Henry had married again.

*Moderate doctrinal changes
during the reign of Henry VIII*

HENRY did not go beyond these essentially political moves, though Protestantism already had its ad-

vocates in England. All the main tenets of Catholic doctrine were reaffirmed in the Six Articles passed by Parliament in 1539, and the Catholic ritual was retained in the English churches. Thus Henry forestalled opposition from the large body of the people, who would have been unwilling to give up their cherished beliefs and religious habits. The Anglican Church, neither Catholic nor Protestant and yet partaking of both creeds, was not established, however, without highly vocal opposition. This opposition Henry repressed relentlessly. In 1536-1537 a revolt of loyal Catholics of the north known as "the Pilgrimage of Grace" was put down with seventy-four executions, including the outstanding abbots. Opposition nevertheless continued, both from those who felt that Henry was going too far and from those who felt that he was not going far enough. Among the former was Sir Thomas More, who laid his head on the block as early as 1535 because he refused to repudiate the papal authority, and among the latter was William Tyndale, who fled but was eventually strangled and burned for heresy by the imperial authorities near Brussels.

*Increasing Protestantism
in England under Edward VI*

EVEN AFTER Henry's death in 1547, Protestantism continued to flourish in England. Henry had

effected a religious revolution, executed scores of people, harried thousands out of the land, impoverished tens of thousands, and married at least three of his six wives largely in order that he might have a male heir to succeed him. His frail son ruled as Edward VI for six years, dying at the age of sixteen. During that time he was dominated by a group of Protestant nobles and prelates who exploited the royal power to push England further away from Rome. English was substituted for Latin in church services by *The Book of Common Prayer*; priests were permitted to marry; images and holy water were removed from the churches; in place of the Six Articles, Forty-Two Articles of Religion were now adopted; and an Act of Uniformity committed the Anglican Church largely to Protestantism.

*Mary's short rule
and the Catholic reaction*

IRONICALLY enough, upon Edward's death, his older half-sister Mary, the daughter of Catherine

of Aragon, succeeded Edward to the throne. Since Mary was legitimate only if her mother's marriage were regarded as valid, both her interest and her upbringing prompted her to be Catholic. Hence England experienced a Catholic reaction for the five years of her reign; and to Protestants the queen became

known as "Bloody Mary," as the jails were filled and prominent Protestant leaders were dragged to the stake.

Mary's unhappy reign proved but a mere interlude in England's steady march toward Protestantism. Anne Boleyn's daughter Elizabeth succeeded her half-sister Mary; and Elizabeth's interest and upbringing induced her, in her turn, to be favorable to Protestantism, which alone gave a semblance of legality to her mother's marriage. A set of acts of Parliament now revived the religious reform measures of both Henry and Edward—a new Act of Supremacy, a new Act of Uniformity, a new *Book of Common Prayer*, and finally Thirty-Nine Articles reconfirming the Forty-Two Articles (with three deletions). These Thirty-Nine Articles have ever since formed the fundamental faith of the Church of England.

*The triumph of
Presbyterianism in Scotland*

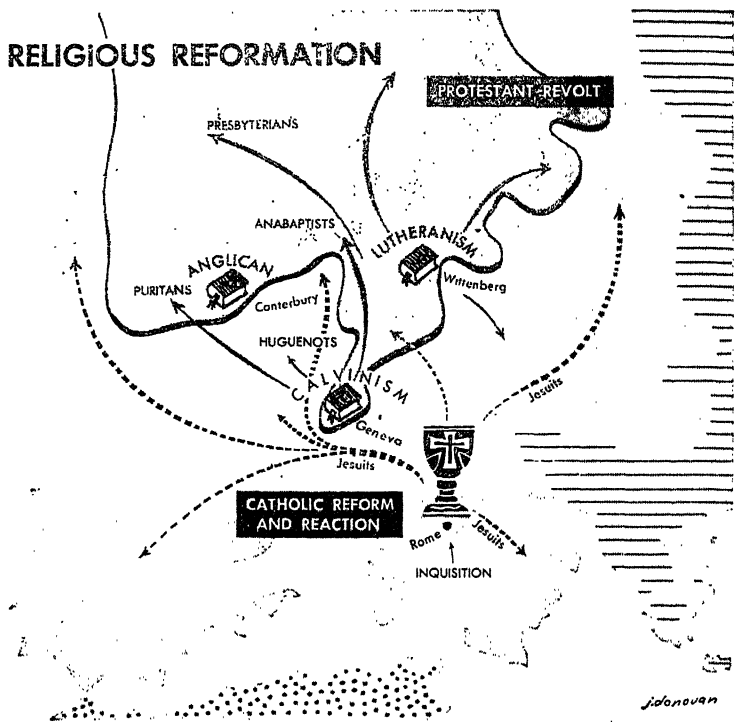
MEANWHILE, Scotland had become Calvinist in religion. This was brought about largely by the zeal of the reformer John Knox. Knox had visited Geneva and had been much impressed with Calvin's theories and practices. Returning to Scotland in 1559, he put himself at the head of the Protestant movement. The religious question in Scotland was wound up with international politics. The Catholics were pro-French and the Protestants pro-English. When in 1560 Mary Stuart became queen of Scotland, the religious issue grew into an open struggle for power between England and France. Mary was not only Catholic but pro-French, being the widow of the late king of France. Upon her return to Scotland, she became the center of plots and counterplots to determine her country's international and religious alliances.

In addition, Mary of Scotland was a Tudor on her mother's side and thereby heir to Queen Elizabeth of England. Her preferences and following augured a pro-French, Catholic regime for England if Elizabeth predeceased her. Elizabeth gave to the pro-English Protestants in Scotland more effective support than the French and the Spanish gave to Mary, and after more than a quarter of a century of intrigue and civil war, Mary was forced to abdicate the Scottish throne in favor of her Protestant son James and to seek refuge in



Portrait of Queen Elizabeth, from A Booke of Christian Prayers, 1590.

RELIGIOUS REFORMATION



At its peak Protestantism permeated most of central and western Europe. But through internal reform and the proselytizing efforts of the Jesuits and the Capuchins the Catholic Church won much of Europe and contained Protestantism within the area shown above. Minority groups remained on both sides of the line dividing Protestant Europe from Catholic Europe.

England. There she was accused of complicity in a conspiracy to assassinate Elizabeth and was beheaded by Elizabeth's government. Catholicism was thus definitely defeated in Scotland. Calvinistic Presbyterianism became the religion of all Scotland, and large elements of Calvinism were also to be found in the so-called "Puritan" sects of England. The triumph of Protestantism was assured in England, too, since Mary's son James was heir to Elizabeth as well as to Mary.

*Lesser Protestant sects:
Anabaptists, Brownists, Socinians*

THE PROTESTANT movements associated with the names of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin were largely

upper-class movements, though they won widespread popular support. More radical and lower-class forms of Protestantism also struggled for existence

among the flourishing sects. The advocates of one of these humbler brands of Protestantism were called "Anabaptists" (meaning "re-baptists"), because they held that only believers should receive the sacrament and hence that those who had been baptized as children should be baptized again as adults. They also favored social reform, some of them going so far as to preach a kind of primitive communism. Loosely organized Anabaptist groups had been involved in the Peasants' War. Though many of them were slain and their outstanding leader, Thomas Münzer, was executed when the peasant uprising failed, Anabaptism continued to survive, especially in Münster, until the city was captured and its leaders destroyed in 1535. Some of the Anabaptists followed the leadership of the Dutch reformer Menno Simons, and from them are derived the present-day Mennonites of Europe, the United States, and Canada.

A small English group, called "Brownists" from their leader Robert Browne, sought to return to the primitive, democratic church without benefit of state, nobility, or higher clergy. Browne held that preachers did not have to be ordained and that congregations might be separately organized without a hierarchy or presbytery. Thus began the groups known as "Separatist," who eventually gave rise to present-day Congregationalism.

Servetus, the Spanish scholar whom Calvin burned at the stake, and members of the Italian family of Sozzini or, in Latin, Socinus, meanwhile had developed a creed known as Socinianism. The Socinians did not fully accept the divinity of Christ, and doubted the triple personification in Father, Son, and Holy Ghost of a single Godhead, as taught by the doctrine of the Trinity. Their way of thinking found its chief support in Poland but spread also into Switzerland, Holland, and Transylvania. Reaching England in the seventeenth century, Socinianism was to become the basis of the modern sect of Unitarianism.

*The phenomenal success
of the Protestant Reformation*

FOR HALF a century or more following Luther's break from Rome, Protestantism in one form or

another—Lutheranism, Zwinglianism, Calvinism, Anglicanism, Anabaptism, Separatism, etc.—seemed to threaten the very existence of Catholicism everywhere. Lutheranism spread east to Poland, Finland, and Estonia, north to Scandinavia; Calvinism spread down the Rhine to the Low Countries, into England, Scotland, and large parts of France; and both sects spread down the Danube among the Czechs, the Slovaks, the Magyars, and the Transylvanians. Even Italy, the home of the papacy, and fanatically Catholic Spain did not remain unaffected. Whether they were aided by princes, as in Britain and Germany, or faced the opposition of the princes, the new creeds had a vast popular appeal.

CATHOLIC COUNTER REFORMATION AND REFORM

BY THE time Pope Leo X's preoccupation with domestic affairs permitted him to realize that the outburst of heresy in Germany was no mere monkish squabble, it had gone too far to be quelled. Charles V, who as Holy Roman emperor was expected to carry out the pope's anti-Lutheran policy, was similarly preoccupied. He had to cope with dynastic problems in Spain, which he ruled, and in Italy, to whose rule he aspired, and with the Ottoman Turks, who aspired to rule Europe. The negligence by both the spiritual ruler and the temporal ruler was fatal to Catholicism as the universal creed. As the idea of reform grew and spread to countries outside the Holy Roman Empire, loyal Catholics, stunned by the epidemic of heresy, were to form voluntary organizations to combat it, and finally the Catholic hierarchy, meeting intermittently for a period of nearly twenty years, was to reconfirm the old faith, condemn abuses within the church, and take steps to counteract the Protestant revolt. But by the time the authorities came wholeheartedly into the fray, the schism was beyond repair, even though it was to take another century of bitter conflict to prove that Protestantism had come to stay.

*Catholic reform
initiated by the Spanish rulers*

EVEN BEFORE Luther posted his theses on the Wittenberg church door, however, a popular move-

ment to reform Catholicism was engendered within the body of the church. In Spain Ferdinand and Isabella, ardent Catholics as well as autocrats, inaugurated vigorous ecclesiastical change with the aid of Cardinal Ximenes, whose patronage of Catholic scholarship we have already noted (page 146). Under Ximenes, the clergy and monastic orders were imbued with a new sense of their spiritual role and responsibilities. Compulsory schools were instituted as part of the training for the priesthood, and efforts were made to improve the education of priests. Religious revival among the faithful was accompanied by the special application in Spain of the Inquisition, which became a relentless and effective weapon against Jews, Moors, and heretics. The sovereigns of Catholic Spain were determined to restore Spain to religious unity, no matter what the cost in human suffering. Hence when Protestantism spread over the face of Europe, it made few converts in Spain.

*Catholic response
to the challenge of the new heresy*

THE ATTACK launched by the Lutheran heretics against monasticism called forth a quick re-

sponse from pious Catholic monks. In Italy a revival of monastic ideals became apparent in the old orders and gave rise to several new religious

brotherhoods. Notable among them were the Capuchins, so called from the brown hood (or *capuche*) that was a distinguishing part of their garb. A branch of the older Franciscan order, they were founded shortly after the religious revolt had begun to make inroads in Italy. They lived in extreme simplicity and preached and ministered to the poor. Their unpretentious and kindly ways were persuasive in keeping the lower classes in Italy loyal to Catholicism. In other countries, too, new Catholic organizations sprang up to combat the new heresy.

*Ignatius Loyola
and the Jesuit militia of the pope*

known as "Jesuits," we are soon going to follow in their missionary work across the seas. The Society of Jesus partook of the religious intensity of Catholic Spain. Its founder, a Spanish noble named Ignatius Loyola, was a man of exalted religious fervor, whose chief desire was to devote his life to the cause of Catholicism everywhere — the inculcation of Catholic principles in the young, the advance of Catholic theology and learning, and the spread of the Catholic gospel throughout the world. Intended at first (1534) to convert the Moslems, the Society of Jesus received papal approval in 1540 and became a major defense against the spread of the Reformation. It soon numbered its members by the thousands. What chiefly distinguished it from other monastic orders was its militancy.

THE MOST important of all the new clerical orders was the Society of Jesus, whose members,



This seventeenth-century print, showing Ignatius Loyola receiving the guidance of visions, reveals his posthumous reputation among Catholics.

Instead of retiring from the world to a life of contemplation, its members became propagandists and active champions of the Catholic faith. The Society of Jesus was soldierly in organization as well as in spirit, modeled after an army with Loyola as commanding general, and subjected to an iron discipline based on complete subordination of the individual. All Jesuits took a special vow of unquestioning obedience to the pope; they became the pope's standing army fighting with spiritual weapons against heresy and unbelief.

*The counterattack
on Protestantism led by the Jesuits*

JESUIT missionary activity not only accompanied traders and conquistadors to the farthest

reaches of the Spanish empire; it was even more important within Europe itself in checking the spread of Protestantism and reconverting heretics to the Catholic faith. Rigorously trained and educated, Jesuit priests rose to positions of influence and often played a decisive role in winning key figures back to the Catholic fold. A significant part of the Jesuit program was attention to education, which was designed partly to indoctrinate young people while they were still impressionable, and partly to weaken the hold that Protestantism had secured in the field of education and among educated groups. Excellent Jesuit schools and colleges were established everywhere, attracting students of high quality to the Jesuit cause.

The Jesuits were responsible for a good measure of the success that was achieved in the Catholic counterattack upon Protestantism. Chiefly through their singleness of purpose, their studied devotion to the papacy, their arduous training, and their skill as teachers, preachers, and administrators, large sections of Europe returned to Catholicism. They recovered practically all of Austria, most of Poland, southern and Rhenish Germany, the southern Netherlands (now Belgium), and parts of Hungary and Bohemia; and it was largely owing to their efforts that Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, and Ireland remained predominantly Catholic and that Catholicism survived at all in Protestant centers like England and Holland.

*Establishment
of the Inquisition and the Index*

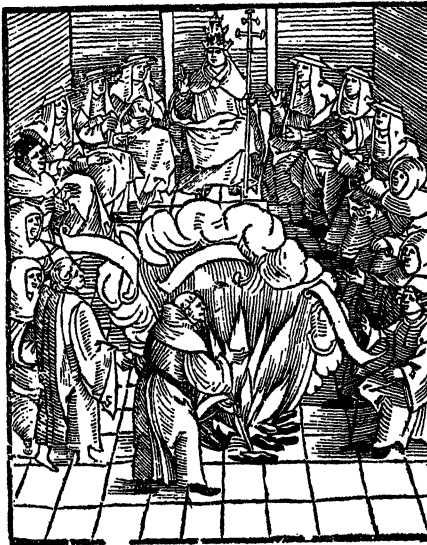
THE JESUIT order had sprung from a spontaneous Catholic revival and had voluntarily offered

its services to the pope. It was not until somewhat later that, in response to the Protestant threat, the church itself began a vigorous defense of the Catholic cause, inaugurating an active campaign of reform of ecclesiastical abuses and redefining the doctrines of Catholicism. In its war against Protestantism it utilized two other instruments besides the Society of Jesus—the Inquisition and the Index. In 1542 a Roman Inquisition, today commonly called “the Holy Office,” was set up. Counting the cardinals as members and presided over by the pope, it claimed universal authority in the prosecution of heretics and in the defense of the faith and of morals. In actuality its effective-

ness was at first limited to Italy, where it was important in stamping out Protestantism and cutting off the heresies implicit in much of Italian humanist thought. Spain, whose Inquisition had been under royal control and completely independent of the papacy, refused to relinquish her inquisitional powers to Rome and continued as before, prosecuting heresy in her own way.

In 1545 the Council of Trent was called especially to consider the arrest of Protestantism. One of its more effective suggestions was that greater vigor be given to the church's censorship of prohibited books.

This suggestion led by successive steps to a threefold prohibition. The *Index Expurgatorius* was a list of passages in works that otherwise might be read; this prohibition proved hard to implement and in recent years has been discontinued. The *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* was a list of heretical and immoral books that the faithful were wholly forbidden to read except with special permission. A third list was the *Index Auctorum*, in which certain authors were partly black-listed; such of their writings as were considered innocuous were still permitted. The three lists together were frequently referred to simply as "the Index." First published in 1564, the prohibitions were somewhat relaxed at the end of the nineteenth century, but the Index is still an effective instrument in war waged by the Catholic Church against any teachings that are considered heretical or immoral.



This woodcut represents the burning of Luther's books before the pope. It is symbolical only, since no such event in fact took place. The woodcut is dated 1524. The Index later forbade Catholics to read Luther's works.

*The universal church
obstructed by the dynastic state*

IN ADDITION to the Jesuits, the Inquisitions, and the Index, the papacy was forced to rely on

diplomatic maneuvering among the sovereigns of Europe in the effort to check the growth of Protestantism. The weight of the church was regularly thrown behind Catholic sovereigns fighting Protestants in their own and

other countries. This circumstance was no less descriptive of the times than was the success with which Protestant sovereigns defied the popes. No matter how insistently the popes asserted the spiritual authority over the temporal, they were forced to resort to practical politics in order to maintain their spiritual influence. And no matter how eloquently they proclaimed the church universal, they had to deal in reality with national states and ultimately with national churches, whether in Catholic or in Protestant countries.

*The Catholic reaction
at the Council of Trent*

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (or the Tridentine Council) marked the culmination of the Catholic re-

formation. It was an ecumenical (i.e., general) council of representatives of the church convened at the Italian city of Trent for the express purpose of dealing with the schism that faced the universal church. The Protestants were invited to come in the hope of a reconciliation, but fearful of the Italian influences prevailing at Trent, they made conditions that were never met, and so they did not attend. The council met in 1545 and continued, with long interruptions, until 1563. Alarmed by the threat of Protestantism, the council became deaf to demands for concessions in church doctrine and practice to the new learning and the new thought. Instead, it turned its back fully on the Reformation and reaffirmed the ancient creed. The dominant role of the pope in ecclesiastical administration and the superiority of the spiritual over the temporal power were once again proclaimed.

The Council of Trent defined the position of the church on all controversial issues in a conservative direction. By its declarations and definitions it closed all doors to compromise with the Protestant reformers, preferring to win back heretics rather by force or persuasion than by concessions. Influenced by Jesuit leaders, the council stood firm in its contention that the Catholic traditions as well as the Bible must be accepted as the basis of Christianity and that the ordained clergy had the final right to interpret both. The council also boldly reemphasized the necessity for good works in salvation and insisted upon the validity of all seven sacraments in the sacramental system. It declared anathema (i.e., under special curse of the church) those who maintained "that the sacraments of the New Law were not all instituted by Jesus Christ, our Lord; or that they are more, or less, than seven, to wit, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, Penance, Extreme Unction, Order, and Matrimony; or even that any one of these seven is not truly and properly a sacrament," or "that the sacraments of the New Law are not necessary unto salvation, but superfluous; and that, without them, or without the desire thereof, men obtain of God, through faith alone, the grace of justification."

174 ⁴*The Canons and Decrees of the Sacred and Oecumenical Council of Trent*, trans. Rev. J. Waterworth (London, 1848).

The reforms

introduced by the Council of Trent

RECOGNIZING, however, as well as the Protestants, that some clerics were guilty of practices

that were far from fitting to their holy calling, the council undertook some internal reform. Absenteeism (or the practice of going off and leaving subordinates to carry on one's pastoral duties), nepotism (or the granting of office and special favors to one's kith and kin), simony (or the sale of ecclesiastical offices, sacred objects, or clerical services), and other professional and moral abuses were roundly denounced. A thoroughgoing reform of the church hierarchy was undertaken, reaching from the Holy Office down to the humblest monastic order. An effort was made to standardize canon law and church ritual. The Index was devised, and the Inquisition extended. The Tridentine reforms and canons and the papal power they created have ever since been the basis of Catholic church organization, practice, and belief. No further ecumenical council proved necessary until 1870.

Return to authoritarianism

by both Catholics and Protestants

THE PROTESTANT movement had arisen in part out of the Renaissance, out of the reëxamination

of existing institutions in the light of the new knowledge and the more individualistic approach to life. But in the end the religious struggle hindered the movement that gave it birth, and in both Protestantism and Catholicism distinctive characteristics of the medieval church were revived. The secular trend of the Renaissance, the pagan interest in the here-and-now, gave way once more to the old concern with the hereafter as the dominant mood among intellectuals. The religious tolerance of the rarer Renaissance spirits was overwhelmed by sectarianism and bitter persecution, among Catholics and Protestants alike, of unorthodox thought and nonconformist action. The individualism implicit in Luther's claim for himself of a free religious choice was denied by the authoritarianism of both Luther and Calvin and was frustrated by the dominant position that the state assumed over religion in the countries where they exerted influence.

Meanwhile, the state continued to decide what religion its subjects were to follow and enforced its decision with fire and sword. This principle was asserted by monarchs everywhere and was given explicit expression in the Peace of Augsburg, which in 1555 was to end the wars between the Protestant princes and the German emperor (page 179). Each prince was granted the right to choose between the Lutheran and Catholic churches and to enforce his choice upon his people. Church and state were almost everywhere as firmly united as before, although on a new, national basis. The predominance of the state over men's minds was less doubtful than before, and ecclesiastical establishments became more than ever the spiritual implements of the state.

*the continuation
of religious intolerance*

IN BUT a few places in Europe
was toleration of religious minor-
ities to be embodied in the law of

the land before the eighteenth century. In the principality of Transylvania religious toleration was established, by a series of resolutions beginning in 1557, for Protestants and Catholics, but not for the Greek Orthodox peasants. In France it was only after bitter fighting and the failure of the government to stamp out opposing sects that freedom of worship was extended to the Protestants in certain cities (page 186). Elsewhere freedom of conscience developed even more slowly. Nevertheless, the multiplicity of sects, each claiming to embody the true religion, gradually gave rise to toleration—if only on a pragmatic level at first, as men found it expedient to overlook religious differences in the effort to get along together. But the struggle for enlightened toleration was to continue bitter. At the end of the sixteenth century men like the philosopher Bruno were still being burned at the stake for their religious beliefs, and in the seventeenth century religious groups were to emigrate to the New World to escape religious persecution, there to transmit the Puritan heritage and religious diversity to America. Exile, prison, or death remained the likely lot of those who were unwilling to accept the state religion, whether Protestant or Catholic.

THE WARS OF RELIGION AND DYNASTY

THE RELIGIOUS struggle of the sixteenth century, it has been suggested, was complicated by other factors. If the severity of rulers in the religious sphere smacks of fanaticism, it must nonetheless be regarded as having a political and moral basis. The prince was the head of the church, whether by the Reformation in Protestant countries or by concordat, written or understood, in Catholic countries. To the extent that a subject failed to conform to the ruler's creed, he seemed to question the royal authority and hence laid himself open to the charge of disloyalty; and, in fact, he might easily be disloyal if he were a Catholic in a Protestant state or a Protestant in a Catholic state at a time when the claims of monarchs to legitimate birth and hence to their thrones hinged upon their religion, as in the case of Queen Mary or of Queen Elizabeth. Besides, how could one count on another's promises and oaths if that other were a heretic who disputed the true God and Final Judgment? It was as difficult to separate religion from politics as the church from the state.

Thus, in the bitter wars which characterized the sixteenth century, religious and political elements were to be intermingled. Kings and princes used religious movements for dynastic ends, while religious reformers or defenders

of Catholicism joined forces with whichever political faction held the greatest promise for the success of their movement. Ideologies and power politics were so thoroughly intertwined then, as they so often have been and still are in international affairs, that it was difficult to tell whether the ideologies were the pretext or the true purpose in the quest for power, and whether power was merely a means or an end in itself.

International politics

characterized by dynastic rivalries

DURING the sixteenth century and for nearly two centuries thereafter the clashes among the dynasties

of Europe provided the main theme of international politics, just as the concentration of power in the dynasty was the main phenomenon of internal political development. The bitter rivalry of ruling houses in the struggle for commerce and colonies had its counterpart within Europe. Among the dynasties—such as the Tudors in England, the Valois in France, one branch of the Habsburgs in Spain, and another branch of the Habsburgs in Austria—developed a keen competition for power and for security from aggression. As has just been intimated, it was highly debatable whether power was sought for its own sake or for the better defense of one's interests against others. In any case, the less strong tended to combine against the strongest and thus to create a sort of equilibrium that came to be known as “the balance of power.” During the sixteenth century the Habsburgs, ruling in both Spain and Austria, were the ones whose power most called for counterbalance.

DYNASTIC POWER 1526



Charles V held the Holy Roman Empire only by virtue of election and among his imperial subjects he numbered some of his bitterest foes such as the Schmalkaldic League. The Tudors did not fully control Ireland. The Valois had powerful vassals like the king of Navarre. The Spanish and Italian possessions of the Habsburgs were not unified or centralized. Yet these dynasties were relatively strong at the beginning of the sixteenth century and bade fair to grow stronger.

*Europe
overshadowed by Charles V*

THE HABSBURG ruler Charles V, emperor in Germany at the time of the Lutheran break with Rome,

occupied a unique position. As grandson of Mary of Burgundy he became ruler of the Low Countries and Luxemburg (as well as Flanders, Artois, and Franche Comté, which are now largely incorporated in France) and inherited a claim to Burgundy, which the French had taken from his grandmother. As grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella, he became King Charles I of Spain and of the huge Spanish overseas empire. As grandson of Maximilian, archduke of Austria, he became archduke of Austria in time. And in 1519 he secured election to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire as Emperor Charles V. He was the last Holy Roman emperor to be crowned personally by the pope. Not even the Roman Empire at its zenith had ruled as extensive a realm as his. His lands were scattered over Europe, Asia, Africa, and both American continents. Mexico City, Havana, Lima, Naples, Milan, Brussels, Amsterdam, Manila, and many other busy political, cultural, and commercial centers were located in his dominions.

*Complications
within Charles' huge empire*

THE VERY source of Charles' strength was also a source of weakness. The vast extent of his

empire meant a dissipation of his energies and resources and an obligation to scatter his attention. Protestants within the Empire, rebellious subjects in Spain, the rivalry with France in Italy and the Lowlands, the political and commercial grievances of Hollanders, the encroachments of the French and the English on the lands that conquistadors were winning overseas, the threats by the Turks upon his Austrian possessions—all demanded his attention in quick succession. One of his hopes, upon becoming emperor, was that he might give to the several hundred governments in the Empire a more effective central control, but he was frustrated by the opposition of the greater nobles, who found the Lutheran upheaval a handy issue on which to oppose him, and by the war of the knights against the Catholic princes (page 159).

*Francis I's effort
to counterbalance Charles' power*

FRANCIS I of the French Valois house took advantage of Charles' complications to lay claim to long-

disputed areas in Italy, the Netherlands, and the Pyrenees. An intermittent war between the two dynasts broke out in 1521 and continued until their successors made peace in 1559 at Cateau-Cambrésis. Francis had little trouble winning at least temporary support and alliance from Henry VIII of the English Tudors. The Protestant princes of Germany, some of the Italian princes including Pope Clement VII, the Ottoman Turks, and other lesser rulers of Europe—all had some reason to wish to counterbalance Habsburg

predominance. After nearly forty years of war, fought mostly in Italy, the Habsburg forces were able to boast the more striking victories, but they gained prestige rather than territory and, in fact, had to give up their claims to Burgundy and to Navarre north of the Pyrenees. Meanwhile the Lutheran revolts in Germany had grown beyond Charles' power to check them, and some of the cities (*comunidades*) and peasantry of Spain, who resented being involved in foreign wars and paying huge taxes under a foreign ruler, had risen in rebellion and could be assuaged only by concessions.

*The Schmalkaldic War
against the princes of the Empire*

THE LUTHERAN princes of Germany were neither so strong nor so united that they might not

have been forced back into religious and political allegiance if Charles had felt free to concentrate his power upon them. But his greater interest in winning his wars with Francis put their disloyalty in a category of problems that received attention only when he was not more urgently occupied. The Empire's weak legislative body, the imperial diet, was left to face the crisis without adequate force, and did so ineffectually. To defend themselves against the emperor and the diet, the Protestant princes and cities united in the League of Schmalkalden. Though Charles defeated the League in the so-called Schmalkaldic War (1546-1547), it was too late to crush Lutheranism.

*Lutheranism recognized
by the Peace of Augsburg*

FINALLY a religious peace was made at Augsburg in 1555. It included, however, only the Lu-

therans and the Catholics, leaving the Calvinists still without legal status. The principle of *cuius regio eius religio* ("whose the region, his the religion") was adopted as the basis of the religious settlement—which meant that the temporal ruler would decide whether his state church should be Lutheran or Catholic. The Peace of Augsburg constituted a political victory for the nobles over the imperial authority as well as a religious victory for Lutheranism. It was, however, to prove in reality merely a long truce and none too respected, for it not only left the Calvinists dissatisfied but it also created new complications. It contained an "ecclesiastical reservation," which provided that formerly Catholic ecclesiastics upon becoming Protestants must surrender their lands, titles, and offices. No way was provided to enforce this reservation adequately and, in consequence, disputes and animosities constantly arose that were to accumulate until they burst forth into one of the world's most costly wars at the beginning of the next century (page 298).

*Philip II
as defender of Catholicism*

DISILLUSIONED and frustrated by his complex obligations, Charles V, as he grew older, shed his

responsibilities step by step. He turned over to his son Philip the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples in 1554, the Low Countries in 1555, and

Spain and Sicily in 1556. His Austrian lands went to his younger brother Ferdinand in 1556 and the Empire in 1558, when finally he formally abdicated. The Habsburg dynasty was thus split into two branches, but for the next century and a half they were to cooperate closely in religious and foreign policies until the Spanish Habsburgs became extinct. Philip of Spain was especially eager to restore the religious unity of Europe and in so doing to keep Spain the dominant nation of the world. In the end his religious piety defeated his politics, for the resources of Spain were drained away in costly religious wars while Spain lost her hegemony of Europe without putting an end to Protestantism.

*The revolt
of the Low Countries against Spain*

THE PROBLEM of heresy was no longer merely one for the imperial branch of the Habsburgs to cope

with. Calvinism had now spread down the Rhine to the Lowlands, which were one of Philip's inheritances. The Lowlands consisted at that time of seventeen provinces, most of which today are to be found within the boundaries of Belgium and the Netherlands. The northern provinces were generally Dutch and Flemish in language and about half Protestant; the southern ones were Walloon, or French, and are still preponderantly Catholic. They had a long and proud tradition of semi-autonomy behind them, whether under their Burgundian or their Habsburg rulers. One of Philip's Burgundian ancestors was the engaging Charles the Bold, famous patron of the arts and music. "The people of this country," an English visitor to Antwerp reported, "are rather sovereign than subject."

When Philip, in his anxiety to repress heresy in his dominions, introduced the Inquisition in the Lowlands, marked hostility was quickly aroused. His step was not merely a demonstration of intolerance; it was high-handed disregard of the traditional claim of the Lowlands to self-government. Among the most resentful were nobles who were themselves devout Catholics. Already the Netherlanders, who by dikes and canals had redeemed much of their land from the sea and were celebrated seamen and merchants, had come to resent Spanish regulations of their trade and the Spanish system of taxation. The institution by royal fiat of religious uniformity proved the last straw. It placed behind the ruling nobles a vast popular support.

The nobles took the lead in protesting this violation of the fundamental constitution of the Netherlands. In 1566 they petitioned their Spanish ruler to remove the Inquisition and to redress their other grievances. Philip's regent in Brussels was Margaret, the Duchess of Parma, and the story goes that, when she showed some fright of the petitioners, one of her councilors asked, "Is your highness afraid of these beggars?" In any event, the petitioners and their supporters shortly became known as "The Beggars." Disorders followed

the continued disregard of the Beggars' demands. William of Orange, frequently called "the Silent," a Catholic noble who, however, resented the Spanish policy, quickly became the leader of the rebels. Events were soon to put William at the head of a movement for Dutch independence that in several ways was to resemble the future War of American Independence and to induce future biographers to compare him with George Washington.

*Alba's policy
of severe repression*

CHARACTERISTICALLY, Philip decided upon repression rather than concession. In 1567 he sent the

Duke of Alba (or Alva) to the Lowlands to crush the rebellion, and a special tribunal soon to become known as "The Council of Blood" was established to try and to punish those who were apprehended in heresy or treason. Alba's uncompromising severity might have succeeded in achieving its purpose, since William could marshal only an ineffective resistance against the Spanish might, had it not been for the superior skill of the Lowlanders as sailors. Dutch privateers—"Beggars of the Sea"—were organized to prey on Spanish commerce. They inflicted great damage on the enemy, provided the wherewithal for the continuation of the unequal struggle, and even captured important land positions. After six years of his increasingly futile and correspondingly repressive policy, Alba seemed less successful than at first, and in 1573 he was recalled by Philip. That year William the Silent became a Calvinist.

*Requesens
and the "Spanish Fury" of 1576*

ALBA'S successor, Don Louis de Requesens, met with no greater success. He did try to temper

force with moderation, but he was not authorized to make concessions adequate to effect a reconciliation. Moreover, the Spanish soldiers, inured to brutality by a long and cruel war and to neglect by proud and aristocratic officers, became undisciplined. When in 1576 Requesens died, they mutinied because they had not been paid and were badly fed. They sacked, ravaged, and looted wherever they could, and finally put thousands of the inhabitants of Antwerp to the sword.

*The demands
of the Pacification of Ghent*

INDIGNATION spread throughout the Lowlands and unified all elements of the population against

the invaders. Representatives from the seventeen provinces met at Ghent and drew up a demand that the Spanish troops be withdrawn and the old autonomy of the provinces be reaffirmed, without any prejudice to Philip's hereditary rulership. No immediate change was effected in Philip's policy by this "Pacification of Ghent." It did, however, reemphasize the leadership of William the Silent.

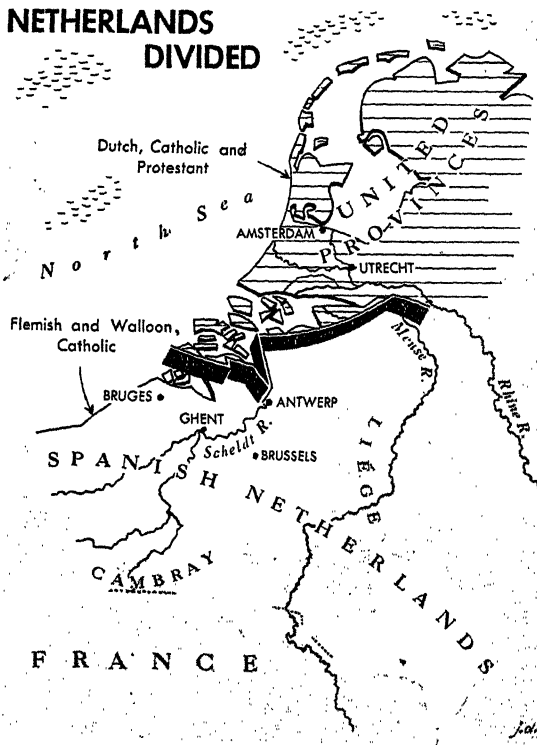
*Cleavage in the Lowlands
between the north and south*

Lowlands and adopted the policy of "divide and conquer." He courted the Catholic Walloons, promised them respect for their traditional political rights, and induced some of them to sign the Union of Arras, by which they undertook to defend Catholicism and to remain loyal to Philip. Soon the ten southern provinces accepted this union, and in response William induced the

IN 1578 the Duke of Parma, nephew of the former regent Margaret of Parma, was sent to the

After the Union of Utrecht in 1579 the Netherlands split roughly along the heavy black line of the map, although for some years there were partisans of independence south of that line. The sovereignty of the United Provinces was not formally recognized by Spain until the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Liège and Cambray were principality-bishoprics whose prince-bishops ruled their territories independently. Liège retained its independence until the French Revolution.

seven northern provinces to form a union of their own. Thus in 1579 by the Union of Arras and the Union of Utrecht it was determined that the Lowlands would ultimately become not one but two countries—Belgium and the Netherlands—one predominantly Catholic and French, though Flemish to its north, and the other predominantly Protestant and Dutch. In 1581 the northern Lowlands formally declared their independence of Spain, and they became known as "the United Provinces" or, more often, from the most important province, simply as "Holland." But Spain continued its efforts to reconquer the area and was not to recognize its independence until 1648, upon defeat in the Thirty Years' War (page 308). The southern provinces were to remain mostly a Habsburg possession until the French Revolution—first as "the Spanish Netherlands" and then as "the Austrian Netherlands," emerging only in the nineteenth century as the independent kingdom of Belgium.



*The duel
between Philip and Elizabeth*

AT VARIOUS stages in their war
of independence, the Dutch were
given moral and sometimes mili-

tary support by the Protestants of France and Elizabeth of England. In the battle between Philip II, champion of Catholicism and Spanish hegemony, and Queen Elizabeth, champion of Protestantism and English aggrandizement, the religious issue was colored by dynastic and commercial considerations. Philip intrigued to unseat Elizabeth from her throne and replace her with a good Catholic, preferably Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, or himself. For about twenty-seven years before it broke into the open, the combat between Philip and Elizabeth was carried on by diplomatic intrigue, rivalry on the high seas, and surreptitious help to each other's disloyal subjects. Then in 1585 Elizabeth, fearing that the Netherlands would lose their fight with Philip, frankly sent armed aid to the Dutch rebels. Two years later, Mary Stuart was beheaded.

Philip in reply decided to attack directly and in 1588 sent an imposing fleet, which was piously given the name of "The Invincible Armada," to crush England. The lumbering ships of the Armada, however, proved no match for the smaller and speedier vessels of Captains Drake and Hawkins and for the storm that they encountered. Only a few of the 130 Spanish ships (not counting the smaller craft) returned to Spain to tell the tale of how they were outmaneuvered and beaten.

Although Philip continued his anti-English machinations and his fight against Protestantism until his death ten years later, the failure of the Armada marked the defeat of his ambition to restore Catholic unity and to maintain Spanish hegemony. Spain, though still powerful, entered upon a centuries-long period of decline, and the forces of Protestantism and independence began to win their struggle in the United Provinces. Upon his death, Philip left his successor saddled with a royal debt amounting to \$160,000,000. If this appears to be a small sum of money compared to the size of modern national debts, its significance can better be understood if allowance is made for the sparse population, the undeveloped resources, the lower national income, and the much lower level of prices of that day as compared to ours. Such a sum might be regarded as weighing proportionately more heavily upon seventeenth-century Spain than several billions of dollars would on twentieth-century America.

*The Habsburgs
and the threat of Ottoman Turks*

THE OUTSTANDING contemporary
ruler of the Ottoman Turks was
Suleiman the Magnificent. At the

same time that Charles V was fighting Lutherans in Germany and Frenchmen in Italy, Suleiman was extending his sway in the Balkans and capturing huge portions of Hungary (page 208). Francis I did not hesitate to encourage the

infidels in their attack upon a rival Christian ruler, and in 1535 actually formed an alliance with them against their common enemy. Suleiman was able to extend his control over much of the Mediterranean before he died (1566) and his successors continued the struggle against Charles' successor Philip. When they began to threaten Italy itself, the pope sent forth an appeal to the whole Christian world. Under the leadership of Don Juan of Austria, half-brother of Philip, a fleet of Italian and Spanish vessels met the Turks at Lepanto in 1571 and thrashed them soundly. The Battle of Lepanto was the last great naval encounter to which the galley slave contributed decisively; thereafter war vessels came to depend more upon wind propulsion, although the galley survived for more than a century. Don Juan was soon to tarnish his glory and to die in the unsuccessful war against the Dutch, and Spanish naval prowess was to prove an illusion with the Invincible Armada, but Lepanto remains glorious as a decisive naval battle. For the time being, the Christian world was safe from Mohammedan conquest. The Turkish threat to the Habsburg dominions to the east remained great, however. And the Spanish Habsburgs had to suffer intermittent raids by Moslem pirates darting in and out of the North African Barbary Coast and preying upon Spanish shipping and even upon the Spanish coast itself. These dangers frequently diverted the Habsburgs' attention from western European affairs and were a significant factor in their failure to maintain their old ascendancy in Europe.



*The clash of religions
and dynasties within France*

DESPITE Francis' efforts the number of Huguenots, as the Calvinists of France were called, increased.

Henry II, Francis' son and successor, was even more hostile to them than his father had been, but still their numbers grew. As elsewhere, Protestantism attracted many of the nobility, since it was both an expression and a means of defiance of the crown's centralizing tendencies. At one time about half the nobles of France, it was estimated, were Protestants, powerfully supported by the new capitalists and the richer artisans of the cities, especially in the south.

The politico-religious complex in French affairs was further complicated by an inheritance problem. Henry II was followed in rapid succession by his three sons, whose youth and diseases left them without direct heirs. Hence, long before the last of them died, rival claimants to the Valois throne arose among the powerful nobility. The Bourbons were kings of Navarre and semi-independent vassals of the French ruler. They were directly descended from Louis IX, famous crusader and saint of the thirteenth century, and hence were related to the reigning Valois. Their chief rivals were the Guises, whose cousin ruled over the great independent duchy of Lorraine and claimed descent from Charlemagne. To make matters worse, the Bourbons were the

RELIGIO-DYNASTIC WARS 1500-1600

 AGGRESSION AND REVOLT
 CIVIL WAR



The ambitions of the strong dynasts (see map, page 49) and the Protestant Revolt against papal authority created a general tension in which a royal birth, death, or marriage, even a clash of personalities, might precipitate a war of tremendous proportions. Economic misery also played a part, as in the Peasants' War in Franconia and Swabia; so did the resentment of minorities like the Moriscos in Spain or of subject states like Sweden and the Netherlands. The reluctance of the nobles to bow to royal authority often complicated the Protestant movement, as in France and the Germanies. In the Netherlands, revolt against Spain was engendered by anger against the Inquisition and the denial of ancient political privileges. In the Swiss Confederation, religious controversy set the Protestant cantons against the Catholic cantons. Frequently civil war gave foreign dynasties an opportunity to intervene.

outstanding nobles among the Protestants, and the Guise family had been most conspicuous among the Catholics. The crown, represented by Catherine de' Medici, regent for her three weakling sons, was sometimes torn between the two parties. Catherine tried occasionally to play off one side against the other. She grew to depend more and more upon a group of Catholics called the *Politiques*, who were more concerned with the political than with the religious unity of France, and who favored a policy of toleration.

*France
torn by the Wars of Religion*

UNTIL 1562 Catherine observed this tolerant policy. But that year the Duke of Guise, as he was

riding around with a party of his men, came upon a group of Protestants engaged in worship and started a controversy with them. Words led to blows. The Duke of Guise, struck in the cheek by a stone, rode on and did not restrain his escort, and soon over sixty Protestants were killed and over one hundred injured in what became known as the "Massacre of Vassy." Both sides now armed for open conflict, and since the Catholic Philip of Spain and the Protestant Elizabeth of England were known to be sparring with each other for international advantage, each side expected to find a religious ally abroad. Thus civil war in France became part of the international struggle for power.

The eight intermittent French Wars of Religion that followed lasted until 1598. They were punctuated by intrigues, murders, and massacres on both sides. The most notorious example was the wholesale slaughter of Huguenots, at a moment of apparent peace, in the Massacre of St. Bartholomew (St. Bartholomew's Day, August 14, 1572), probably with the consent of the queen-mother and with the later approval of the pope. The occasion of the massacre was the wedding of Henry of Navarre to Catherine's daughter, which had brought many Protestant nobles to Paris and made them an excellent target. Henry saved himself only by temporarily abjuring Protestantism.

The last of the Wars of Religion was the War of the Three Henrys—Henry III, the last of the Valois, Henry of Guise, and Henry of Navarre. It broke out upon Henry III's recognition of Henry of Navarre as his heir. Henry of Guise rebelled; Henry III engineered Guise's assassination, and was himself assassinated by an avenging Dominican monk (1589). Henry of Navarre thus became King Henry IV of France, uniting the two kingdoms thereafter under the Bourbon dynasty.

*Protestant toleration
granted by the Edict of Nantes*

THOUGH himself a Protestant, Henry IV could not be indifferent to the fact that the majority of

his subjects were Catholic. The French peasantry had never been won over to the new dispensation in great numbers, and most of the upper classes had remained loyal to the old creed. Moreover, the very consideration that had made it desirable to be a Protestant when one was a powerful noble aspiring to the throne made it undesirable to be a Protestant when one had acquired the throne. "Paris," Henry is reported to have said, "is worth a mass." At any rate in 1593 he was converted to Catholicism. But the Religious Wars did not cease until in 1598 Spain withdrew from the fight. That year Henry issued the Edict of Nantes, which gave a large degree of toleration to the

Huguenots. Protestants were free to worship in many cities and on most Protestant estates, though they were excluded from others; they were given full civil rights, with Protestant judges in some of the courts; above all, they received a certain military guarantee of safety by being allowed temporary possession of a hundred fortified cities. The Protestants thus became a sort of state within the state, and a standing challenge to Catholic France.

*Conflicts of religions
and dynasties on the Baltic*

SWEDEN, having rebelled against Danish control in 1520, established its independence, with

Gustavus Vasa as king. Gustavus quickly adopted Lutheranism as the state religion—as did Denmark—but more to expropriate the Catholic monasteries than to follow the dictates of his conscience. The two Scandinavian countries continued to struggle for supremacy on the Baltic Sea, with Sweden gradually winning more and more of the coastline, freeing herself from commercial domination by the Hanseatic cities, and successfully competing in the Baltic trade. The Hanseatic cities, Holland, and England also entered the contest, to which Poland was not indifferent, although relatively ineffective in commercial enterprises. Among Gustavus' successors was Sigismund Vasa, who was already king of Poland as Sigismund III. As ruler of Poland and Sweden, he attempted to return Sweden to the Catholic fold, but ten turbulent years of this joint kingship led only to his deposition by the Swedish diet in 1604. In the seventeenth century, Sweden was to emerge as the leading Baltic power, definitely hostile to Poland and Catholicism.

EFFECTS OF THE REFORMATION ON THE EUROPEAN WORLD

As THE first great modern revolution, the Reformation had wider implications than a mere religious upheaval—even one involving widespread civil and international war—might have been expected to have. Religion had theretofore been so dominant a strain in every man's life that a radical change in the church's status was bound to affect many other phases of his existence. His ideas of government, philanthropy, business, history, ethics, and esthetics were exposed to change with any change that might occur in his religious concepts. Diversity of churches throughout Europe was to spell diversity of outlook with regard to many other institutions and phases of activity. The disunity that came with the fractioning of Christendom hastened a process already begun, and resulting complications caused further and more intensified differentiations among Europeans, as local governments became the arbiters and the norms of affairs once dominated by an international agency. 187

*The division of western Europe
between Catholics and Protestants*

BY THE end of the sixteenth century, although the Catholic Reform had stemmed the tide of

Protestantism and rewon many regions, it was clear that the schism in western Christendom was irreparable. Henceforth, eastern Europe was to be divided between Orthodox Christians and Mohammedans, and western Europe between Catholics and Protestants, with small minorities of Jews concentrated in the principal cities. From France, Spain, Italy, and Portugal, Catholicism was to be transplanted to North Africa, Central and South America, Canada, the West Indies, the Philippines, and other scattered areas of the Far East and Africa; and from England, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries Protestantism was to move to North America, South Africa, Australia, and scattered areas of the East and West Indies. The unity of religion that had prevailed in western Europe during the Middle Ages was never again to be restored. In fact, the rapid multiplication of Protestant sects differing in interpretation of the Bible and methods of church organization rendered unity among the Protestants alone an impossibility. Thus out of the divergencies arising in the formative years of Protestantism evolved the religious heterogeneity of the Western World today.

*Eastern Europe
at the time of the Reformation*

EAST OF Transylvania and Poland, the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Reform, and the con-

current religio-dynastic wars of the west had little immediate effect. In eastern Europe the sixteenth century was a period of continued struggle between nobles and kings, uncomplicated by the strong religious divisions, national sentiments, middle-class aspirations, and ferment of ideas experienced in the west. Petty dynastic quarrels, rivalries over elective kingships, territorial disputes flaring out into open warfare, and defensive skirmishes and campaigns against the Turks were enacted against a background of essentially unrelieved feudalism. Here, too, however—as we shall see in Russia, for example (pages 310-311)—the struggle between king and nobles went on somewhat in the same fashion as in the west and resulted in a measure of royal victory against decentralization. Russia, which, as we have noted, had been overrun by the Golden Horde in the thirteenth century, had under the leadership of the grand dukes of Muscovy thrown off the Tatar yoke by the second half of the fifteenth century. The rise of Moscow had begun properly in 1462 with the accession of Ivan the Great, who annexed most of the rival principalities, subjected Novgorod, and laid the foundation of the Russian aristocratic state. His policy of territorial expansion was continued by his successors throughout the sixteenth century. The century was also marked by the depression of the peasant classes into serfdom in Poland, Hungary, and Russia, their lowly status confirmed by law in the two former countries. The effect of the west's Renais-

sance and religious upheaval on eastern Europe was indirect. By hastening the transition from the medieval to the modern in the west, those cultural revolutions accentuated the differences between eastern and western Europe.

The increase

of royal power over the church

AMONG the more important of the factors that had produced the

Reformation was the conflict of

interests between church and state, especially in countries where monarchs aspired to absolute control. The effect of the Protestant Reformation in countries having strong dynasties was to give a great advantage to the kings. The church, whether Protestant or Catholic, served as a tool in the increase of royal absolutism. Henry VIII's, Charles V's, and Francis I's domination of their respective ecclesiastical organizations provides cases in point. This condition was strengthened by the outcome of the various religio-dynastic wars. In the course of the wars it sometimes happened that an understanding (or concordat) would be reached between the papacy and an astute ruler, defining their relations and the authority of the king over the clergy within his realms. In several instances the international treaties or royal edicts ending the wars embodied religious provisions defining the relationship of the church to the state and of minority groups to the crown, usually subordinating the church and outlawing minority forms of worship. More than ever the loyal subject now was one who belonged to the state church, of

GROWTH OF RUSSIA



In 1462 Ivan III became the ruler of Muscovy (black territory). He repudiated Mongol sovereignty, subdued independent Russian princes, and conquered adjacent territories from enemy neighbors. In 1547 Ivan IV was crowned czar. By 1600 Russia was well on its way to becoming a dynastic empire larger than any western state.

which the ruler was the real or nominal head. In the conflict of church and state for control over the minds of men and for political power, the state had won a decisive, though not final, victory.

*Increased state responsibility
for administering social services*

IN PROTESTANT countries the state not only took over church lands and eliminated ecclesiastical

privileges dating back to medieval times but also assumed certain functions formerly performed by the church, such as charity and education. The Elizabethan Poor Laws, for example, established state regulation of relief for the needy and provided training in a trade for children of paupers. Education, charity, and the keeping of statistics of births and deaths were eventually to become matters that concerned the state more than the church. In Protestant no less than in Catholic countries, however, these social functions of the state were to be developed only slowly. Not until the great revolutionary wave of the eighteenth century promoted popular control of governments did the state become widely recognized as responsible for education and vital statistics; and its responsibility for social security was widely accepted only much later.

*The feudal aristocracy
affected by religious dissension*

THE RELIGIOUS struggle was bound to the struggle between the kings and the feudal nobility.

Heresy, we have seen, often served as a cloak for rebellion and was a certain guarantee of a following, but was often also the result of sincere conviction. In Germany Lutheranism and the nobility prospered together; in France the Huguenots and the great nobles suffered at first and then won a temporary victory together; in England some of the great Catholic nobility were gradually edged out of power along with the Catholic Church. Wherever the warfare was bloody and bitter, as in France, some of the strongest noble rivals of the king were literally wiped out; others became impoverished and impotent. The victor emerged the strongest of the surviving aristocrats.

*Identification
of the church with the nation*

THE REFORMATION also contributed to the growth of national religions. The universal church

no longer existed. Except in name, not even the Catholic and the Protestant churches were units; instead there were an Anglican Church, a French or Gallican Church, a Spanish Church, a Dutch Church, a Scottish Church, a Swedish Church, a set of churches for the Swiss cantons, a set of churches for the German principalities, and so on. The Reformation gave expression to a previously existing trend toward national churches; it also greatly accelerated this trend and identified the churches more clearly with the growing national consciousness of peoples. In this, too, the religio-dynastic wars played a part. Religious fervor and local patriotism were mingled in the

struggles between Catholic Spain and Protestant England, and in the rift of partly Protestant Holland from Catholic Spain and Catholic Belgium. The prevailing tendency now was to weave the church more firmly into the fabric of national life, to reduce allegiance to Rome, and to identify the welfare of the church with the government's interest. Conversely, when countries split in religion, as in Germany, Switzerland, and France, the split tended to impede the development of national unity. In addition, the weakening of the single international church, by weakening the hold of Latin as the international tongue, proportionately helped the nationalizing process already begun and notably forwarded the development of vernacular languages and literatures.

The alliance

between Calvinism and capitalism

IN THE genesis of the Protestant Reformation and in the ultimate success of the movement, the

middle class was an important factor. In turn, the Reformation, and particularly Calvinism, contributed toward the increasing freedom and success of the middle class. In Protestant countries, they no longer lived under the shadow of clerical condemnation of their trading practices. Not that the Protestant clergy was more forgiving of malpractices and dishonesty than the Catholic clergy. On the contrary, the puritanical spirit that developed in some of the Protestant sects was, if anything, more bitter about such things as breaking the Sabbath, cheating one's neighbor, and failing to keep one's word. Still, having arisen in the period of commercial revolution, Protestant theologians were more flexible regarding such matters as "the just price" and the charging of interest for moneylending. Moreover, Calvinists often considered thrift and enterprise as virtues, and tended to look upon success and prosperity as outward signs of an inner grace, while poverty was likely to be held an indication of damnation. Good Calvinists were apt to be "men of substance" and "pillars of society." Hence many businessmen inclined toward Calvinism, finding in it spiritual justification of their way of life, and, in turn, it spurred them to great efforts in the routine of making a living. It was no accident that frequently capitalists were Calvinists and Calvinists capitalists. The Reformation also provided a stimulus to capitalist enterprise in the royal confiscation of monastic lands in Protestant countries. Many of these lands became available for the development of new businesses or for the investment of capital in huge agricultural enterprises.

Protestantism

and the peasantry's conservatism

THE ABORTIVE social revolution attempted by the German peasantry in the early years of the

Lutheran movement reacted to the disadvantage of both peasants and Protestantism. Luther's repudiation of the peasants and their cause condemned them to further oppression and misery while it tightened the conservative



Great loss to art came from the destruction of religious images, pictures, and stained-glass windows by the more fanatical Protestants in England and Holland. The above scene was probably not entirely imagined by the artist.

boundaries around the Lutheran revolt. Frequently the landlords became devout Lutherans, while the peasants remained Catholic, turned to Anabaptism and its offshoots when they could, or else followed their rulers' choice of faith without enthusiasm. In parts of Germany the status of the peasants continued to grow worse. While some of that class in western Europe succeeded in becoming peasant proprietors, the customary conservatism of rural populations tended to keep even them in the fold in countries where a choice of faith was possible. That was notably true in France.

*Renaissance thought
deflected by the Reformation*

THE EFFECT of the religious upheaval on art and letters has already been mentioned (page

128). The doctrinaire intolerance unloosed by both Catholics and Protestants, implemented as it was by papal Index and Inquisition and by Protestant consistory (or church court), was suffocating to freedom of thought and expression. Rational and balanced humanism declined precipitously, although great humanists like Montaigne and Bodin were still to be found. It was not merely that freethinkers ran the risk of being persecuted. Men of talent were also infected with partisanship, and their thought and expression were molded by the cause for which they argued. Scholarship therefore became polemic. Protestant historians, for example, wrote *The Magdeburg Centuries* to attack the Catholic interpretation of the church's progress, Caesar Baronius (later

cardinal) replying with his *Ecclesiastical Annals*; and John Foxe's Protestant *Book of Martyrs* was matched by Baronius' *Roman Martyrology*.

The effect

of sectarianism on political theory

DESPITE this tendency of embittered sectarianism to turn men's minds away from Renaissance

secularism toward a keen partisanship in religion and theology, the Reformation paradoxically also promoted a new interest in secular politics. This was due in part to the fact that many of the more democratic areas of the Continent had embraced the Reformation—as in the United Provinces, the Hanseatic cities, and the Calvinist cantons of Switzerland. It was also attributable to the important role assigned by the new churches to the congregations—especially among the Calvinist offshoots such as the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The emphasis of the new creeds on the direct responsibility of the faithful for their own salvation tended to diminish the significance of the clerical organization in favor of individual initiative and persuasion. As the number of Protestant sects multiplied, until in the course of time there were literally hundreds of them, the area for the initiative of congregations and of individuals increased while the strength of the sects' hierarchies diminished. Wider discussion made for greater disagreement and encouraged individual decisions, promoting the necessity for persuasion and majority rule. The disappearance of the medieval religious unity led directly, therefore, to dissension or indifference, and thence to control by the more powerful or the more numerous. The new control was not necessarily more tolerant or more enlightened than the old. A Protestant consistory was likely to be as unbending as the Catholic Inquisition. But where that happened, minority Catholics in their turn were induced to raise questions about freedom of conscience and the rights of minorities. Sometimes the new concentration upon religious questions and the apparently conflicting interest in secular politics might be found in the same persons, whether Catholic or Protestant, as dissenters raised queries about royal control of worship and consulted holy literature for answers.

The idea

of resistance to tyranny

NEW POLITICAL theories evolved to fit the new situation. The right of resistance to tyrants was de-

veloped by both Catholics, like the Spanish Jesuit Francisco Suárez, and Protestants, like the Dutch Johannes Althusius and the Huguenots François Hotman and Duplessis-Mornay, probable author of the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* (*Claims against Tyrants*). The Catholics had in mind the Catholic resistance to English tyrants like Elizabeth, while the Protestants directed their shafts against Catholic despots in Spain and France. Thus rebellion was given the sanctity of service to God in the hands of both Catholic and Calvinist theorists. A group of writers arose who, though for different rea-

sons, agreed so widely on hostility toward misguided kings that they have been generally referred to as the "Monarchomachs" (or king fighters). From their effort to establish the right of the individual to choose to obey his God rather than his king, they were led to an ideal of justice that was higher than royal law and to a concept of contracts that bound even kings.

The currency of such ideas may be gauged by the constant threat of assassination under which rulers in the later sixteenth century pursued their policies. William of Orange survived five attempts on his life before a sixth assassin killed him, while nineteen attempts were made on the life of Henry IV of France before he, like the other two Henrys of the War of the Three Henrys, fell victim to the knife of a religious fanatic. Several plots against the life of Mary Stuart and Elizabeth were foiled, although Elizabeth plotted successfully against Mary by means of a legal murder.

*The political theories
of the philosopher Jean Bodin*

IN THE midst of the mounting religious bigotry and persecution, the idea of religious tolerance

appeared in one of its most famous guises. Jean Bodin's *Heptaplomeres* has already been referred to (page 144). In this work he asserted that no ecclesiastical organization has absolute validity but is dependent on time and circumstance, and that since many different religions exist whose forms are irreconcilable, the only sensible way to get along is for each man to hold to his own views and respect those of his neighbor. Bodin's plea had a practical purpose and application, for he was influential in securing the measure of toleration contained in the Edict of Nantes and in establishing Henry IV firmly on the French throne to bring back peace and stability.

Bodin's theory of the state followed a similar line and arose similarly from the stresses of his day. In his essay entitled *A Method for the Easy Understanding of History* (1566), he gave great emphasis to climate and special local aptitudes as factors determining a nation's history. His *Republic*, which we have also previously examined (pages 143-144), contains a study of various forms of government and asserts that governments too are dependent on variant circumstances, there being no one absolutely valid form. On the principle of feasibility, he advocated a strong monarchy to which all else is subordinate in the interests of peace and toleration. Like Machiavelli he identified sovereignty with power, but, unlike his great Italian predecessor, he imposed upon the sovereign the duty to govern according to principles of the higher justice.

*The arguments
concerning divine right*

ANOTHER school of thought developed a somewhat different theory in support of the strong

monarch—the divine origin of kingly power. This theory arose partly from a need to thwart the theory of regicide. No one could assassinate a king, who

represented God on earth and received his authority directly from God himself, without offending the Almighty. James I, Elizabeth's successor as ruler of England, was one of the foremost to advocate this theory both in his political tracts and in practice. Suárez' *Defense of the Catholic Faith* was written in 1613 in reply to James. Suárez maintained that God spoke through associations of men and not through a single man. Government therefore depended on the consent of the governed, and a whole community, but not a single assassin, might depose a tyrannical ruler. This was radical thought for a Spaniard and a Jesuit, but it was based on Thomas Aquinas' political philosophy and was written against a Protestant ruler who claimed to rule in the name of God.

The effect

of sectarianism on arts and letters

THE RELIGIOUS struggle was reflected in the intense religiosity of El Greco's paintings, which

mirrored the Spanish atmosphere, and in Luther's simple, vernacular hymns and translation of the Bible. Luther's prose, in fact, became the model of German writers and served to unify the German language long before German political unity was possible. Bare chapels and a puritanical service precluded other artistic endeavor in Protestant churches, where statues and paintings of Virgin and saints were banned as being tainted with idolatry. Even in the Latin countries, where Catholicism continued to prevail, a kind of puritanism appeared. It effected a reaction against the pagan delight in the human figure, and the quite competent artist Daniele de Volterra earned the unenviable nickname of Il Braccatoni ("the breeches maker") by painting drapery and even clothes on some of Michelangelo's nudes.

THE END of the century saw the spectacular power and prestige of the Habsburgs dwindling in both Spain and Austria. In Austria, Charles v had been succeeded by his moderate brother Ferdinand, who had been able to keep a fitful peace between the hostile factions in the Empire. Ferdinand's immediate successor continued this policy, but it was broken by Rudolph II, whose effort to restore Catholic primacy was to lead to the renewal of armed leagues of rival princes.

In Spain Philip II was succeeded by Philip III in 1598. Philip II bequeathed to his successor an impoverished and declining Spain. He had failed to restore Catholicism to Europe; he had even failed to restore it in his own dominion of Holland, and had lost that prosperous land of merchants, sailors, and empire-builders in the attempt. He had had to yield in the century-long duel with France and had been forced to restore all the territories he had seized during the French Wars of Religion. These losses were not sufficiently offset by his acquisition of the Portuguese crown by inheritance and conquest, since

the Portuguese were to remain restive under Spanish rule until they regained their independence in 1640. On the seas, where once the Spanish fleets had been supreme, Philip's prize Armada had been crushed by the freebooter navy of upstart England. In America his colonial monopoly was challenged by England and France. In the East, although he now wore the Portuguese crown and controlled the Portuguese empire, the spice monopoly was threatened by enterprising merchants of England and of newly independent Holland. Spain, ascendant throughout the century, had begun the decline that was to make it inferior to several more successful countries like France, England, and Holland in the ensuing century.

The death of Philip II came in the same year as Henry IV's Edict of Nantes. After four decades of bloody Bourbon-Guise conflict, France ended the century with the promise of peace and stability, her destinies guided by the astute hand of the Bourbon Henry IV, and her religious differences given a measure of equilibrium by the Protestant toleration. King Henry forced an end to Spanish intervention on his own terms and bested his aristocratic rivals within France, many of whom were now dead, impoverished, or dependent upon him. He thereupon consolidated his position as one of the strongest monarchs of Europe. The disruptive impact of war and the debilitating effects of religious persecution were gradually to give way to peace and order under the strong hand of Henry—"le vert galant" (the hearty gallant), as he was popularly called.

The little rebel nation Holland, though suffering sorely from the turmoil out of which it was born, rapidly rose to challenge the great powers of Europe in commerce, colonies, and naval might. Building on an already prosperous commerce, Hollanders rapidly established themselves as the middlemen of Europe through their superior shipping enterprise. Nurtured by the spirit of independence born of their struggle against Spain and buttressed by the thrifty implications of Calvinist morality, they were in the next century to stand high among the nations in letters and art, commerce, industry, and finance, and to compete favorably with the great powers for colonial spoils.

England, which, since the Hundred Years' War, had remained on the periphery of Europe, took its place in the sixteenth century as a full competing member in the European system. Long backward industrially, England experienced after the middle of the century the rapid development noted earlier (page 117). In this development English businessmen benefited not only by the dissolution of the monasteries, which made land available to them at lower prices than before, but also by England's relative freedom from civil and religious warfare. The Tudors, to be sure, engaged in wars, persecuted dissenters, and regulated and taxed industry. But warfare and civil strife were not nearly so prevalent or royal interference nearly so stringent as on the Continent. By the end of the century English industry was overtaking,

and in some respects surpassing, industry in the leading continental nations. Politically and commercially the Tudors had asserted themselves in the competition for new trade routes and colonies, and they had scored a resounding political success in the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

Luther, Calvin, Knox, and other Protestant reformers proved to have erected a set of religious ideologies that were able to resist the efforts of kings and popes to destroy them. Philip II's wars against England, Holland, and the French Huguenots, and the civil strife within the several European countries did little to change the division of Europe between Catholicism and Protestantism. The major divisions had been delineated before the conflicts degenerated into open warfare; the Council of Trent made reconciliation impossible. Rather, the wars and the Catholic reaction had intensified men's convictions on one side or the other, had fanned intolerance and bigotry, and had mixed personal and party strife with religious persuasions and passions. Issues remained unsettled despite generations of civil and foreign war. Dynastic rivalries had only heightened the conflict by making domestic religious dissensions a motive, a pretext, or a tool for international intrigue. The bitterest of the wars of religion and dynasty was, however, yet to come.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1517 Luther's ninety-five theses nailed to the church door at Wittenberg
- c. 1517 A reform movement inaugurated in Zurich by the Swiss cleric, Zwingli
- 1519 Charles I of Spain elected Holy Roman emperor (Charles v)
- 1521 The Diet of Worms
- 1521-1559 Intermittent warfare between the Valois and Habsburg dynasties over disputed territories
- 1522-1523 The "Knights' War" in Germany
- 1524-1526 The Peasants' War in Germany
- 1529 A formal "Protest" issued by the Lutheran princes against the imperial government
- 1529 The "Marburg Colloquy" of Luther and Zwingli
- 1530 Melancthon's Confession of Augsburg
- 1533 Henry viii's break with the Church of Rome
- 1534 The Society of Jesus founded by Ignatius Loyola
- 1536 Publication of the *Institutes of the Christian Religion* by John Calvin
- 1536 Abolition of monastic orders in England
- 1536-1537 The "Pilgrimage of Grace"
- 1539 The Six Articles passed by Parliament
- 1542 The Universal Inquisition established at Rome
- 1545-1563 Council of Trent, high point in the Catholic Reformation
- 1549 The *Book of Common Prayer* introduced in the Anglican Church
- 1555 The Peace of Augsburg
- 1555 Return to Catholicism in England under Mary Tudor
- 1558 Repeal of Catholic legislation and reassertion of Protestantism under Elizabeth
- 1560 Protestantism established in Scotland under the leadership of John Knox
- 1562-1598 France torn by intermittent wars of religion
- 1563 Establishment of the Anglican Church completed with the adoption of the Thirty-Nine Articles
- 1564 Publication of the first papal Index
- 1567 Beginning of the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain
- 1571 Defeat of the Turks at the Battle of Lepanto
- 1572 The Massacre of St. Bartholomew in Paris
- 1581 Independence from Spain claimed by the northern Lowlands
- 1588 Defeat of Spain's "Invincible Armada"
- 1598 The Edict of Nantes issued by Henry iv of France

CHAPTER V



*Europeans
and the East, 1500-1660*

THE WORLD that we have so far studied was divided for the most part into three separate areas. In Asia a widely spread and teeming population knew little about Europe and still less about the Americas. The Europeans had long known about and been under the influence of the Asiatic cultures, but that influence had been casual and irregular; and Europe had only recently become aware of the Amerindians. The Amerindians were never to renew their ancient contacts with Asia directly, and they were soon to regret the beginnings of their acquaintance with the Europeans.

It was the Europeans who foisted themselves upon the peoples of the other two areas. At the very time that western Europe's essential spiritual unity was breaking up and rival states with rival religions were being formed there, the Europeans entered into close and frequent communication with the East and the West. Europe's era of religious conflict thus overlapped a period of world exploration. It was also, we have seen, an era of great scientific advance, which made possible, among other things, significant technological improvements in European navigation, warfare, and industry. The conjunction of these three developments (technological improvement, discovery of new continents, and international discord) helped in the eventual conquest of the newly discovered lands by the Europeans, to be sure, but by Europeans who were in conflict with each other. Hence the gradual Europeanization of Asia and the Americas came not as the result of a single cooperative process, but rather of a series of conflicts. Those conflicts were not merely of Europeans against Europeans but also of natives against Europeans.

When the late British poet Rudyard Kipling pontifically pronounced that "East is East and West is West and never the twain shall meet," he wrote

at a time (1889) when Orient and Occident had actually met and clashed, and the eastern world had virtually succumbed to the western pressure. His description of the relations between Orient and Occident would have been far more appropriate in the sixteenth than in the nineteenth century. For in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the peoples of Asia had successfully resisted European encroachments, and intercourse had been generally limited to commerce. The Ottoman Empire, India, China, and Japan long remained unshaken in their determination to pursue their own ways of life. In maritime Asia, however, and particularly in the Indies, the widely separate island peoples quickly proved unable to resist unitedly; and the sea, which before the introduction of the compass and other recent improvements in navigation had been a barrier, now made access easier to the strategic areas on the Far Eastern coast. Hence the Europeans were able to make their first important conquests along the fringes of the Asiatic continent.

We shall soon examine the way the Europeans established their control of the Americas (Chapter 6). It will help, however, to highlight the total picture of Europeanization of the world if at this point we indicate one important difference between the eastern and the western phases of that process. In the Western Hemisphere, the superiority of the European invaders was at once obvious. To the Amerindian peoples, who possessed no knowledge of iron, sailboats, firearms, armor, swords, or horses, there was no alternative left but submission. Moreover, the Spaniards were fighting against a divided enemy. Even within the great American culture areas, as we have already had occasion to discover (pages 94-101), the divisions were deep and ominous. The advantage from the outset was therefore in the hands of enemies possessing technical superiority, national unity, and a fixed purpose. In the Americas, conquest and settlement by the Europeans took place simultaneously with the voyages of exploration. In Asia, on the other hand, the Europeans (except for the Portuguese in the East Indian islands) progressed more slowly and cautiously. Commercial inroads and missionary enterprises were required to open the way for territorial acquisitions and settlements. The substantial subjection of Asia was thus delayed until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

In this chapter we shall consider the initial reactions of the Asiatic peoples to the appearance of Europeans on their shores and in their cities. We shall see that these reactions differed in intensity in direct proportion to the distance from Europe. For example, the nearby Ottoman Empire was seriously concerned about the expansion of Christian Europe, whereas in distant China the "barbarians" from the west aroused hardly more than mild curiosity. Japan was the notable exception to this rule. Observing the successes of the Europeans in the southern seas and in the insular areas, Japan almost immediately developed an intense suspicion and went on its guard against the pale and long-nosed invaders.

TURK AND CHRISTIAN

THE TURKISH Empire of today is still Mohammedan in religion and its language is not Indo-European. In nearly every other respect, however, modern Turkey has adopted an essentially European culture, even, after 1929, using the Latin alphabet in the printing of books. This readiness to accept the "infidel's" culture is a twentieth-century development. Until recent generations it was not clear that the Turks would adopt European ways, and until the eighteenth century it remained highly doubtful whether great parts of Europe would not be obliged to adopt Turkish ways.

*Christians
and the Porte at Constantinople*

WITH THE capitulation of Constantinople in 1453 to the Turkish Moslems, the Byzantine Empire

collapsed, and gradually many of the Christian institutions that had once prevailed disappeared from parts of western Asia, scattered areas of Balkan Europe, and some of southern Russia. Conquest of this important Christian citadel immeasurably enhanced the prestige of the Turkish tribes among their Moslem cohorts, and helped to make possible the establishment of a unique form of government. That government is frequently referred to as the "Porte" (French for "gate"), because a striking feature of the Turkish political system for a long time was the administration of justice to all directly at the palace gate.

The ultimate success of the Porte was not due to the extermination of Christians or to the obliteration of Christian institutions. On the contrary, the strength of the Ottoman state was dependent to an important extent upon its skillful use of one-time Christians in government, armed forces, and other important services. It is incorrect to think of the Moslem Turks as universally fanatical and devoid of humanity. Indeed, it has sometimes been suggested that they were a great deal more tolerant than their Christian contemporaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Instead of eliminating infidels, the Turks made conversion so attractive that only the most fervent Christians could resist the benefits which accrued to their less loyal contemporaries upon accepting Islam.

*The system
of Christian slavery in Turkey*

TURKISH control of the Moslem world has often been referred to as an interminable and disastrous

military occupation of the great centers of antiquity by benighted tribesmen from Central Asia. In truth, the Turks had originally come out of the tribal melting pot of Asia, as had the Mongols. Both were often thought by Christians to be scourges from God. It is also true that the Turks ravaged the great cities of Byzantium and pillaged in Balkan Europe. Moreover, they exacted tribute from their captives in money and human beings, and Chris-

tian youths were carefully selected by Moslem agents for slavery. Such slavery, however, was not always considered degrading. Youths taken into Turkish slavery were educated and trained for government or military service. Some of them as "slaves of the Porte" became the most eminent statesmen and soldiers in Turkish history. Even enslaved Christian girls were sometimes better off than they might otherwise have been. After they had undergone religious and domestic training, the sultan selected as his wives the prettiest among them, and those who remained were apportioned as wives or servants among the sultan's most favored retainers. Indeed, the sultans themselves were almost always the sons of mothers who had at one time been Christian. All slaves, whether male or female, were trained in the Mohammedan faith, and many of them became its most devout converts. Others occasionally recalled their Christian background and at times showed favor to their co-religionists of former days.

*The sultanate
or the "Governing Institution"*

THE GOVERNMENT established by the Turks combined certain regions in Asia, Africa, and Eu-

rope under one overlord. These areas were nurtured in the traditions of the Mediterranean, where the ancient civilizations of the Nile Valley, the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, Greece, Rome, Byzantium, and Arabia had thrived. Ottoman ideas and institutions were derived therefore from both oriental and occidental roots. The problem of unity among such widely separated and different areas and peoples had challenged empire builders of earlier days. Egyptians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, and Arabs had tried with varying degrees of success to provide stability and uniformity. Profiting by the experiences of their predecessors, the Turks evolved a highly flexible system of government. Its philosophy is well summarized in this passage from their *Kudstku Bilik (Art of Government)*:

In order to hold a land one needs troops and men;
In order to keep troops one must pass out property;
In order to have property one needs a prosperous people;
Only law creates the prosperity of a people.
If one of these be lacking, all four are lacking;
Where all four are lacking, the dominion goes to pieces.

At the head of the Turkish government stood the sultan, an almost unlimited despot. In the Turkish despotism the standing army was one of the most striking features of government. During an era when European rulers depended mainly upon mercenary troops, the sultans preserved order at home and made war abroad by entrusting these tasks to *janissaries* and *spahis*. These were regular infantry and cavalry units respectively, recruited from among Christian slaves and disciplined to respond quickly and obedi-

ently to the sultan's commands. The Turkish army was organized and trained to act as an indivisible unit. As the Turkish Empire expanded, its very indivisibility handicapped the sultan when he was confronted with two or more major uprisings or attacks at the same time. The army's limitations also imposed limits upon the expansion of the empire, and in its later development these military deficiencies became one of the most serious weaknesses in the maintenance of the Ottoman dominion.

"To keep troops one must pass out property." This admonition applied also to the holding of high offices. The leading servants of the sultan were normally treated with great generosity. Large estates, beautiful women, lavish gifts, and exemption from taxation

were among the privileges and pleasures conferred upon a devoted and deserving favorite. The position of slave to the sultan was an honor, and the favors that went with it were usually granted on the basis of merit. No matter what privileges, honors, or wealth a royal slave accumulated, however, he remained a slave. Disobedience or indiscretion resulted usually in demotion or death. Until the seventeenth century, the heirs of a slave could inherit nothing from him—not even his title of nobility. Rarely did those who had not been born Christians hold important military and state offices. The object of this nonhereditary policy was to have retainers who were completely dependent upon the sultan for their position, and at the same time to increase constantly the number of converts to the Mohammedan faith.

The caliphate or the "Moslem Institution"

for the winning of prosperity and good government. Inheriting from their Moslem predecessors a complete religious and social system, the Turkish sultans, probably the most absolute rulers in the early modern world, were limited only by the Koran, from which their power also received religious sanction. The Koran's provisions were holy and hence rigid. No matter how secure a sultan might feel his political position to be, he could not with impunity transgress the ideals and conventions made sacrosanct by the Prophet himself.



A sixteenth-century Venetian artist's drawing of a junissary.

LOYALTY to the sacred law of Mohammed was the final prerequisite in the Ottoman Empire

Law and religion were inseparable and universal; they were not, however, mainly the responsibility of priests and monks. Every follower of Allah was charged with responsibility for the implementation of the sacred law.

Even so, a division existed almost from the beginning of the Ottoman Empire between the ruling caste, practically all of whom were converted Christians, and the older Mohammedan families who supported the mosques, the educational system, the judicial organization, and the religious and social order of Islam. The ruling caste was much more interested in the political than the religious implications of Mohammedanism; the reverse was true of the old families. The sultan was the symbol of authority for the one, and the caliph for the other. Existing side by side, the Governing Institution (i.e., the sultanate) and the Moslem Institution (i.e., the caliphate) had welded the empire into a loose-knit political, religious, and social unity. Moreover, early in the sixteenth century the sultans also took the title of caliph, making the unity seem more thorough, at least on the surface. For the individual Moslem, nevertheless, devotion to the faith was much more than mere attachment to sultan or caliph. As time went on, therefore, the proponents of the Governing and the Moslem institutions more and more frequently came into conflict with each other. Political and religious loyalties conflicted in Mohammedan no less than in Christian countries. The sultans and their slaves, however, served the Moslem majority long and faithfully before the workings of the Ottoman imperial machine were forced by internal degeneration and external pressure to grate joltingly to a standstill.

*Toleration
of the Greek Church by the Turks*

DESPITE the Turks' contemptuous attitude toward unbelievers, their tolerance of their Christian

and Jewish subjects and their willingness to permit them to live in peace and to share in the common prosperity were unusual in that intolerant era. For instance, the patriarch of the Greek Church (comparable to the pope at Rome) remained in Constantinople after the Turkish occupation and continued to attend to the religious needs of his followers. Moreover, the sultans encouraged his successors to remain in office. This policy of toleration proved to be politically shrewd. It served as a means of controlling through a single agency the vast Christian laity within the Ottoman dominions. In addition, by exercising power over the appointment of the patriarchs, the sultans were also able to prevent a reconciliation between the Latin and the Greek churches, which would probably have made their Christian subjects still less docile. Playing skillfully upon the numerous other discords within Christendom, the Turks also prevented new crusades from being organized against their scattered possessions, and at the same time struck telling blows against Christian Europe when the religious wars of the post-Reformation era divided it into several irreconcilable armed camps.



Jerusalem in 1486, holy city for Jews, Christians, and Moslems. Double crosses mark the sites where Christian pilgrims received plenary remission of their sins. Beyond the wall in the center rises the great domed Mosque of Omar (also called the Dome of the Rock), which was built on the site of Solomon's Temple and marked the spot where Mohammed is supposed to have ascended to heaven. Far right in the background is the Temple of the Holy Sepulcher.

*Extraterritoriality
within the Turkish Empire*

EUROPEANS were also permitted
after 1453 to retain their com-
mercial establishments in Con-

stantinople and other Turkish ports. Although, at first, trade ceased almost completely, Turks and Europeans alike soon came to realize that commerce was necessary to the health of their respective economies. The voyages of exploration and discovery awakened the Turks in particular to the need for a compromise. Fortunately, a system of special political and commercial concessions had earlier been worked out for foreigners engaged in commerce in the lands of the Byzantine emperors, and was not unknown in the dealings of the western European countries with each other. For instance, the Steelyard in London was a specially privileged community of merchants from Venice, the Hanseatic League, and elsewhere. Such arrangements were necessary in a day when local laws, customs, and officials reflected a general distrust of the still infrequent alien. The Turks granted the Christian merchant groups in their empire similar privileges.

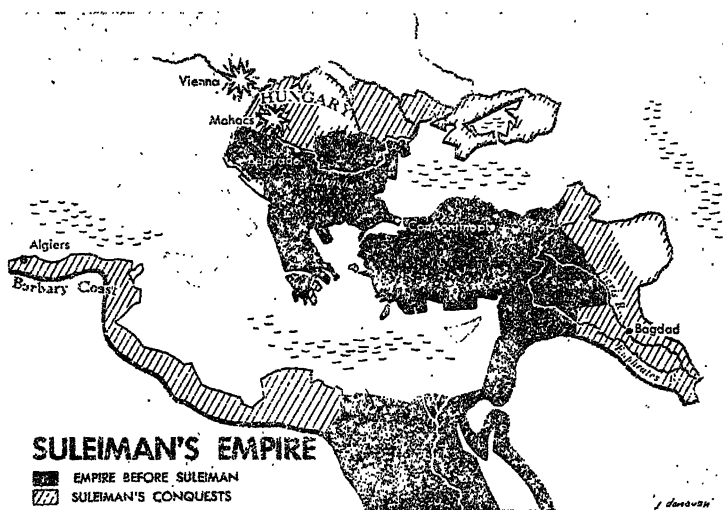
Since these privileges were set forth by "chapters" (Latin, *capitula*), they became known as "capitulations." The most coveted of them was the right to live in separate and almost autonomous districts within the leading commercial cities. This right of *extraterritoriality* or *extraterritoriality* permitted favored Europeans to establish trading communities on Turkish soil, exempt from local jurisdiction, and to be subject only to their own laws and their own consular agents, who thus became rulers of a sort of state within the Turkish state. If the Turkish Empire had been less confident of its strength it might have hesitated to make such perilous concessions.

*The achievements
of Suleiman the Magnificent*

DESPITE the important contacts
established through religion and
trade, the Ottoman Empire and

Europe had but little direct influence upon each other. The sultan's European possessions were neither so extensive nor so wealthy as his African and Asiatic dependencies. Even at the height of Turkish power, Hungary was the westernmost of the conquered territories. In 1526, while Germany was in the throes of the Reformation and while Rome was feeling the wrath of Emperor Charles v, the Turks, under their gifted sultan, Suleiman the Magnificent, overcame the feudal levies of the Hungarians at Mohacs in a battle that has passed down in Hungarian lore as among the worst of their national catastrophes. Three years later the triumphant Ottoman armies appeared before the gates of Vienna. They were never able, however, to take Vienna or to strike at the new wealth of the nations on the Atlantic seaboard.

Despite that check, Suleiman the Magnificent (1520-1566) made the
206 Turks a truly alarming threat to the security of the western European states.



The "holy" wars of Suleiman the Magnificent not only reestablished Ottoman authority from Bagdad to Algiers but also reached into the heart of Christian Europe at a time when the religious and political rivalries fostered by the Reformation made defensive cooperation particularly hard for the Christian rulers to achieve.

His great contemporaries, Emperor Charles v, Francis I of France, and Henry VIII of England, soon came to realize that they could not afford to eliminate the Ottoman host from their political reckonings. His Most Christian Majesty, the king of France, in his eagerness to strike at the scattered dynastic empire of Charles v, scandalized Europe in 1536 by contracting an offensive alliance with the Commander of the Mohammedan Faithful. Thus began a tradition in European diplomacy that was to last for several centuries—France's cooperation with Turkey against their common enemies. Until the death of Francis I in 1547, the Ottomans remained loyal allies of France, carrying on telling campaigns against the Habsburgs of Spain in Africa and against the Habsburgs of Austria in eastern Europe. Nor were the Turks the only ruthless ravager in these wars. Acts of barbarity by the Moslems were matched in almost every instance by equally reprehensible acts by Christians.

Even though Francis I sought to win approval for his Turkish alliance by establishing Roman Catholic missions on Turkish soil, the majority of Europeans continued to think of the Turks as barbaric infidels. The religious intolerance stimulated by the Reformation also widened the gap between the Christian and the Mohammedan worlds. To the Christians, Suleiman was a



A sixteenth-century Italian woodcut of Suleiman the Magnificent.

scourge, although highly respected as the "Magnificent" warrior. Among his own people, the great sultan is still known mainly for his legislative genius and is referred to in Turkish annals as "the lawgiver." He merited both labels. Under him the banks of the Danube in Europe, the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates in Asia, and the Barbary Coast in Africa were brought into a single empire. Cities as remote in space and culture as Belgrade, Algiers, and Bagdad came under his sway. He undertook a series of reforms, among which was the amelioration of the lot of his Christian subjects; and, himself a poet of no mean merit, he was a friend of letters.

Under Suleiman, too, the Ottoman state system was solidified along military lines. Like his predecessors and successors, Suleiman was limited by the precepts of the sacred law. Unlike them, he subjected the

law to new judicial interpretations that simplified the conduct of his military regime. Uniting both the ecclesiastical and the temporal power in his sole person, Suleiman dared to brave the wrath of his own people by concluding the alliance with Francis I. In satisfying his personal thirst for military glory, he unhesitatingly played upon the strong missionary fervor of his Moslem subjects. His wars of conquest he called "holy," but the booty was not used so much for the glorification of Moslem standards as for new projects of war. During his rule of forty-six years, Suleiman battered relentlessly against the Habsburg and other enemies. He made huge conquests in Hungary, Africa, and Persia. The successes of his regime, however, were dearly bought, not only with blood and treasure but also with the mounting influence of the harem in politics.

*A period
of Ottoman decline (1566-1656)*

SHORTLY after Suleiman's death the Ottoman Empire sank back exhausted, and almost a century

was needed to enable it to recuperate from the excesses of the sixteenth century. The enervation of the Ottoman Empire came at a fortunate time for Europe. Harassed by the wars of religion, which did not come to a close until the middle of the seventeenth century, the Habsburg defenders of the Christian outposts found their hands full in western Europe. Mounting corruption and disorder at Constantinople, however, offered some consolation, since they were thought to indicate the ultimate collapse of the

Turkish state. Preoccupied by problems closer to home, the western European governments, including England, believed that the bumbling Ottoman state would either eventually collapse of its own weight or maintain only a precarious hold until freedom of action should be restored to them and they should be able to administer the final blow.

*The forty years
of the "Kuprili Revival"*

CONTRARY to these dire predictions, the Turks once again astounded the world in the latter

half of the seventeenth century by taking a vigorous and menacing role in eastern Europe at precisely the same time that friendly France under Louis xiv became the preponderant European power. The story of Louis xiv's extraordinary career will be taken up later (Chapters 8 and 9), but the last onslaught of the Turks during the period when Europe was dominated by Louis xiv provides the final heroic touch to Ottoman glory before the definite decline of the once great Moslem empire set in. Under Mohammed Kuprili the Turks again took the aggressive in Europe. Kuprili was neither sultan nor caliph. As frequently happens in despotisms, the nominal head of the Turkish church and state had by this time become a do-nothing, usually acting only as "front" for more vigorous advisers, who wielded the real power. Kuprili was grand vizier, comparable to the responsible minister in a European government. Albanian by descent, Mohammed Kuprili founded in 1656 a ministerial dynasty that revived Turkish power for the next forty years.

During the preceding years, political and military authority had markedly decayed. The janissaries and the spahis had been permitted to settle down, marry, and pass on their commissions and privileges to their sons. Christians were no longer required in the seventeenth century to provide male children as slaves. The sultans, who had grown more than ever interested in luxury and easy living, had come to value their Christian subjects as cultivators, producers, and taxpayers rather than as soldiers and officials. The governors of the Turkish provinces had become either ineffective and indolent or independent of the central administration.

Vigor and aggressiveness were temporarily restored by the Kuprili viziers. Without openly removing the reins of political power from the hands of the sultans, they revived as many as possible of the civil and military practices that had made possible the growth of the Ottoman state. Mohammed



A Turkish slave galley in the time of Suleiman the Magnificent.

Kuprili crushed the indolent and independent governors of the Turkish provinces and centralized the empire once more. He restored discipline to the army by revitalizing the old system of military administration. Thus the temporary Ottoman rebirth was due to internal rehabilitation rather than to influences from abroad.

Short-lived as it was, this last impressive display of Ottoman power had a profound effect upon the history of eastern Europe. Hoping to take Vienna and Rome, the Turks sought to overthrow Latin Christendom for all time. The havoc of the disastrous Thirty Years' War (pages 298-303) and the vigorous campaigns of Louis XIV had taken their toll in Europe, and the Habsburgs and the Catholic Church were confronted with the possibility of succumbing to the "terrible Turk." Help came, however, to the "two great swords of Christendom" from an unexpected quarter. Estranged from France by what he considered to be the "double-dealing" of Louis XIV, the Polish king, John Sobieski, rallied the Christian nobility of Poland to the defense of Europe. Mainly through his efforts, the Turks in 1683, as in 1529, were halted at the gates of Vienna.

Thereafter, the tide of victory once more turned against the Ottomans. They were gradually forced back to their former boundaries in eastern Europe. Their last great effort to conquer western Europe had weakened them to the point where the western powers contemplated the partition of the Turkish empire. Then, as now, the Turks owed their continued independence not so much to their ability to defend themselves as to the inability of their Christian enemies to agree on a division of the spoils.

Cultural isolation

of Turkey from western influences

ALTHOUGH their contacts with Christians and Europeans were varied and intimate, the Turks had so far been only slightly influenced by the great events taking place in western Europe. The products of the west most frequently purchased or imitated by them were military in character. Even in military devices, however, they refused to fall under European sway or to recognize the superiority of European arms and tactics. Uncreative in art and philosophy, absorbing without adding to Moslem or European culture, they contributed but little to modern civilization, and until the twentieth century learned even less from their European enemies. Education was conducted along religious lines and for the purpose of increasing missionary and soldierly zeal. The military character of the Ottoman state was in part responsible for the cultural isolation that for a long time sealed Turkey almost hermetically against influences from Europe. The uncompromising character of the two opposing religious creeds, Islam and Christianity, also made political and cultural interchange difficult.

So long as Islam was victorious and Christendom divided, it was hard to convince the successful Turks of the superiority of the Christian way of life. As we shall see (pages 767-769), in the eighteenth century the Turk began to give way slowly before repeated assaults from without and within his dominions, and in the nineteenth century he became "the sick man of the East." Nevertheless, until the twentieth century, the Ottoman Empire continued to bestride three continents—Asia, Africa, and Europe—largely controlling the eastern Mediterranean Sea, the Aegean Sea, and the Black Sea, and making trade even in the western Mediterranean somewhat dependent on its good will.

THE PORTUGUESE

IN INDIA

WHILE Suleiman strove to plant the standard of Islam in western Europe, his coreligionists, the Mogul rulers at Delhi, sought vainly to subject India also to Moslem rule. Although northern India put up no serious opposition to the Moslem conquerors, the Hindus of southern India steadfastly resisted their encroachments. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese successors of Vasco da Gama appeared in the East, the Indian peninsula was thus divided politically and religiously. In the north the people were chiefly Mohammedan and submissive to the Moguls; in the south they were chiefly Hindu and defiant. Taxes were excessive in both Hindu and Moslem areas, and the burdens and disruptions of civil war added to the poverty and misery of the populace. Here, as in many parts of the non-European world, political chaos made possible the establishment of the commercial, military, and religious outposts that were eventually to become the foundations upon which enormous colonial empires would be built.

Early contacts

of the Europeans with India

LONG BEFORE Vasco da Gama circumnavigated Africa in his search for an all-water route to

the East, merchants from Venice, Constantinople, Kiev, and Bagdad had made regular business excursions both by land and by sea to the great commercial centers along India's western coast. Upon returning to their native cities, the itinerant merchants committed their experiences to paper, and presented their contemporaries with vivid descriptions of the wealth and beauty of what, but for these reports, would have been thought of as "the ends of the earth." The glamour of these accounts was among the inducements that led the Portuguese for almost eighty years to direct their efforts, wealth, and man power to the task of establishing maritime communication with India.



Polygamy is odious among them, in which respect they cease not to vil-
lifie Mahometans as people of an impure soule, and stult with turpitude; yea,
in this they parallel the Antick Romans, who (as Tacitus, Marcellin, and Ter-
tullian tell us) so hated Digamy (both in enjoying two wives at one time,
and being twice married) as no Holocaust was ever offered, no holy fire lookt
unto by such, nor such as issued from such parents. Their Funeralls are of
the old stamp (recorded by Curtius) sacrificing the corps to ashes in a holy fire,
compounded of all sorts of costly woods and Aromatick spices: the wife also
(in expectation to enjoy her husband 'mongst incomparable pleasures) in-
velops her dirty body with the mercilesse flames, for which kindnesse she ob-
taines a living memory. Their Priests are called *Brachmani* or *Brachmani*, such
as in old times from their qu'iliry, were nam'd *Gymnosophis*, as Porphyrius the
great Platonist in his 4. lib. de abstinent. ab usu carnis, dictates concerning
them, and thus: If by descent he continued constant to his study and con-
templation, he then attained great Estimation, and the title *Brachman*:

This page from a seventeenth-century book reveals an awakening European interest in the customs and ideas of the East.

vantage to outplay the infidels. Thus, from the beginning of the new com-
mercial era, the extension of western hostilities to the non-European world
became an unavoidable corollary of overseas expansion.

The Arabs were not the only foreign merchants encountered in India by
the Portuguese. In the southern part of the peninsula, they met and traded
with commercial envoys from Malaysia, China, and Burma. From these trade
contacts in the south the Portuguese soon came to realize that greater riches
and less resistance would be found east of Ceylon. A few years had to elapse,
however, before the Portuguese were able to establish themselves firmly
enough in India to undertake the invasion of the East Indies and south-
eastern Asia.

In the sixteenth century the Por-
tuguese empire stretched from Zanzi-
bar off the east coast of Africa to
the Moluccas in the East Indies. The
wealthiest parts of this vast empire
were located, however, in the eastern
half. Tales of India and the Spice
Islands were recounted wherever sea-
men got together, and Portugal's as-
cendancy in the wealthy Indies was
coveted increasingly by the other
maritime powers.

From the outset the Portuguese
came into direct conflict with the
Arab merchants in India. The fol-
lowers of the Prophet did everything
in their power to discourage the
Portuguese from exploiting the pos-
sibilities of the all-water route. Upon
realizing that the Turkish and Egyp-
tian middlemen had been by-passed
by the Portuguese, the Arabs found
additional reason to turn their co-
religionists in India against the Euro-
peans. For their part, the Portuguese
were determined to drive the Arabs
from eastern waters. Having fought
for centuries against the Moorish in-
vaders of their homeland, the Portu-
guese conceived of it as a religious
duty no less than an economic ad-

*The success
of the Portuguese in India*

FRANCISCO de Almeida was the first Portuguese governor in India (1505-1509). Under his lead-

ership, the Portuguese soon drove the Arab traders off the Indian Ocean. Here, as in the Mediterranean, the Moslems displayed little skill in naval warfare, their energies being more successfully directed to land invasions of Europe and northern Africa. Thereafter, the Arab traders were eclipsed by the Portuguese throughout the maritime regions of the East.

In 1509, Almeida was succeeded by Alfonso de Albuquerque. Profiting by the great naval victories of Almeida, Albuquerque set up territorial outposts in the East. In the first six years of his regime, he established fortified bases near the entrance of the Red Sea, at the mouth of the Persian Gulf, on the western coast of India, and on the southern tip of the Malay peninsula. From these beginnings the Portuguese hoped to be able to extend their control over the coastal areas of southern Asia.

Taking advantage of the chaotic internal situation that they found upon their arrival, the Portuguese managed for slightly more than half a century to consolidate their gains in several of India's strategic harbors. Their successes in acquiring territorial and commercial footholds inspired them in 1521 to take part in the spread of Christianity to the non-European world. The city of Goa became the commercial and political capital of Portugal's eastern possessions. It soon became an archbishopric and the center of Catholic, particularly Jesuit, activity in the Orient. Here, too, the Inquisition was set up.



From an Italian book on voyages, printed in 1576.

*The rule
of Akbar the Great (1562-1605)*

IN THE last decades of the sixteenth century Emperor Akbar the Great ruled in India. The

growth of Akbar's power for a time united the country, both north and south, under the Mogul dynasty and against the foreign invaders. Unity and centralization were made possible to a high degree by the adoption of a policy of religious toleration. Through Akbar's conquests and reforms, the authority of the Mogul dynasty was extended to the areas of the western coast, where the Portuguese had made their settlements. Thus, the Europeans for the first time came into direct contact with a government that could justifiably claim control over most of India.

The Portuguese, however, did not lose their footholds in India as a result of the increased Mogul pressure. On the contrary, they adjusted themselves rapidly to the new turn of events. Akbar, it proved, was tolerant of Christians, a patron of the arts, and an advocate of education in all the faiths of his varied realm. Counting on his enlightenment, the Portuguese sent emissaries and missionaries to his court in the hope of effecting his conversion. They also sought to win his approval by supplying him with their more efficient weapons of war. Apparently Akbar listened to the Christian priests and merchants courteously but refused to yield his soul to the Jesuit missionaries.

At Akbar's death in 1605, the religious and political unity of India was more pronounced than at any other period in modern times. For almost a century thereafter, the Mogul rulers continued a benevolent sway over most of India's disparate sections. The Europeans, however, were allowed to make steady gains within the Mogul realm. One of the world's greatest architectural triumphs still stands to symbolize the unity and glory achieved by Akbar's dynasty. Akbar's grandson built the Taj Mahal. Begun in 1630 and completed in 1653, it is still probably the most splendid mausoleum in existence. Its impressive gateway and gardens, white marble galleries, slender minarets, precious stone inlays, and floral arabesques form the best-known monument of Moslem culture in India.

THE FABULOUS INDIES

LOOSELY, the term "East Indies" has been used to designate India, Indochina, and the Malay Archipelago, but more strictly it refers to the last region—the world's largest group of islands, including today the autonomous states of the Philippine Republic and the Republic of the United States of Indonesia. Only in our own day have these Malayan islands become free. The Philippines were part of the Spanish empire until 1898 and then were ceded to the United States of America. They acquired independence in 1946. The Indonesian islands remained almost exclusively Dutch until in 1949 the recognition of

the Republic of the United States of Indonesia made the hitherto Dutch colonies a sovereign state, linked with the Dutch in a Netherlands-Indonesian Union. Over four centuries of commercial and imperialist rivalry among Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and English (not to mention later contestants like the Americans, Germans, and Japanese) led to the reluctant recognition that the outcome of successful European colonization is likely to be a native nationalism and a repudiation of European political control.

*The Portuguese
in search of spices east of India*

SHORTLY after their arrival in India, the Portuguese discovered that some of the most valuable

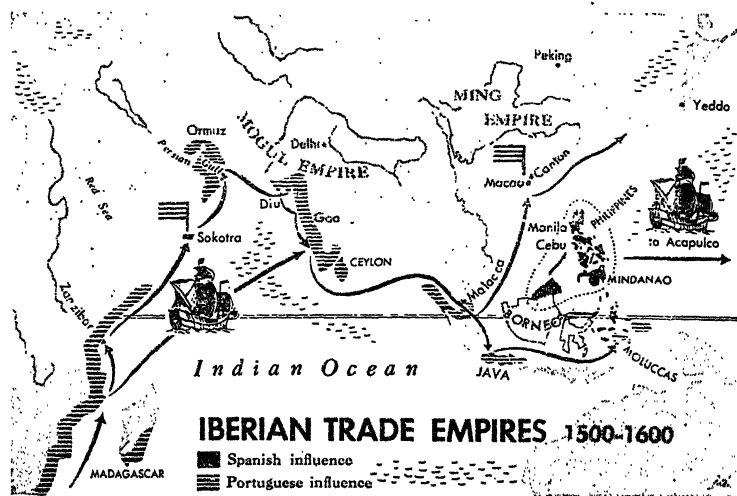
spices were not native to India but were brought from still farther east by Chinese and Arab merchant vessels. In 1509 Diego Lopes de Sequeira was dispatched eastward to search for the islands from which the spices came. He found his way to Malacca at the tip of the Malay peninsula without great difficulty. There he met Arab merchants once again, and hostilities were almost at once renewed. Albuquerque, as governor of the Portuguese possessions in India, was sent with a strong fleet of warships to reinforce Sequeira's unit. In 1511, the Portuguese attacked and captured Malacca, and thereby gained control over the most strategic port in the Indies. Commanding the Straits of Malacca, the captured city dominated the western maritime entrance to the Malay world and the countries of the Far East. Wrenched from the hands of the infidels, Malacca was fortified and soon became the easternmost, and perhaps the most valuable, of Portugal's commercial stations.

The Portuguese were not slow in following up their advantage. They comprehended at once that Malacca, like the ports of India, was merely a port through which the spices cleared. In their determination to monopolize the spice trade, they diligently sought out the sources of the spices, and thereby informed themselves, and indirectly the rest of the world, about the geography, civilization, and resources of the East Indies. The Moluccas, or Spice Islands, were discovered in 1512. Having found the spice centers, the Portuguese proceeded to establish a chain of fortified outposts from which their vessels could patrol the sea lanes connecting the numerous islands. The Arabs were ruthlessly driven out as the Portuguese made the Indies into their own economic preserve. Other merchants who wished to buy spices were forced to trade in Malacca, which thus became the central clearing house of the spice business in the East.

*Reasons
for the success of the Portuguese*

HOW DID it happen that a few Portuguese backed by a country of only slender resources could

capture and retain one of the wealthiest and most densely populated areas in the world? How was it that they were able to keep unchallenged supremacy over the spice trade for more than 130 years? Why were they not dispossessed 215



The agreement by which Spain and Portugal divided the world between them in 1494 was not successfully challenged by other European countries in the East for about a century. But native governments confined the Iberian empires in the East mainly to small coastal posts, in contrast to the extensive Iberian settlements in the Western Hemisphere. Though the Spanish and the Portuguese often controlled the hinterlands through machinations among the natives, only the strings of strategically located trading posts and military outposts actually belonged to them. The double line is the equator.

by the natives or by the neighboring Chinese Empire? Such questions bothered Europeans of the sixteenth century and are even yet difficult to answer fully.

The answer may be, however, that the Portuguese in the East Indies were successful for much the same general reasons that account for Spanish success in the conquest of the West Indies. The European groups had the advantage of a much higher level of technology than the isolated natives. The Portuguese, like the Spaniards, possessed superior weapons and more efficient means of transportation by land and sea. Moreover, the white men in both cases advanced their own position by taking advantage of the internal difficulties and civil wars going on among the natives. Finally, both the Spanish and the Portuguese had an advantage that the offensive nearly always gives; they were able to initiate their conquests at places of their own choosing and at times determined by themselves. The islands could be, and usually were, handled one at a time, by the strategy that in the Second World War became known as "island hopping." Having no vast hinterland into which they could retreat, the natives were forced to surrender to the Europeans, and sometimes were even enlisted in later conquests of neighboring islands.

In some regards, however, Portugal's problems in the East were different from the Spanish problems in the West. The Portuguese had, first of

Natives at work in the Spice Islands, as seen by a Dutch artist in 1598.

all, to contend with highly civilized Arab and Chinese merchants as well as with the natives of Malaysia. The Arabs could be disposed of without much difficulty because they had almost no support from their home countries. The Chinese, on the other hand, were subjects of the greatest nation in eastern Asia, and the Ming emperors, who ruled China at this period (pages 233-240), were profoundly interested in southeastern Asia and its maritime environs. Still, the Chinese had no desire to monopolize the spice trade for themselves. It might even be asserted that they were



happy to have the Portuguese in the Indies, for the Europeans brought with them gold and silver. Certain of their own greatness and self-sufficiency, the Chinese did not become overly fearful about the spices of the East Indies or about the predatory character of the few Europeans whom they met.

*Reasons for the collapse
of the Portuguese empire overseas*

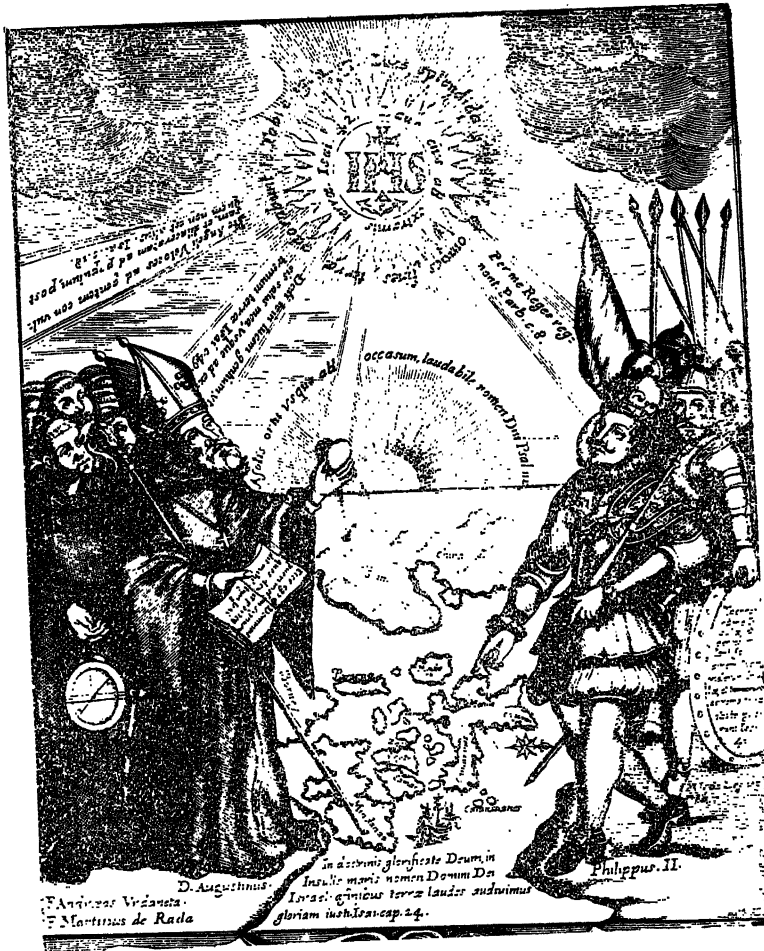
CAREFUL though the Portuguese were in their colonial expansion, the system of fortified outposts planned by Albuquerque eventually became an almost intolerable burden upon the man power of their small nation. Adventurers sought gold and glory by deserting the Portuguese settlements and selling their services to native chieftains in Burma, IndoChina, or Siam. The Portuguese youth became less and less interested in volunteering for arduous overseas venture as the steady influx of overseas wealth made life at home more and more pleasant for them. Portugal's colonial outposts were frequently manned by foreign sailors while the Portuguese sat back to enjoy the fruits of their trading monopoly.

Still more disastrous for Portugal's overseas empire were the political changes taking place in Europe. The growth in the power and influence of Spain under Kings Charles I (Emperor Charles V) and Philip II was one of the main reasons for Portugal's eclipse as a colonial power. A disputed claim placed Philip also on the throne of Portugal in 1580, and during sixty years of "Spanish captivity," Portugal's independence disappeared. The temporary union of the Spanish and the Portuguese crowns was personal; that is to say, though they had the same ruler, the two countries otherwise preserved their autonomy. Hence the union did not diminish the conflicts between the two Iberian peoples over the control of the East Indies, but, on the other hand, it did add to Portugal's complications by involving her in Spain's wars with the Protestant governments. By the end of the sixteenth century the English and the Dutch had attacked Lisbon itself, the markets of which had been closed to them by the Spanish after 1580. Failing to do to Lisbon anything more than casual damage, the northern Europeans set out to break the Portuguese monopoly of Europe's spice supply.

*Magellan's discovery
of the Philippines for Spain*

THE SPANISH were not altogether sorry to watch the Portuguese empire evaporate. The union of

the Portuguese with the Spanish crown in 1580 had been in a sense a victory for one of the long-thwarted overseas ambitions of the Spanish. Like the other European states, they had often coveted the spice monopoly enjoyed by Portugal. Indeed, for twenty years after the voyage of Vasco da Gama, they had searched for a westward route to the Orient. In 1513, Vasco Núñez de Balboa had discovered from Panama a sea to the south, which turned out to be the world's widest expanse of water, now called the Pacific Ocean. Six years later, Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese who had fought under Albuquerque in the taking of Malacca, took service with Spain for the purpose of sailing westward to the Spice Islands. He successfully convinced the Spanish court that the easternmost of the coveted islands lay within that half of the world assigned to Spain by papal decree. In 1519 he set sail; and by the end of 1520 he had by-passed the New World through the straits that have since borne his name, and had broken into the waters of the Pacific. Almost four months later (1521), his ships glided into the harbor of Cebu in the islands that are today called "the Philippines," after the Spanish prince who later became King Philip II. In his anxiety to establish suzerainty over the islands, Magellan antagonized the natives to such an extent that they rose in rebellion and killed him and a number of his sailors. The survivors of the expedition escaped on two vessels. One of these vessels tried to return to Spain by retracing its route across the Pacific; it failed. The other succeeded in evading the Portuguese patrols and returned to Spain by sailing around Africa, thus circumnavigating the world for the first time in history.



Through a heart in his outstretched hand, the mitered bishop of Manila, Dom Augustine, directs light from heaven toward his diocese, the lands toward which King Philip points. These lands had recently been conquered by Legaspi (far right). Scattered Biblical texts, proclaiming that the Gospel must be spread to the ends of the earth, further emphasize the religious motive in Spanish colonization.

The beginnings of Spanish rule in the Philippines

ALTHOUGH Magellan had not been successful in establishing the Spanish in the Indies, his

example was followed by later navigators. Expeditions to the Orient were simplified after Hernán Cortés established Spanish control in Mexico (page 219)

247) and thereby gave the Spanish direct access to the Pacific Ocean. These expeditions, however, were also unsuccessful, and in 1529 the Spanish signed the Treaty of Saragossa by which they gave up their rather thin claims in the Orient. Because of the discovery of gold in Mexico and Peru such a decision was easier for Spain to reach than it might have been previously.

In keeping with the treaty, Spain made no serious effort to renew her control over the Philippines for a long time. In 1564, however, despite treaty obligations, Miguel López de Legaspi set sail from Mexico to make good Philip II's claim to the islands that had been named for him over forty years before. Legaspi led his expedition directly to Cebu, where Magellan had first landed, and captured the town by force. Like the Portuguese, Legaspi established a fortified settlement and then awaited reinforcements. It was now only a question of time until the whole insular group would come under Spain's control.

When the Spaniards reached the Philippines, the level of native civilization was relatively high. Like the Indians of Mexico, the Filipinos lived in an agricultural society, and their achievements in terraced agriculture won the admiration of the Spanish. Yet they were otherwise technically primitive and proved unable to oppose the invader effectively. Internal differences also made Spanish occupation simpler. The only group that consistently resisted the political and religious efforts of the Spanish were the Moslem Filipinos, called *Moros* by the Spanish. It was not until the nineteenth century that the Spanish were able even to negotiate amicably with the Moro sultan in the Sulu Archipelago of the Philippine Islands.

After 1571, the Spanish used the island of Mindanao and the harbor city of Manila as the centers of their Far Eastern empire. During the next decade, they extended their control over most of the islands in the Philippines. Unlike the Portuguese, they were not content to establish mere trading posts. As in the New World, they occupied the major cities and towns, established missions, churches, and schools, and ruled like conquerors over a subject people.

*The American orientation
of the Philippines by the Spanish*

DESPITE the presence in the Philippine Islands of large numbers of Arabs and Chinese, the history

of the archipelago since the Spanish conquest has been only indirectly connected with that of maritime and continental Asia. From the outset the effort was made to integrate the Philippines into the Spanish colonial system, and to attach them as closely as possible, in spite of distance and differences, to the possessions in the New World. Thus, from the sixteenth century to the present, the Filipinos have been accustomed to look toward America for political direction and foreign commerce. Despite mercantilist restrictions upon colonial enterprise, the Mexican seaport of Acapulco flourished upon

the trans-Pacific trade and declined only after Mexico, ceasing to be a Spanish colony, lost its special connection with the rest of the Spanish empire.

*The Catholic Church
in the Philippine Islands*

THE FILIPINOS' unique relationship to Europe and America has generally been advantageous to them. The Spanish contributed only a little to the material progress of the native population. The Catholic missionaries, however, added significantly to the islanders' spiritual and educational development. Disappointed by the subordinate role assigned to the church in Spanish America, Dominican and Franciscan missionaries converted the heathen and zealously determined to make the islands a great center for the diffusion of Catholicism throughout the Far East. Ten years after its founding, Manila was given a bishop, and by 1600 he had been elevated to the rank of archbishop. Spanish is still a common language of the islands and most of their civilized population is Catholic. From the Philippines went forth missionaries to other Asiatic peoples.

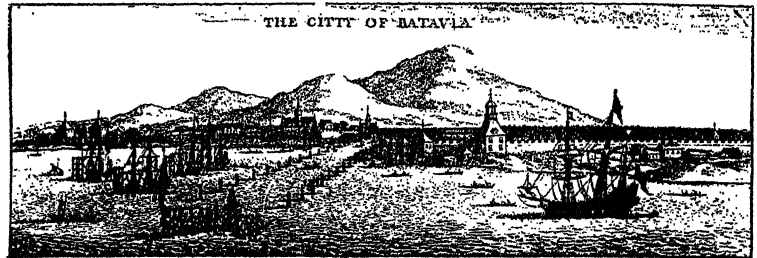
*The mercantilist system
of the Spanish in the Philippines*

TRADE between the Philippines and the Spanish New World was carefully limited. Only one merchant ship a year was permitted to go eastward to America. Until 1811, the "Manila Galleon" landed once annually at Acapulco. The Spanish carefully restricted trade between Mexico and the Philippines in this manner because they believed, unwise though it may now seem, that it would be disastrous for the gold and silver of the New World to be diverted from Spain in order to purchase commodities from the Orient. Such limitations on commerce quite obviously prevented the close association among the various parts of the empire otherwise considered so desirable by Spain. On the contrary, the government's policy encouraged the continuation of the brisk trade begun by Chinese and Japanese merchants and settlers before the Spanish conquest. Although the traders from other Asiatic areas were taxed heavily, they nevertheless succeeded in deriving greater economic benefits from the Philippines than did the Spanish.

THE ADVENT

OF THE NORTHERN EUROPEANS

AFTER 1600, the Portuguese and Spanish were forced on the defensive by the appearance in eastern waters of the Dutch, the English, and the French merchant fleets. The development of new commercial methods in Europe (pages 116-120) had created huge opportunities for the investment of capital in commerce, and new merchant companies sought precious spices, herbs, 221



In the seventeenth century, Batavia, situated on the island of Java, became the chief Dutch trading center in the East Indies, from which Holland had recently ousted Portugal. Batavia's strongly fortified castle served as protection for Holland's island empire.

jewels, and other oriental products. At the same time, the disavowal of Roman authority by the new Protestant churches weakened Portugal's and Spain's exclusive claims to the new lands, which were based upon papal decree.

*English and Dutch challenge
to Iberian supremacy in the East*

THE REVOLT of Holland against Spain introduced a newly independent and especially enterprising competitor into the eastern field.

To the Dutch it was a stroke of good fortune that Spain's temporary personal union with Portugal largely coincided in time with the duration of the Dutch War of Independence. The Netherlands challenged the Iberian hold upon the East Indies, while their ally England contested Iberian primacy in the trade with India. To the Catholic missionaries in India and the islands of the Far East, the appearance of the Protestant merchants from northern Europe was far from welcome. The newcomers brought with them into an area in which the Catholic Church had been the only Christian authority the heresy and anticlericalism that were current in Europe. The Catholic missionaries had not informed their converts about the religious difficulties of their church. The Dutch and the English delighted in letting the natives know about the weakness of the Catholic Church, and about the sentiments of many northern Europeans concerning it.



*The victory
of the Dutch in the Spice Islands*

DURING the first two decades of the seventeenth century, the Portuguese fleets in eastern waters

suffered disastrous and successive defeats. The English concentrated their attacks upon the western half of Portugal's maritime empire and upon her holdings in India. The Dutch meanwhile energetically attacked the strategic outposts east of India. After numerous efforts, they succeeded in 1641 in wresting Malacca from the Portuguese and thereafter in taking the lesser points scattered throughout the insular area. The Portuguese had no recourse except to capitulate. Although bent upon preserving her monopoly in the New World, Spain was unable and unwilling after the defeat of her Invincible Armada in 1588 (page 183) to risk the remains of her stricken navy in defending Portugal's overseas possessions.

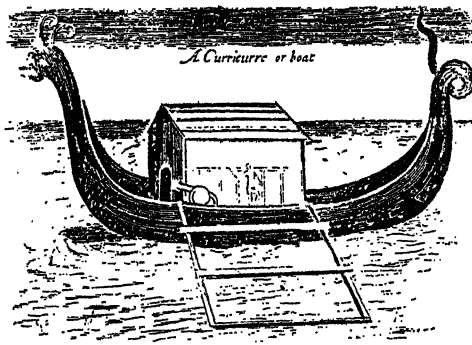
The enfeeblement of Portugal's empire in the East isolated the Spanish Philippines more than ever from the other island groups in the East Indies. Catholic domination of Philippine policy meant that no religious compromises could be made with the heathen Orientals or the Protestant Dutch, who now were rapidly displacing the Portuguese in the East Indies. In the seventeenth century the Philippine Islands therefore became more than ever the center of Dominican and Franciscan activity in the Far East. Spain's eclipse as a political and military power in Europe finally guaranteed to the Catholic clergy growing importance in the political, economic, and social rule of the islands.

*Beginnings
of the British conquest of India*

FOR A short time the struggle for control of the Spice Islands was triangular. In 1623, however,

England withdrew from the Indies and concentrated her attentions upon India. The earliest English "factory" (i.e., "trading post," where factors, or agents, resided) had been established by the East India Company at Surat in 1612. A decade later Portugal's power in India was broken. The English took over most of the former Portuguese holdings and added a few of their own on both the eastern and western coasts of the Indian peninsula. In 1639, Madras, on the south-

A Malacca ship of the type encountered by the Portuguese.





By 1660 the Dutch and the English had pushed the Portuguese out of almost every eastern foothold except the African coast, and the ports of Goa in India and of Macao in China, which they still possess. The French too were making a bid for eastern empire at the expense of the Portuguese. Spain retained her possessions in Africa and her exclusive influence in the Philippines.

eastern coast, was founded as an English settlement owned and operated by the British East India Company. Then England's expansion in India was temporarily halted by the outbreak of a civil war in England and Scotland (pages 319-322). In 1661, however, after the Stuart kings were restored, Portugal, once more independent of Spain, presented England with the island of Bombay as a dowry gift to King Charles II. This gave the English an excellent footing in the northwest as well. It was not long before they began building at this admirable site a naval and commercial base from which to dominate the western coast of India. Strategically posted thus in the southeast and northwest of the immense subcontinent, the British shortly began the program of intervention and expansion that ultimately brought India to its knees.

To the people of India the advent of the Portuguese and the English had been a development of minor importance. The newcomers had been able to establish headquarters only in the coastal ports controlled in the main by the lesser Indian states, and gave no hint to the Hindu or Moslem leaders of the role that they, and the English particularly, would play in the future of India. The only apparent change of serious import to India at first was the introduction of the Christian religion.

The introduction of Christianity into India

HAPPILY for the Christian missionaries, although they came from a strife-ridden Europe, they

arrived in India at a time when religious division there too was common.

224 Moslems fought Hindus, and both Moslems and Hindus were divided among

themselves. At first, the Hindus were tolerant of conversions effected by the Catholic priests from Portugal. Soon, however, the zeal and intolerance of the Christian priests, especially the Jesuits, aroused hostility as bitter among the Hindus as among the Moslems. Destruction of shrines and sacred objects, and the establishment by the Portuguese of the Inquisition at Goa estranged the Hindus from the Christians. By the end of the sixteenth century, the question of religion had seriously complicated Portugal's overseas problems.

Although equally fearful of proselytizing creeds, the Hindu majority was not so hostile as the Moslems at first, since they believed that Christianity would be crushed in India by the zealous resistance of Mohammedanism. When this belief proved to be unfounded, however, the Hindus joined the Moslems in opposition, warning their coreligionists that the "gospel" was an important feature in the European formula of successful penetration. Nevertheless, Hindus and Moslems alike were impressed by the learning of the pious but efficient Jesuits even more than they were by the firearms and gold of the merchants. The missionaries sent from Goa to Akbar's court at Agra (page 214) evidently made a significant impression, for they remained in his entourage apparently for almost a decade. Akbar, however, was much more sympathetic with their intellectual accomplishments than with their religious arguments. After the return to Goa of the first group of missionaries, he requested several more missions, but so far as is known, never seriously considered conversion to the teachings of Rome. The Protestant missions sent out from England to India were no more successful than the Catholics. No large body of India's population ever became Christian. To this day fewer than 5,000,000 out of a population of over 300,000,000 are Christians.

*The impact
of Indian culture on Europe*

TO THE Europeans, contact with the non-Christian cultures of the East presented a challenge.

In their letters and reports to Europe, the Jesuits praised, sometimes to the point of extravagance, the arts, crafts, and literature of the Hindus. Common merchants from Europe were forced to admit the superiority of certain Indian crafts and products, and introduced expensive oriental commodities to the European market. Even unsophisticated Europeans were thus obliged to come to the startling realization that a great civilization, which was old when Imperial Rome fell, was still largely intact, vital, and in some ways more advanced and productive than the contemporary Europeo-Christian civilization. Greatly impressed by the ethical principles of Hindus and Moslems alike, more thoughtful Europeans began to realize that many inhabitants of the world had lived a comparatively moral and satisfying existence with only meager, if any, knowledge of Christ and the Christian religion. Eventually that realization was to have serious repercussions upon European theology and philosophy.

THE CLOSURE OF JAPAN

WE ARE accustomed to think of Japan as the most progressive of the oriental nations. The rapidity with which it emerged from isolation in the nineteenth century to become in the twentieth one of the most advanced world powers in technology and one of the most fearsome in military and naval might could hardly have been guessed by any of the few Europeans who visited the Japanese islands in the first half of the sixteenth century. For over three hundred years, as neighboring peoples succumbed, to a greater or less degree, to European encroachments, the Japanese remained practically united, isolated, and intact. When finally they too permitted a restricted importation of European influences to their shores, it was from their east (America), by way of the Pacific, as well as from their west (Europe), by way of the Indian Ocean, that these imports were to travel.

The unification of Japan in the sixteenth century

THE ARRIVAL of the Europeans in the Far East presented particularly delicate complications to

Japan because of its changing domestic scene. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, before the Portuguese had moved east of Malacca, Japan was still living under feudalism. The country was divided into domains of varying size, in which the feudal lords, virtually independent of the emperor and the shogun, were the absolute rulers. The fact that the country was split up into many islands, small and large, promoted this decentralization. Organized along military lines, the feudal estates were engaged in fairly constant warfare. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Japan underwent a development which was fairly common in the feudal regimes of Europe. The small lords gradually passed under the control of the great lords, and finally the great lords began to fight one another. Fortunately for Japan, the Europeans did not arrive in significant numbers until the close of the sixteenth century. By that time the great lords had fought their battles, and the greatest were in the process of establishing dictatorial control over the rest.

Japan was thus being reunited nationally during the years when the European began to knock impatiently at her doors. The earliest of the unifiers of Japan was Oda Nobunaga, a sixteenth-century feudal lord who gained control over the central part of the main island (Honshu). At his death the task of centralization was taken over by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, one of Nobunaga's generals. By 1590, Hideyoshi had crushed the opposition that remained and had established control over most of Japan. Thus, after more than a century of unrelieved civil war and feudal strife, political unity and a degree of internal stability were restored in Japan.

*Japan's defeat
in the First Sino-Japanese War*

ONE OF Hideyoshi's first problems was to find an outlet for the training and energies of the multitude of professional soldiers idly swarming through the land, as well as for himself. He founded great towns and palaces, including the city of Yedo (now known as Tokyo). In 1592 he embarked on a career of foreign conquest. His major attack was directed against China. By geographical necessity, however, the Japanese warrior was forced to lead his troops up the Korean peninsula toward Peking. Despite capable planning and outstanding bravery, the Japanese army soon overextended itself, and in northern Korea was savagely pushed back by forces from the self-styled "Celestial Empire." Thereafter, a bloody stalemate set in until Hideyoshi's death in 1598. Using the leader's demise as a welcome excuse, the Japanese abandoned their project of conquest and returned to their home islands.

*Beginnings
of the Tokugawa shogunate*

DISORDER reigned for two years after Hideyoshi's death, but in 1600, one of his vassals, Tokugawa Iyeyasu, managed to reestablish unity among the discordant clans and to take the reins of central government into his own hands. Realizing that military force alone would not insure the continuation of his regime, Iyeyasu sought to build up a political system that would not collapse upon his death. He hoped in the future to avoid the war and bloodshed that had accompanied governmental changes in the past. The policies of Tokugawa Iyeyasu must therefore be considered as reflecting the commendable aim of making Japan's unity and stability permanent. His methods were far from enlightened, however. He revived the power and glory of the ancient office of *shogun*, or military governor. He proposed that from his capital at Yedo, the shoguns of the future should rule Japan in the name, but not under the direction, of the emperor at Kyoto. Like some of his predecessors, Iyeyasu bowed politely to the ancient symbol of imperial rule and then proceeded to do almost as he pleased without regard to tradition. To assure a peaceful succession to his title of shogun, Iyeyasu abdicated in 1614 in favor of one of his sons.

To achieve national unity, however, it was not enough to reestablish the shogunal authority and to assure a peaceful succession. Political stability also required the introduction of systematic laws and institutions. Iyeyasu's immediate successors continued his efforts along that line. They created a new and powerful central administration, a carefully selected bureaucracy, and a hierarchy of shogunal agents to check and control disgruntled feudal lords. They also cultivated a national isolation from external influences that might tend to disrupt their closely supervised society. The early Tokugawa shoguns, in short, established political solidarity through strict regimentation of all phases of Japanese life.

This print indicates Japanese interest in the costume, gun, long nose, and curls of this Portuguese trader.

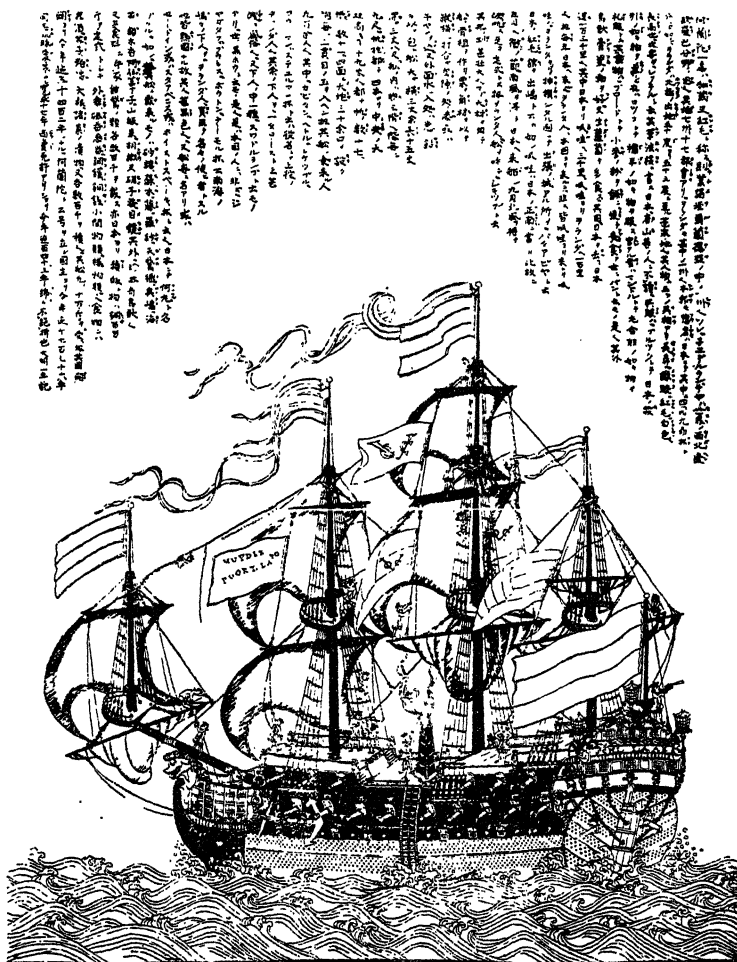


National consciousness in Japan was also stimulated by the revival of the indigenous faith called Shinto, or "the way of the gods." Long before Buddhism had developed its Japanese form or Christianity had even been heard of in that country, Shinto had existed as a simple religion of nature. The early Japanese had believed that their islands were the home of the *kami* (gods), and that the *kami* were to be found in awesome and unusual objects of nature. Hundreds of shrines still stand in Japan that were originally erected to the *kami* of waterfalls, gigantic trees, and striking rock formations. With the introduction of well-organized foreign religions the native worship was forced for a long period to retreat into the background of Japanese life. By the seventeenth century, however, the Shintoists had learned from the rival faiths the advantages of organization, trained clergy, and clearly defined doctrine. The Shintoists of the seventeenth century gradually freed themselves from the overshadowing influence of Buddhism, and sought consciously to develop theirs as a national faith. In harmony with the antiforeignism of Tokugawa policy, Shinto emphasized its greater antiquity and hence its superiority over the foreign creeds. The Shintoists extolled native virtues and customs as well as the native dynasty, and denounced the subservience of Japanese to inferior religions of foreign origin. It was not until the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, however, that Shinto embraced wholeheartedly the myth of the emperor's divine ancestry and the tradition of the imperial line "unbroken for ages eternal."

Japan's fears of European encroachments

THE RULERS of Japan had been far from indifferent to the activities of the

Europeans in India and insular Asia. At first, they had welcomed the traders and missionaries. Like the Chinese, they valued their commerce with the western countries and, like Orientals generally, viewed the Christian doctrine with interest, being perfectly willing to tolerate it on a par with Buddhism and the other established creeds. Reports of the rapaciousness of European traders and the intolerance of the Christian missionaries soon reached Japan, however, and were quickly followed by accounts of Spain's conquest of the Philippines. Eventually the Japanese became alarmed by Iberian aggressiveness and decided that the value of European trade was not worth the risks involved. If a few Spanish could conquer the Philippines, what was to prevent them or other Europeans from effecting the conquest of Japan?



A Japanese print of a Dutch ship.

*The introduction
of Christianity into Japan*

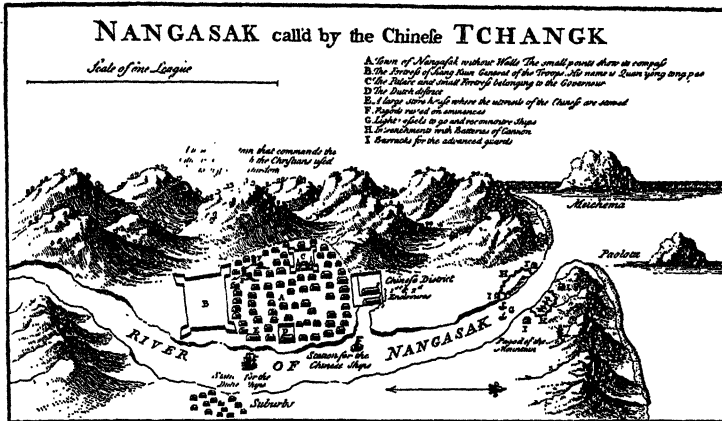
IT WAS while Japan was undergoing the feudal wars of Nobunaga and Hideyoshi and was being transformed by the early Tokugawa shoguns into a politically stable and culturally uniform state that the Europeans first appeared in its coastal waters. Portuguese seamen landed in southern Japan as early as 1542. Seven years

later, St. Francis Xavier, probably the most illustrious of Jesuit missionaries and often called "the Apostle of the Indies," introduced Christianity to Japan. By that time he had already carried the gospel from Goa to western India, Ceylon, Malacca, and the Moluccas. In 1529, assigning the missions he had successfully established in these places to other Jesuits, he went to Japan. He remained in Japan for two years before returning to Goa. Thereafter Japanese commercial contacts with the Portuguese became more common as Catholic priests set up more and more Christian communities and opened the way for their political protectors and mercantile compatriots by carrying the gospel of Jesus to the rank and file of the Japanese people.

At first, Shintoists, Confucianists, and Buddhists were all more or less equally tolerant of the black-cloaked, awe-inspiring foreigners. But the missionaries' success in winning converts and, more particularly, the hold they acquired upon their converts' minds soon antagonized the easy-going Buddhists. The political rulers of Japan were disturbed by the fact that converts of the new outlandish faith owed not only some vague allegiance to a distant and foreign potentate but also more explicit obedience to the decisions of an alien clergy close at hand. This matter of foreign allegiance became really important by the seventeenth century when around 300,000 Japanese had at

The map of Nagasaki on page 231 appeared in Travels of the Jesuits, published in London, 1743. The Dutch settlement was restricted to the small compound marked D in the foreground. The Japanese print (below) shows the Dutch settlement in detail.





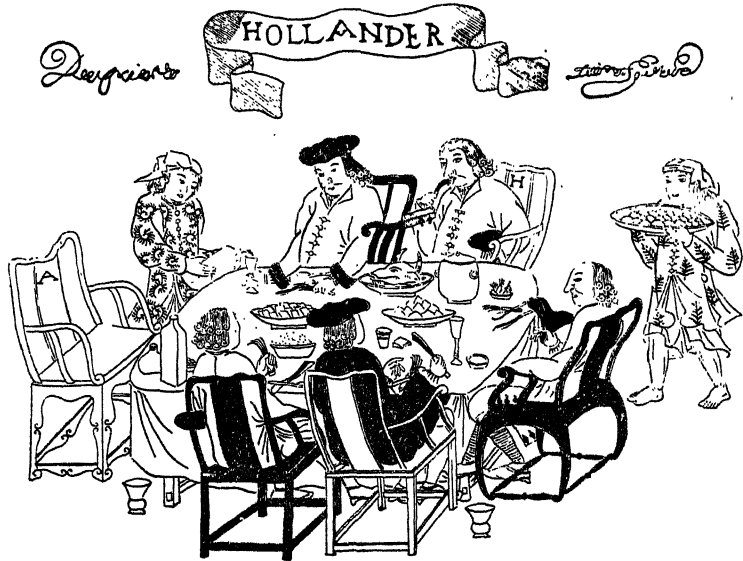
least nominally become proselytes of the "strange religion," and whole regions of the country had become thoroughly Christianized.

*Efforts to counteract
the eastward spread of Christianity*

HIDEYOSHI and the early Tokugawa rulers were particularly suspicious about the political im-

plications of the new creed. Moreover, they had heard reports from Japanese traders in the south seas that Christian missionaries were often forerunners of economic penetration and military conquest. Although desirous of continuing trade relations with the Portuguese, Hideyoshi decided in 1587 to ban the Catholic missionaries from Japan, but did not vigorously enforce his ban. In fact, in 1593 Spanish Franciscans came to Japan and began to compete with the Portuguese Jesuits for Japanese souls.

Iyeyasu became convinced of the wisdom of Hideyoshi's ban through experience with English and Dutch merchants. He learned from them that trade with western nations could in fact be carried on even if missionaries were outlawed. In 1609, the Dutch set up a trading post off the coast of Kyushu, the southernmost island of the archipelago, without the aid of clergy. Certain thereafter that the trade with the West would continue, Iyeyasu a few years later began systematic persecution and extermination of the Japanese Christians, and his successors continued his policy. Their motives resembled those of the contemporary Cardinal de Richelieu in regard to the French Huguenots (page 301). The Tokugawa shoguns feared that the Catholic Christians of Japan might become a political menace, a state within a state. They now vigorously applied the restrictive laws, and slaughtered nearly forty thousand native Christians when they rebelled and were captured in 1637-1638. Yet, no matter how ruthlessly the Tokugawa regime oppressed the Christians, they refused to relinquish their faith. The stubbornness of the Christians



This eighteenth-century Japanese representation of a Dutch dinner shows the continued interest in European customs—forks, chairs, spittoons, and roasted calf's head, and even European writing, which the artist tried to reproduce at the top of his woodcut.

convinced the Japanese rulers more than ever that Christianity was an evil doctrine which transformed obedient Nipponese into rebellious fanatics.

*Japan's policy
of almost complete isolation*

BECAUSE of their close association with their missionaries, Spanish and Portuguese traders were

also under suspicion and were therefore treated badly by Japanese officials. The English meanwhile had found that trade with Japan was not sufficiently attractive and therefore did not try to retain the early foothold they had won. By the third decade of the seventeenth century, the Dutch had become the only Europeans permitted to trade in Japan, and even they were subject to ludicrously strict regulation. They were virtually imprisoned in Nagasaki harbor, from which they were permitted to carry on a carefully supervised commerce. The Japanese themselves were simultaneously discouraged from trading with foreigners. They were not allowed to leave the country for any reason whatsoever; those who had lived abroad were forbidden to return; and the building of ocean-going ships was prohibited. Aside from the Dutch, the only foreigners permitted to do business with Japan after 1640 were a limited number of Chinese. That year when some Portuguese ambassadors went to Japan from Macao to plead for a renewal of trade, they and their

companions were executed, and over the heads of the victims was placed a tablet that proclaimed: "So long as the sun warms the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan, and let all know that if King Philip himself, or even the very God of the Christians . . . contravene this prohibition, they shall pay for it with their heads."⁵

The drastic measures thus taken by the early Tokugawas to preserve their regime spelled the virtual isolation of Japan from the rest of the world. As a practical political measure, the hermetical sealing of Japan against alien influences seems to have justified itself in one sense at least—it probably helped to preserve the Tokugawa rule until 1868. For the general welfare of the Japanese nation, however, it perhaps was essentially unwise. Before its self-imposed enclosure, Japan was only slightly behind the western nations in material advancement. But by the end of the Tokugawa era, Japan culturally and economically was still much the same as she had been in 1600, whereas many of the western nations had meanwhile undergone an amazing transition from agricultural to industrial economies. Japan had won political stability, but only by binding her people down in every aspect of life within a system designed, above everything else, to preserve the status quo. That system was not to be successfully challenged until the nineteenth century.

MING CHINA

SINCE the end of the fourteenth century the Chinese had been undergoing a sort of renaissance, recovering their self-esteem and confidence in their venerable culture. In 1368, the Mongol conquerors had been forced to retreat when the capital of Cambaluc surrendered to Chinese armies from the south. For almost three centuries thereafter China was ruled by the native Ming dynasty. The city where the Mogul khans had held their courts and where Marco Polo and other Europeans had lived was cut off from contact with the land routes to the west. The Christian communities established during the fourteenth century in eastern Asia by daring missionaries from Europe simply disappeared. Meanwhile, Mongol institutions, customs, and officials were also systematically weeded out as China rewon its independence and as the Middle Kingdom energetically and rapidly restored the great traditions of the Han, T'ang, and Sung periods. More confident than the Japanese rulers of their own prestige and power, the Ming dynasty and its successors were less zealous in their exclusion of foreign influences from their dominion and deliberately encouraged trade with other peoples. Nevertheless, the Chinese were to succeed in keeping their culture for the most part uncontaminated by alien customs and manners until the nineteenth century.

⁵"Japan," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., XV, 235.

*Emphasis of Ming culture
on the traditional and practical*

ALTHOUGH not as mighty as Han or as brilliant as T'ang or as creative as Sung, the Ming dynasty

was nevertheless one of China's greatest. Under the early Ming emperors, particularly Hung Wu and Yung Lo, China prospered economically and fostered its artistic and intellectual traditions. Brilliant achievements were few and creativity limited; nevertheless, diligence in the practical arts and crafts yielded notable results. Near the site of Cambaluc, Peking was rebuilt. The imperial palaces, temples, and grounds in the modern city date from the reign of Yung Lo and have undergone only repairs and minor modifications in the meantime. Although lyrical writings were few and undistinguished, novels and dramas were written in greater numbers and were more widely read than ever before. Philosophy also had its exponents, but the Ming philosophers were far from original. They sought mainly to revive the Confucian teachings and to guarantee orthodoxy by discouraging speculation and originality. In their search for truth they laid emphasis upon the examination of the objective universe, a philosophical viewpoint congenial to the practicality of the age.

*Trade and emigration
of the Ming Chinese to the south*

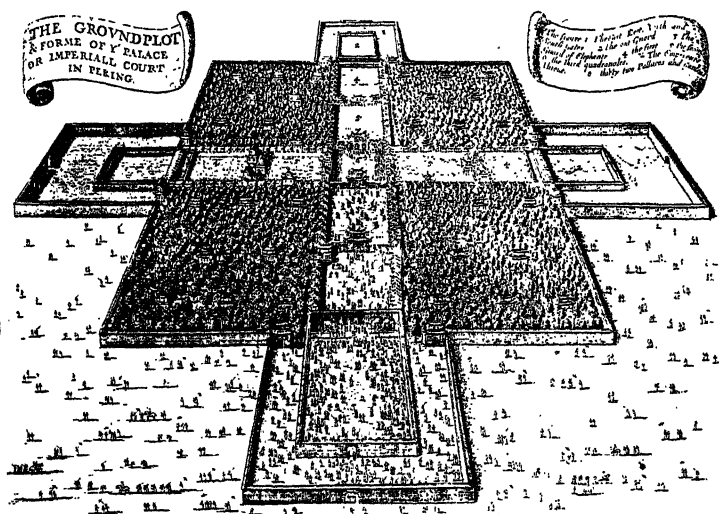
ALTHOUGH relatively undistinguished in cultural accomplishments, the Ming dynasty was

unique in its concern with overseas commerce and expansion. Chinese expansion had traditionally been directed toward the north and west; the great invasions of China had also usually come from that direction—from the frontier areas bordering Mongolia and Central Asia. The Ming dynasts, by contrast, expanded southward and seaward. In part this was a reflection of the increase in sea-borne trade between China and other oriental areas, and in part a consequence of increasing Chinese emigration to southeastern Asia, the Philippines, Java, and India. Chinese merchantmen and Chinese war vessels therefore became relatively common sights in the southern seas during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In India, Malacca, and Java, the Portuguese, as we have seen (pages 212-217), met Chinese merchants and emigrants. Later, in the sixteenth century, when the Spanish established control over the Philippines, they found the Chinese virtually in charge of that archipelago's economic life.

*Reaction of the Chinese
to the appearance of the Europeans*

OF ALL the Asiatic peoples the Chinese were probably least concerned about the initial appear-

ances of the "white barbarians" in the Orient. Sublimely confident of their own superiority, the Celestials hardly deigned to recognize the newcomers. Pirates from Japan had previously been a familiar nuisance; the white sailors were at first thought of and handled as pirates, and indeed their actions



A plan of the luxurious, golden-tiled "Forbidden City" of the emperor at Peking.

frequently caused them to deserve harsh treatment. The thought that the white seamen might come from states as powerful as the Middle Kingdom itself was not even conceivable to the Sons of Han. That the Portuguese and Spanish looked upon them as inferiors might at first have confused the haughty Chinese and then might have amused or perhaps angered them. Wasn't China "All beneath Heaven"?

Early contacts of Europeans with Ming China

PORTUGUESE adventurers reached China itself probably by 1514, just three years after the

Portuguese capture of Malacca. Aware of the belligerent exploits of the white men in Malacca and India, the Chinese treated them harshly. Thomas Pirès, the first Portuguese envoy to China, was thrown into jail, where he languished until he died. Portuguese trading colonies established without authorization from Peking were wiped out by Chinese soldiers. Finally, however, the Portuguese won a precarious foothold on the mainland at Macao, a peninsula just south of Canton. The Chinese tolerated their presence at Macao only because of the interest of some Cantonese merchants in dealing with them.

It was not until the seventeenth century that the Spanish, Dutch, and English arrived in China. Spreading northward from the Philippines, the Spanish for a short time held temporary outposts on the island of Formosa, off China's southern coast. After making a sharp but unsuccessful attack

upon the Portuguese at Macao, the Dutch in 1622 established themselves in the Pescadores Islands between Formosa and China. The Dutch also gained a foothold in Formosa. All Europeans were driven from that island, however, by the end of the century. In 1637 some Englishmen forced their way into the city of Canton, disposed of their wares, and retreated before the Chinese officials, in high temper over their audacity, could stop them. Their exploit, however, did not soften the attitude of the Chinese government toward Occidentals.

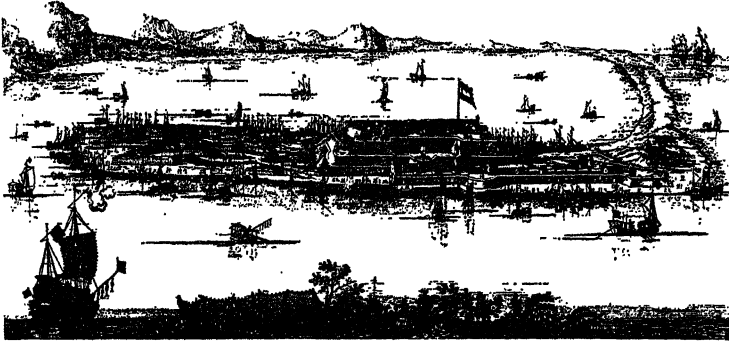
*Francis Xavier
and the Jesuits in Ming China*

ALTHOUGH European merchants were unsuccessful in establishing permanent trade relations with

Ming China, Catholic missionaries were eventually permitted to enter the country. They were not interfered with when they established missions, and freely made converts. The spiritual invasion of China began with the work of Francis Xavier, who had already made himself illustrious as a missionary of the Gospel in other parts of the East (page 230). Operating on the principle that conversion should begin in the upper levels of society, Francis Xavier proposed to enter the Middle Kingdom with the idea of attacking the strongest citadels of Far Eastern civilization directly. In 1552, he arrived

The Portuguese settlement at Macao in 1606.





The Dutch fort on Formosa, 1680, protecting the large Dutch East India Company compound.

on the island of Shang Ch'uan, not far from Canton. Before he could receive permission to enter China, however, he fell ill and died. In 1621 he was canonized. St. Francis Xavier, by his kindly and energetic magnetism, had laid the first unsteady foundations for the eventual conquest by Catholicism of a vast area and an enormous flock overseas that was one day to go far toward compensating the Roman Church for its loss of adherents in Europe.

The evangelizing mission of Francis Xavier was soon taken up by younger missionaries. His successors at first worked among the Portuguese at Macao, while studying how to penetrate the mainland most effectively. The first really promising strategy was evolved by Alexander Valignani, who realized that the Chinese were far too civilized to be influenced by the cruder methods of conversion practiced in the more primitive areas of the Orient. He insisted that the Jesuits would have to know the Chinese language and have a proper appreciation of Chinese traditions and culture before they could hope to make converts among the Confucian rulers of China. The proposal that the Jesuits would first have to learn before they could effectively teach was viewed by some of his colleagues as verging on heresy. It was still unthinkable to Christians of conservative leanings that they had anything worth while to learn from heathens.

*Father Ricci
and his Spanish critics*

THE FIRST of the Jesuits to carry Valignani's principles into practice was Matteo Ricci. After two

decades of effort, the Jesuits found that a "gift" of a mechanical contrivance or some other article unknown in China might open doors that otherwise would remain tightly closed. The Confucians were particularly interested in European books and scientific instruments. Thus, by arousing the curiosity of the Chinese, the Jesuits were finally able to establish in 1583 a mission at Chao Ch'ing in southern China. Fifteen years more elapsed before Ricci 237.



Father Matteo Ricci and a Chinese priest.

received permission to journey to Peking. It was not, however, until he had been in the capital for two years that he was summoned into the presence of the Son of Heaven. That was in 1600. Ricci conducted himself with such skill and diplomacy that the Jesuits were eventually granted permission to establish a permanent mission in Peking.

While Ricci and his fellow Jesuits collaborated with the Portuguese in the penetration of China, Dominicans and Franciscans from the Spanish Philippines were contemporaneously attempting to gain entrance. From the outset, the rivalry between the Jesuits and the other two orders, in China as in Japan, was bitter and intense. The Jesuit system of cultural penetration, effective though it was, was derided by the non-Jesuits as opportunistic. The "gifts" presented to Chinese officials were called "bribes." The Jesuit decision to permit their converts to continue familial rites even after accepting the divinity of Jesus was considered by the other orders to be a compromise of the faith to appease the tradition-bound Chinese. To some the Dominicans and Franciscans seemed particularly concerned that the Jesuits in their "craftiness" might even win the Son of Heaven to the Christian faith and thereby win greater glory for their order. This rivalry among the proselyting orders diminished the effectiveness of the Jesuits without increasing that of their critics.

*Cultural relations
between China and Europe*

ALTHOUGH the Jesuits made many conversions, their mission to China was particularly important as the first cultural bridge to unite permanently two great centers of oriental and occidental civilization. The Chinese were astounded by the practical and technological skill displayed in the watches and the books of the western missionaries as well as in their navigation and their geographical and astronomical knowledge. The westerners, on their side, were entranced as they studied in more detail the fascinating story of China's history, her philosophical traditions, and her artistic achievements. In their letters, writings, and conversation, the Jesuits unfolded to Europe the true story of Cambaluc and Cathay, which Marco Polo had once recounted and for which he had been reviled by the skeptical. The Jesuit story was no less fascinating and unbelievable than Marco Polo's, but their testimony was harder to ignore.

The influence of China upon seventeenth-century Europe was probably greater than the European influence upon China under the Mings. China was to experience the full impact of the West only later. At this time direct importations were limited to mechanical contrivances and to a few new plants from both America and Europe. Tobacco and the sweet potato from America were taken into southern China by Dominicans from the Philippines. Maize and the peanut, also of American origin, became fairly common in southern China. None of these, however, was of sufficient importance to influence vitally the traditional agricultural practices of the Chinese people, who continued to depend principally upon rice and tea, produced in the time-honored fashion.

Indeed, two centuries were to elapse before the Chinese would be forced to accept western merchants and envoys on a basis of equality. The political

eclipse of the Mings in the middle of the seventeenth century changed only slightly the attitude of China toward the West. The Sons of Han remained convinced that they possessed the most advanced and benign civilization in the world, and that other peoples gazed with envy upon them and the land which they still call "All beneath Heaven."

THE ARABS had already made their greatest contributions to western culture when the Chinese, who had previously contributed much, began to contribute more. The Turks took from Europe, except for its lands and its children, very little and gave very little. In fact, the Ottoman Empire acted as a barrier between East and West, not, as once was believed, because they meant to interfere with European trade with Asia, but because they tried to profit from it exorbitantly without a corresponding effort in commercial enterprise. Turkish milking of the overland trade between East and West diverted commerce to the sea lanes.

It was by going overseas to the Indies that the Europeans were able to make their first important and permanent conquests in Asia. The relatively small numbers that held the Spice Islands in thrall or subjected the Philippines to European domination were not powerful enough, however, to alarm seriously the empires of India, Japan, or China. Japan wiped out or ruthlessly limited the European influences by which it felt itself menaced. The other two great centers of oriental civilization were almost oblivious to the activities of the Europeans in the insular areas. Aware though they probably were of the aggressive intentions of the Europeans, they seem to have viewed the first conquests with tolerance if not with patronizing amusement. These western heathens had a mechanical skill that was more intriguing than their religious notions, but they could not be taken too seriously. No great threats had ever come either to India or China from across the seas, and it was still most unlikely, so the easterners thought, that any ever would come from that direction.

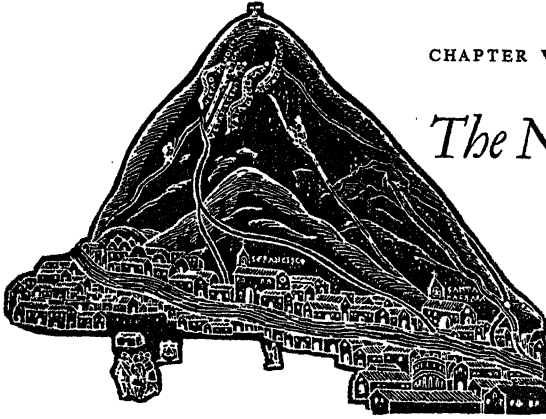
On the other hand, the contact with oriental cultures played a significant part in widening the horizons of European theologians, philosophers, and historians as well as in enriching European markets and merchants. It was somewhat sobering to Europocentric minds that great philosophies, soldiers and rulers, fine cities, beautiful buildings, an impressive literature, and respectable systems of ethics and theology were to be found among peoples who had known little or nothing of Jerusalem, Athens, and Rome. It was somewhat frustrating, too, that they could not be conquered, like the American Indians, by handfuls of conquistadors but, on the contrary, did not

hesitate to exclude and expel alien intruders or to extend them only a haughty welcome. Europeans were to discover only in our own day what these strange developments portended. The eastern people were not destined, like the Indians of America, to disappear before or to be absorbed by the Europeans; rather, adopting only part of European culture, they were to resist full domination and eventually, in our own day, to recover, for the most part, a fuller sovereignty. In the meantime, East and West were to learn much from each other, the gravest lessons coming in more recent centuries.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1453 Collapse of the Byzantine Empire with the capitulation of Constantinople
- 1505-1509 Francisco de Almeida, first Portuguese governor of India
- 1509-1515 Governorship of Alfonso de Albuquerque, successor of Almeida
- 1511 Malacca captured by the Portuguese under the leadership of Sequeira and Albuquerque
- 1512 Discovery of the Moluccas, or Spice Islands, by the Portuguese
- 1513 The Pacific Ocean discovered by Balboa
- 1514 China reached by Portuguese adventurers
- 1520-1566 Rule of Suleiman the Magnificent, sultan of the Ottoman Empire
- 1521 The Philippines discovered and claimed for Spain by Magellan
- 1526 The Hungarians routed at Mohacs by Suleiman and the Ottoman Turks
- 1529 The Treaty of Saragossa
- 1529 The Turkish advance in the west checked at Vienna
- 1534-1582 Partial centralization of Japan by Oda Nobunaga, a strong feudal lord
- 1549 Christianity introduced to Japan by St. Francis Xavier
- 1562-1605 Rule of Emperor Akbar the Great in India
- 1566-1656 Period of Ottoman decline following the death of Suleiman the Magnificent
- 1574 First Catholic bishop sent to the Philippines
- 1580-1640 Period of the "Spanish Captivity"
- 1582-1598 Centralization continued in Japan under Toyotomi Hideyoshi
- 1583 First Christian mission established in China by Father Ricci at Chao Ch'ing
- 1600 The office of *shogun*, or military governor, reestablished in Japan by Tokugawa Iyeyasu
- 1600 Father Ricci granted permission by China to establish a permanent mission in Peking
- 1612 The persecution of Christianity established as a policy in Japan
- 1639 Founding of Madras, on the southeastern coast of India, by the British East India Company
- 1640 Closure of Japan to all Europeans but the Dutch, whose trade was subject to strict regulation
- 1641 Seizure of the port of Malacca by the Dutch
- 1656 Beginning of the Kuprili revival of Turkish power with the accession of Mohammed Kuprili as grand vizier of Turkey
- 1683 The Turkish advance in Europe halted at Vienna by the Polish king, John Sobieski

CHAPTER VI



The New Europe across the Atlantic

IN MAY 1607, three small ships carrying 104 men dropped anchor in the river now called the James, in Virginia. They landed and established the first permanent English colony in America—Jamestown. Some of these colonists refused to succumb to disease and starvation. They were joined the following year by other settlers, and, despite misgivings and mismanagement, began the struggle toward the fulfillment of a new nation.

From the founding of Jamestown to the signing of the Declaration of Independence constitutes a span of 169 years. During that time one straggling settlement gave way to thirteen colonies; and the thirteen colonies in turn became a free and insulated republic of some three million persons. In the course of a similar span of time after 1776, the thirteen colonies, having become thirteen states, were to increase their number severalfold and were to control a far-flung empire. The three million souls were to multiply and to receive newcomers until the land was peopled with over fifty times three million souls. While the republic is still proudly free, it is no longer immature and insulated. It has, in fact, taken a foremost part in creating a new concert of nations.

If history were only a quantitative evaluation of a people's development, it might perhaps be said that the first half of the American story is insignificant when compared with that of the second half. Certainly thirteen colonies and three million people appear relatively unimportant alongside the present number of states and the present population. Statistics relating to the commerce and industry of the seaboard settlements are puny when measured by the volume of trade and manufactures of the wealthiest nation in the world today. Not merely is the second half of the Republic's growth immeasurably more conspicuous than the first half; it is also immeasurably more complex.

To the influences of the American Revolution have been added those of an economic revolution, a westward expansion, a civil war, a so-called "reconstruction," a great migration, an era of big business, imperialism, social reform, two world wars, and a "New Deal." A Jamestown colonist would not have had a difficult time adjusting himself to life in Virginia in 1776, for the economy was still overwhelmingly agrarian, society was principally rural, the religious patterns were much the same, and no basic changes had occurred in industry, transportation, or communication despite the rapid growth of population, towns, and roads since 1607. But even one so sophisticated as Jefferson would be astonished—perhaps terrified—if he were transported to Times Square in New York City on a Saturday night. In other words, the tempo of material change has been ever accelerating so that a decade of the twentieth century conceivably may bring as much technological change as occurred during the entire seventeenth century.

That is why the chronicler of American history usually feels constrained to devote by far the greater amount of space to the history of the United States *since* 1776. The closer an account draws toward our own day, the larger the events loom, the faster they seem to travel, the more spectacular they appear, and the wider the swathe they cut in the world's affairs. The second half of America's history has seen the country attain maturity and world-wide recognition. The first half comprised the formative years. Yet, for the very reason that they were formative years, they deserve special attention.

Psychologists tell us that a child's formative years are affected by much more than nutrition and sleep; his personality is indelibly shaped by a multitude of hereditary and environmental factors. While analogies to biological phenomena are frequently dangerous in the study of history, this one may be useful. With this analogy in mind, we shall approach the study of the formative years of America's development. We shall take some notice of the frontier environment in which the young colonies were nurtured, but we shall give particular attention to the European heritage—the religious, economic, social, and political beliefs and practices—that, molded by frontier conditions, eventually produced something individual, the American nation. These formative years were filled with gropings, frustrations, and errors, but they influenced the government, the language, the legal system, the religions, the economy, and the personal rights that Americans have today.

IBERIANS IN THE STRUGGLE

FOR THE AMERICAS

THE SPANIARDS and Portuguese were the first white men to colonize the Western Hemisphere, and so vigorous was their colonization that today all

but a few areas south of the Rio Grande are, superficially at least, Spanish or Portuguese in language and customs. The Spaniards worked especially hard to earn the continent and a half which they colonized. We have already had occasion to remark (page 112) that, like their English, French, and Dutch rivals, the Spanish conquerors were inspired by a mixture of motives: love of adventure, escape from frustration or boredom at home, the lure of fabulous wealth, the power and prestige that accrue from continental conquest, and the admonition to carry the message of salvation to the untutored heathen. "Gospel, gold, and glory" have long been boon companions in the history of empire-making.

*Obstacles
to the Spanish colonial effort*

IN THE study of the settlement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, two outstanding factors must be kept constantly in mind: the meager man power available, and the enormous physical, political, and economic handicaps with which this meager man power had to cope. It has been estimated that during the last quarter of the "great century of conquest"—the sixteenth century—not many more than 160,000 Spaniards dwelt in all the Spanish possessions of both North and South America.

This handful of pioneers had to contend with many handicaps. One of the difficulties facing them was the vast distances of the empire they conquered. Silver mines were widely separated in Mexico, as were the areas of arable land in regions of South America. Missionary zeal added to the extension of territory, and thereby to the difficulties of communication and administration. As a result, the Spanish settlements, widely scattered and with small populations, found it hard to defend themselves against aggressive enemies—the resentful Indians on the one hand, the competing English and French on the other. The physical character of the country added to the problems of settlement and administration. Mountain ranges extending for continental lengths exacted in return for their mineral riches a heavy toll in transportation hardships. Fertile grazing lands such as the pampas of Argentina were offset by the vast arid regions that abounded in Mexico and elsewhere. Rainfall was ample in

In this illustration of the conquistadors' settlement at Buenos Aires in 1599, the Spaniards, at the point of starvation, are shown killing their horses and catching snakes for food. The gallows (right) indicates the harsh treatment meted out to the Indians.





A print (1695) of the island city of Mexico, built by the Spaniards on the ruins of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan.

Florida, Central America, and equatorial South America, but there the Spaniards had to contend with impenetrable, fever-ridden everglades or jungles.

In the arid regions—such as the deserts of what is now the north of Mexico and the southwest of the United States—the population was forced to concentrate upon mining, cattle-raising, and a limited agriculture handicapped by unpredictable droughts. The land could be enriched only through irrigation, but neither adequate machinery nor man power was available. The disheartening dis-

tances and bad roads between these desert regions and Mexico City or Havana, the metropolitan centers of the Spanish empire in the Americas, increased the complexities of communication. Slow mule trains and caravels brought precious metals and tropical products from the arid lands to the capitals in return for manufactured goods made doubly dear by high freight rates, regional taxes, and the risk of loss to Indian or rival European raiders.

Still another handicap was the short-sightedness of the Spanish system of colonization. The home government apportioned the lands in such a way as to produce great landlords rather than independent small farmers. Huge estates were mapped out in unsettled areas to make princely domains for a few royal favorites. These landlords, or *encomenderos*, made use of the forced labor of the debt-saddled natives, who became little better than serfs. Yet not even the domineering Spaniards in the colonies enjoyed self-government, for the king of Spain ruled each of the colonies through a viceroy and never voluntarily granted the colonists representative assemblies. He collected his revenues without the colonists' consent, and for centuries they were powerless to force him to concede any political rights.

The settlement policy of the Spaniards in America

IN SPITE of all these handicaps, the Spaniards were able to make a remarkable contribution to

American life and culture. This may be seen through a brief examination of the extent of their conquests, their political and economic policies, and their intellectual and artistic legacy.

The story of Spanish exploration during the first half of the sixteenth century constitutes an exciting saga. After the Spanish kingdoms were united in 1492, a great era of expansion began. Columbus, who first claimed American

soil for the Spanish crown, was followed by a host of fortune-seekers and adventurers. These men had to secure permission from the king for their ventures, and the necessary license ordinarily would not be forthcoming unless the leader of an expedition had funds with which to recruit men and ships. The rules of the game allowed the leader to keep one fifth of all treasure taken, while a royal agent went along to make sure that another fifth was set aside for the king. The king also received title to all new territory, though the leader had the right to stake out a personal estate and reward his followers with land grants. This method of conquest laid emphasis upon the leadership of enterprising individuals and thus conformed with and confirmed the Spanish policy of establishing the power of the parent state through a few favored landlords.

*The successes
and failures of the conquistadors*

SOME OF the Spanish conquerors—or conquistadors—had careers stranger than fiction. Hernán

Cortés in Mexico and Francisco Pizarro in Peru were able to loot whole empires. Aztecs and Incas, torn by internal dissensions and unused to firearms, armor, sails, and horses, proved no match for the numerically weak but ruthless and efficient Europeans. By amazing intrigues and alliances with the disaffected tribes within the Aztec empire, by not always easy battles, by advances and retreats centering upon Mexico City and other strategic points, by shameless exploitation of ruse, myth, and promises, and even by defiance of the Spanish authorities and rival conquerors in America, Cortés succeeded in about twenty arduous years in laying the foundations of the viceroyalty of New Spain. This new Spanish empire included more or less effectively all of what is Mexico today, with large areas north and south, and theoretically all the rest of North America as well. About the same

Havana, economic center of Spanish America, was one of the largest cities in the New World in 1695. The harbor entrance is chained against English and Dutch freebooters.



time and in a strikingly similar fashion, Pizarro, with a smaller force of Spaniards than Cortés', succeeded in conquering the vaster realms of the Incas, though it took a longer time to establish effective Spanish organization of the viceroyalty of Peru than of the North American realm.

Other conquistadors reasoned: If glory and riches lay in Mexico and Peru, why not in other regions as well? And so they gathered followers and set forth. Ponce de León, having already grown rich on gold and slaves in Puerto Rico, died trying vainly to find the fountain of youth and new wealth in Florida in 1521. Pánfilo de Narváez's expedition in 1528, also to Florida, ended not in a land of gold and pearls but in a miserable Indian village to which he had been lured by false reports. Narváez and his men then set out by boat across the Gulf of Mexico, but their expedition was shipwrecked upon the coast of Texas, and only four survivors managed to reach Mexico eight years later. Their story excited the imagination and cupidity of Hernando de Soto, who had recently returned to Spain with his share of Peruvian loot. De Soto, with a company of about six hundred reckless adventurers, landed in Florida in 1539. In a search for treasure through the southern regions of what is now the United States, he became probably the first white man to sight the Mississippi. He crossed it, and proceeded into what is now Arkansas and Oklahoma. But De Soto died, and after secretly burying him in the Mississippi so as to keep the hostile Indians from desecrating his remains, his followers made their way to Mexico and finally reached Pánuco by boat in 1543.

Meanwhile tales of the fabled land of Cibola north of Mexico, with its seven cities of golden towers, had prompted Francisco de Coronado to set forth in 1540 with 270 soldiers and a large band of Indians. But the fabled cities turned out to be mere pueblos, and, although Coronado possibly penetrated into the areas now known as Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas, the only novelty he discovered was vast herds of buffalo, which he was apparently the first European to behold. Coronado returned, embittered by the certainty that his efforts had been worthless. About the same time, Juan Rodriguez



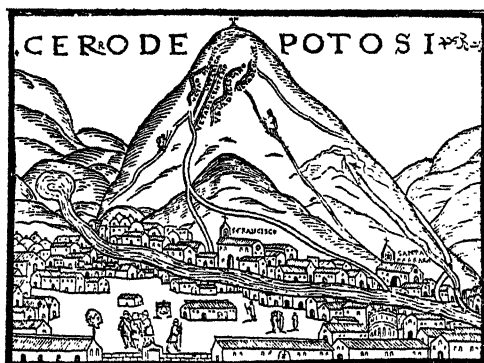


The Spanish conquistadors and the missionaries who accompanied them in the search for territory, precious metals, and souls were to leave their mark on a tremendous sweep of the North and South American continents. To their credit stand great universities, a chain of durable missions and outposts, a gracious way of life, and a common language. On the debit side stands a history of greed, exploitation, and intolerance.

Cabrillo and Bartolomé Ferrello set out by sea from a Mexican port and explored the western coast of North America as far north as Oregon.

The consolidation of the Spanish colonial empire

THE EFFORTS of the conquistadors in Florida, the region around the northern shores of the Gulf of Mexico, and the area north of Mexico for decades appeared fruitless, and little was done to follow up their work. But consolidation was slowly going on in Mexico. In 1548 the mining and farming area of New Galicia, northwest of Mexico City, was made into an administrative district. The discovery of fabulously rich silver mines opened up the famous mining town of Zacatecas, which in 1576 had a population of about three hundred. In 1585 Zacatecas advanced from the status of pueblo to that of city, and was allowed to elect its own local authorities. The route that brought the silver treasure down from Zacatecas to Mexico City was guarded by fortified places, and



The silver mines of Potosi, pictured in 1565.

from one of them a new northward advance was made into San Luis Potosi and beyond to Saltillo. By 1596 the silver trail had led to effective occupation of what are roughly the present bounds of Mexico. In 1598 Juan de Oñate led a colony of settlers into New Mexico, and in 1609 Santa Fe was founded. The Spanish penetration into

New Mexico was in the hands of soldier-settlers, led by wealthy leaders licensed as governors by the king or his viceroy. Actually, the push into New Mexico constituted the last step in Spain's northward drive, save for the annexation of Alta California between 1769 and 1782.

*Spanish settlements
in Florida and New Mexico*

THE FOUNDING of Santa Fe by the Spanish came two years after that of Jamestown by the English and one year after that of Quebec by the French. In other words, the Spanish had built and fortified a vast empire in the Americas by the time their rivals began. Back in 1565 they had founded on the east coast of Florida the small post of San Agustín—known better as St. Augustine—and Florida struggled along thereafter as a Spanish colony, changing hands once or twice, until finally annexed by the United States in 1821. Spain's activities along the Florida-Carolina frontier were designed principally to block further English advances rather than to establish starting points for further imperial thrusts.

On the other hand, New Mexico was part of the Spanish attempt at colonial expansion during the seventeenth century. The attempt faltered, not for lack of interest, but because the promise of treasure failed to materialize, the land proved arid, the distances from Mexico City too great, and the Indians too hostile. Furthermore, the church and civil officials quarreled regarding authority, and the governors all too often proved incapable, greedy, and cruel. Despite the fact that missionaries went where the soldiers went and sometimes preceded them, the Indians were exploited shamelessly, and the sale by one governor of the proud Apaches as slaves to miners was an important cause behind the great Indian revolt of 1680. The Apaches killed four hundred Spaniards in the territory, and the remainder, about two thousand, were

driven to what is now the southern border of the state of New Mexico. The Indians, however, did not remain united, and by 1696 the Spanish civil and ecclesiastical authorities regained control.

*The government
of the Spanish empire in America*

BY THE end of the sixteenth century Spain possessed an imperial area approximately twenty times

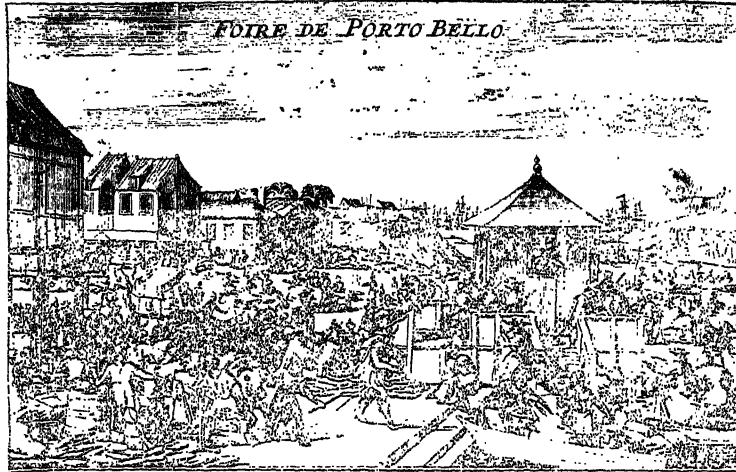
her own size, containing (in 1574) about two hundred Spanish towns and about 160,000 Spanish settlers. The Spanish monarch owned two colonial kingdoms in the New World—New Spain and Peru. The first consisted of the mainland north of the Isthmus of Panama, the West Indies, and what is now Venezuela; the second, of all territory south of New Spain save for Brazil, which belonged to Portugal. The king ruled his colonies through the Council of the Indies, which had come into existence (1524) as soon as Spain's colonizing energy made clear the necessity for a special colonial agency. Its duties were primarily political—to formulate legislation, to select officers for the colonies, and to act as a supreme court for important colonial cases. The king possessed another efficacious agency in the Casa de Contratación. This was a sort of board of trade, which looked after the monarch's mercantile interests by promoting and controlling colonial commercial ventures and by operating a *casa*, or trading house, at Seville as a depot for colonial imports and exports.

The kingdoms of Peru and New Spain each had a viceroy, appointed for a short term but eligible for reappointment. The viceroy was checked by a council (*audiencia*), which was also the supreme court. All officials of importance were appointed by the crown, and after 1557 these offices were likely to go to the highest bidders. Colonial self-government was confined to election by the towns of local councils, but these councils exercised power only over matters pertaining to the policing and general well-being of the locality. The colonists had no voice regarding taxation. They had to pay to the crown poll taxes, customs on imports, and excises on goods exchanged within the colonies. In addition, the king received rich revenues from the sale of monopoly rights to trade in certain natural products and in slaves, and was entitled to a fifth of all gold and silver mined.

*The effects
of the Spanish mercantilist system*

THE SPANISH colonies, in keeping with the prevailing concepts of economics, were dominated by

the mercantilist system of royal control (page 121). In return for imports from Spain of wines, olives, figs, oil, iron, quicksilver, dry goods, etc., the colonists exported gold and silver, sugar, drugs, cacao, vanilla, and other native products. Trade was strictly limited to Spanish vessels and merchants. In fact, for over two centuries (1503-1718), in order the better to regulate and protect colonial trade, all American shipments had to be made to and



Spanish guards supervise the unloading of goods for the fair at Porto Bello, 1695.

from Seville; and, as we have already seen (page 221), American trade with the Philippines was restricted to Acapulco. A few other ports such as Veracruz and Porto Bello were permitted to engage in intercolonial commerce. Later these restrictions were relaxed, but not before a large smuggling trade had sprung up between the Spanish colonists and English, French, and Dutch traders. Never did the British government impose such heavy economic restrictions upon the thirteen colonies as the Spanish crown imposed on New Spain and Peru. Eventually these restrictions played a large role in ruining Spain's overseas empire, for the bureaucratic monopoly of the Casa de Contratación smothered the home merchants' initiative, while the imposition of heavy taxes and customs duties heightened the colonists' dissatisfaction and desire for independence.

*Population problems
of the Spanish in America*

NEVERTHELESS, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Spanish colonies waxed rich

and developed a varicolored society. The majority of colonists engaged in farming. Groups of settlers would establish a pueblo—or town—to which a grant of some four square leagues (about eighteen thousand acres) would be given. The small settler would be accorded a building lot inside the town, and outside the residence area he would receive a modest plot of land to grow grain, plant a garden and orchard, and pasture his animals. The cities of Spanish America sprang from such origins. Where the towns remained small,

there developed a farming class of Spaniards who had intermingled with the local Indians and imported Negro slaves. *Creoles* (American-born Spaniards) and *mestizos* (part Spanish, part Indian) as well as *mulattoes* (part Caucasian, part Negro) have since become significant parts of the population of Latin America.

The social and economic predominance of the *Peninsulars* (natives of Spain) in the colonies was hampered by the fact that after 1555 only Catholic Spaniards were allowed entry. This policy was part of the Spanish king's desire to bar other Europeans and heretics. But this exclusion had a double effect upon the fate of the Spaniards in America. It drove Protestants, Jews, and non-Spaniards to settle colonies to the north—colonies that became ever more populous and thus increasingly menacing to Spanish control of the New World. At the same time it confirmed the scarcity of Spaniards in the colonies, encouraged intermarriage or extramarital relations with Indians and Negroes, and thus increased the proportion of *mestizos* and *mulattoes*.

*Economic institutions
of the Spanish in America*

THE LARGE estates, or *encomiendas*, owned either by the clergy or by aristocratic laymen, were

spectacular cultural centers and important political and economic units. These estates were worked by the forced labor of the exploited Indians or by purchased Negro slaves. On these estates would be raised important colonial export crops such as vanilla, cacao, indigo, cotton, and grapes. The Spanish also introduced cattle, horses, sheep, mules, and hogs, and the breeding of livestock became a source of much wealth. By the eighteenth century the hides of Guadalajara, Mexico, alone were valued annually at 400,000 pesos. To translate that sum into current American dollars is not easy, because money values are complicated by many variable factors: by populations, by resources, by methods of production, transportation, and marketing, by quantities of money and credit in circulation, and by stability of governments. But at a rough estimate, a peso would buy in the eighteenth century about as much as two to five dollars would today of certain staple commodities. Hence 400,000 eighteenth-century pesos would be worth roughly about one or two million dollars today. Colonists who engaged in the hide business, it would seem, could expect to make good profits.

On the other hand, the colonists were not allowed to raise products like olives, grapes, flaxseed, and hemp, which were reserved for Spanish cultivation and were exported to America in Spanish ships along with such other government monopolies as wines, figs, iron, quicksilver, dry goods, and certain manufactured articles. Manufactures were permitted to the Spanish colonies only if they did not compete with home industries. Mexico City, for example, became a center for the manufacture of fine carriages.

Industry was, however, the exception rather than the rule in Spanish America. Next in importance to agriculture ranked mining. This was the most romantic aspect of Spanish colonial economic life, and the source of greatest riches to the king. At first precious metals came from robbings of temples and graves, but gradually systematic mining was introduced. The silver mining town of Zacatecas is a case in point. One mine alone for a long time netted a daily profit of one thousand pesos (\$2000 to \$5000 roughly). In another, in the eighteenth century, six hundred thousand pesos were earned in one week. Still another produced a half million in six months. The king's share over a period of two centuries averaged over two hundred and fifty thousand pesos a year, and that of the owners around two millions. The output of the mines in the New World is believed to have increased nearly ninetyfold between 1500 and 1750.⁶

*The economic effect
on Europe of colonial exploitation*

THE INFLUX of precious metals from the New World into Europe had important economic effects.

Before the sixteenth century, not enough gold and silver were mined in Europe to take care of the growing trade requirements, with the result that precious metals had been drained off to pay for purchases from the East. The hundreds of millions of dollars in gold and silver that poured into Europe from America, beginning around 1500, profoundly affected European life in a way that we have already mentioned (pages 115-120). It produced what has sometimes been called "the Commercial Revolution." Hard and ready money increased, making trade more mobile. The increase of cash also furnished Europe with sufficient capital to embark on large-scale commercial and manufacturing ventures. Larger ships had to be constructed to carry the increased commerce. Kings had fuller exchequers from which to finance their dynastic and imperialistic schemes. This increase in currency and commerce stimulated the growth of banking and credit facilities, and thereby did much to lay the foundations for the rise of modern capitalism. By making money easier to get and hence "cheaper," it also introduced a general tendency for prices to rise. This tendency, too, often worked in favor of business enterprise, since the entrepreneur had less reason to fear loss from falling prices, but it worked a hardship on those whose incomes failed to keep pace with the fairly steady upswing of prices.

The wealth that Spain received from the New World was thus a source at once of economic strength and weakness. Nor was it an unmixed political blessing. For as the contemporary English sage, Francis Bacon, stated, "Money is the principal part of the greatness of Spain; for by that they maintain their veteran army. But in this part, of all others, is most to be con-

⁶Herbert I. Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1929), I, 87-88.

sidered the ticklish and brittle state of the greatness of Spain. Their greatness consisteth in their treasure, their treasure in the Indies, and their Indies (if it be well weighed) are indeed but an accession to such as are masters of the sea." When the Armada was defeated in 1588, Spain's mastery of the seas was forever destroyed, and although she kept most of her overseas empire until the nineteenth century, she was powerless to prevent other countries—notably England—from planting settlements in the New World and encroaching upon territory staked out for Spain by papal decree, Spanish missions, and Spanish *presidios*, or garrisons.

The policy

of the Spanish toward the Indians

WHEREAS the English and Dutch generally treated the Indians as savages who should be either ex-

pelled or exterminated, the Spaniards, like the French (page 261), had a more enlightened policy. True enough, they exploited the labor of the Indians no less than the other white settlers did, but they made efforts also to protect native workers from patent abuse. In the sixteenth century royal decrees were issued to safeguard the rights and property of the Indian towns. Furthermore, the piety of the crown and the zeal of the church combined to save as many Indian souls as possible. The excellent mission system developed in Alta California was perhaps the finest of the Spanish social agencies. The monks taught their charges good farming techniques, irrigation, and the construction of buildings, and encouraged them in sewing, weaving, leather work, and pottery making. This preservation and Christianization of the Indian, together with his intermarriage with his conqueror, made the Spanish colonial system unique in the New World. More even than the French, the Spanish settler in America intermingled his blood and his culture with the Indians'. The results have been permanent. Indian ancestry and tradition were and continue to be common in all parts of Spanish America. Sometimes, as in the bigger cities, they are forced to yield predominance to European influences, but in the villages and remote areas they are still largely unaffected or affected only superficially. Rural Spanish America is still largely Indian, with a veneer of Catholic and Spanish culture.

Negro slavery

in the Spanish colonies

IN THE West Indies, plantation work proved so hard as to decimate the Indians in the years im-

mediately following Columbus' voyages. Consequently, Negro slaves were imported to the islands in 1503 and to the continent in 1510. After that the Spanish king granted monopolies to slave traders, who paid large sums for that right—called the *asiento*. Smuggling occurred as a result of the curb placed upon the number of slaves legally imported. It has been estimated that an average of about three thousand Negroes were brought in by Spaniards yearly between 1550 and 1750. Forced labor was thus characteristic of the

large plantation, or *hacienda*. Since much of Latin America was arid and since irrigable land was limited, physical conditions favored a system of labor by strictly supervised gangs of Indians or Negroes. The development of the "hardy pioneer" and "rugged individual" was thus not facilitated as much as it was to be in the English colonies.

*Literary importations
from Spain into the colonies*

SPAIN established her continental American colonies about a century before England established

hers, and attempted to control them for about half a century after England was obliged to contemplate the independence of her thirteen most important colonies. Spain thus dominated her American empire for nearly a hundred and fifty years longer than England did hers. As a result, Spanish institutions had ample time to be transmitted to the New World and to be impressed indelibly into its social fabric.

The most obvious mark of Spanish influence in Central and South America is the prevalence of the Spanish language and literature. At first, book purchasers in the colonies were dependent upon the old country. Spaniards settling in the New World would bring books with them or send back to the homeland for them. It has been estimated that thirty thousand volumes were imported into New Spain in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and an examination of book titles proves that the colonists enjoyed a catholicity of taste. Religious tracts vied with the works of Virgil, Cicero, Terence, Ovid, and other Latin classics, the essays of Erasmus, the poetry of Petrarch, and the dramas, novels, and poems of outstanding Spanish writers, including, of course, Cervantes. The Inquisition in 1571 was given responsibility to inspect book imports to see that they conformed to Catholic orthodoxy and, as might be expected, every attempt was made to track down the works of "the accursed heresiarch Luther" and his followers. Bookselling was profitable enough to enable about fifty persons in Mexico City in the sixteenth century to make their livelihood in that way.

*The development
of a colonial culture in New Spain*

A DOMESTIC brand of culture also arose. The first colonial printing presses were established in

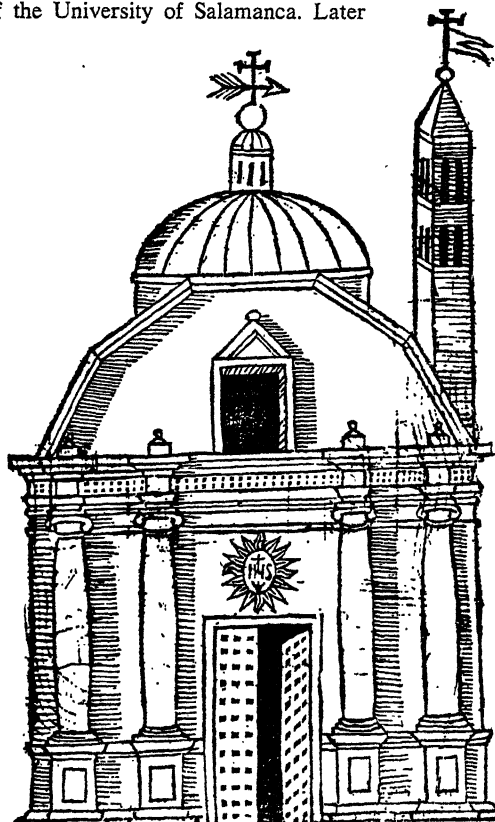
1535-1536. They rapidly turned out books of devotion and calendars. The first music published in America appeared in 1575. An estimated nine thousand sets of playing cards were printed in every year—ample proof that the colonists did not spend all their free moments poring over religious tracts and Latin classics. Many intellectuals tried their hand at poetry and drama, and delighted in holding literary contests, marked by great public processions. At one contest in 1585, over three hundred entrants sought prizes.

Science also flourished in the Spanish colonies. Earthquakes, volcanoes, and hot springs in New Spain excited the interest of early colonials who had

a scientific bent of mind. Scholars from the Old World came to the New World and did excellent work in computing longitudes, discoursing on comets, and writing on mathematics. Writers on medicine ruminated on the origins of epidemics and noted the prevalence of syphilis among both Indians and Spaniards. Francisco Hernandez wrote a *Natural History of New Spain* (1651), which has since continued to be regarded as authoritative in its field.

A crowning achievement of Spanish colonial intellectual life was the founding of schools and universities. The church took the lead in giving instruction to both the Spanish and Indian inhabitants. In 1551, eighty-five years before the founding of Harvard College, the first school of higher learning in the English colonies, two universities were established in the Spanish colonies: at Mexico City, in the viceroyalty of New Spain, and at Lima, in the viceroyalty of Peru. All together, seven Spanish-American universities were founded before the end of the seventeenth century. They were patterned after the Catholic-Spanish tradition of the University of Salamanca. Later (1773), the Royal Academy of the Beaux Arts was founded in Mexico City and gave free instruction in painting, sculpture, and architecture. Long before that time, Spanish baroque architecture (page 338) had been transplanted to the New World, and Latin America had begun to make unique and rich contributions in the various arts. The famous cathedral of Mexico City, which took over two hundred years to complete, still stands as a lasting testimonial of Spain's cultural and religious influence in Latin America.

No account of the Spanish contribution to the New World should overlook its gifts to the social amenities. The colonization by Spaniards in America came at a time when the letter, if not the spirit, of courtliness was still observed. Ridiculed at home by Cervantes, old-fashioned



An early illustration of the college of Santiago, Chile, built for Indians and Negroes as well as for the Spanish in an architectural style imported from Spain.

chivalry, in its outward manifestation at least, found favor among the up-rooted soldiery of the conquistadors. A careful etiquette, formal courtesy, traditional ceremony, and the arts of courting are still as assiduously practiced south of the Rio Grande as in the most polished Spanish and Portuguese circles. In part, at least, this strict observance of European customs was a conservative defense against the rudeness of the frontier.

*Economic importations
from Spain to the colonies*

THE MATERIAL changes wrought by the Spaniards in the New World have been of incalculable

importance in its daily life and economy. They introduced wheat, barley, rice, rye, lentils, and chickpeas; walnuts, apples, apricots, quinces, oranges, lemons, limes, grapefruit, pears, almonds; flax, alfalfa; roses, lilies, carnations, and many other flowers. Coffee, sugar cane, and certain varieties of bananas, though brought to America by the Europeans, now come largely from Latin America. These transplantings—sometimes under the most difficult conditions—make a long and fascinating story. In addition, the Spaniards brought in Spanish cattle and, by introducing the horse and mule to the New World, lightened the back-breaking burdens of the Indians, who still perform the tasks of pack animals in many places. Hogs and sheep were other important additions to the economic life of the colonies. Brick, cement, and other building and paving materials sometimes replaced native adobe and the stone that the Aztecs used for temples and palaces. Improved methods of transportation on land and water by means of the wheel and the sail were perhaps unmixed blessings from Europe—unlike the closer acquaintance with alcohol and firearms, which the Europeans also provided.

*Indian contributions
to European civilization*

THE BLESSINGS, both mixed and unmixed, were repaid after a fashion. Through the Spaniards,

the New World enriched the Old with products theretofore unknown in Europe. Potatoes, Indian corn, tomatoes, cacao, and vanilla soon became indispensable in the European diet. Knowledge of rubber, too, went from Latin America to Europe, though only in the eighteenth century. Cigars, cigarettes, pipe tobacco, chewing tobacco, and snuff were introduced by the Indians to the Spaniards and by the Spaniards to the rest of Europe. A sixteenth-century French diplomat by the name of Jean Nicot brought tobacco to his country from Portugal and thereby gave his name to the *nicotine* products of tobacco. Syphilis, perhaps unknown in pre-Columbian Europe, became common in the sixteenth century and was generally (but perhaps not accurately) believed to have been introduced from America by Spanish voyagers. From Europe some of these American products passed to Asia, as

*The permanent admixture
of Spanish and Indian cultures*

AS MENTIONED earlier, the Spaniards had to contend with difficult geographical problems in colonizing

the New World, and their troubles were augmented by a sparsity of population and a monopolistic economic and administrative policy, which suffered from inflexibility, inefficiency, and, as the decades passed, corruption. Political and ecclesiastical authorities sometimes tended to overstress their paternalism and therefore to stifle new thought and developments. Yet, important as these considerations were, they were not decisive in the ultimate destruction of the Spanish empire in the West. It was the race of rival imperialisms and the loss of maritime supremacy to the English that finally effected the deterioration of Spain's colonial fortunes. But, despite that ultimate defeat, the Spanish contribution to the building of the New World was both colorful and lasting, and was not unrequited. South of the Rio Grande, except in the Guianas, Brazil, and a few small areas, the culture of a continent and a half is still a mixture of Spanish and Indian; and indeed in some places north of the Rio Grande the same cultural mixture remains prevalent.

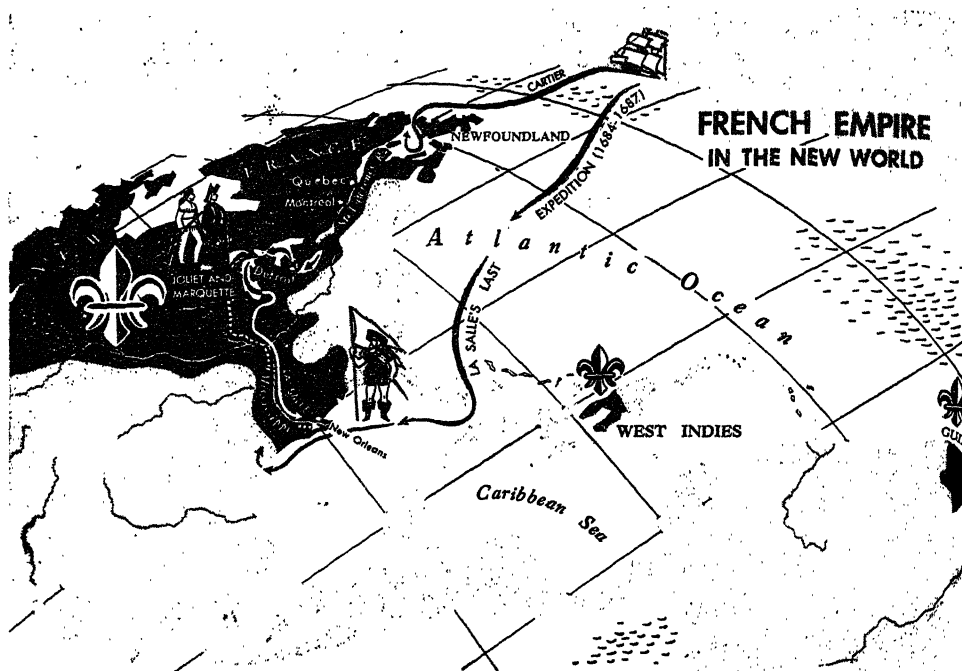
*Colonization
of Brazil by the Portuguese*

BRAZIL was discovered accidentally by Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500. It was located in the region

that had been assigned by papal demarcation (page 113) to Portugal when the rest of the Western Hemisphere was awarded to Spain. The Portuguese began seriously to develop this enormous area only after they had almost lost it to their French rivals, who were ambitious to set up an "Antarctic France." The French were expelled only by force.

Brazil's story closely resembles that of the Spanish empire in America, of which it was at least nominally a part during the period when the Portuguese and Spanish crowns were united (page 218). Mercantilism, exploitation of Indians, Negro slavery, and Jesuit missionaries brought similar effects, desired and undesired. Huge royal grants encouraged a kind of new-world feudalism, and, as in the Spanish colonies, led ultimately to the centralizing of power over the proud landlords in the hands of royal governors. Cities like São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro developed as strategic, commercial, cultural, religious, and political centers.

The close association of Portugal with Spain in 1580-1640 encouraged the Dutch to rival Portugal in this vast region washed by the mighty Amazon and Orinoco, and Dutch Guiana was founded. In the seventeenth century, treaties between the English, French, and Dutch completed the creation also of an English Guiana and a French Guiana to the diminution of Dutch Guiana's size. European languages and cultures have persisted in these areas along with European political control.



French sovereignty in the northern reaches of North America was disputed by the English Hudson's Bay Company, finally being renounced in 1713. French claims in the Mississippi Valley and on the north coast of the Gulf of Mexico were far greater than the area of settlement indicated here (as of 1763), giving rise to protracted boundary disputes between the successors of France that lasted until 1819. (See map, page 832.)

THE FRENCH CONTRIBUTION TO AMERICA

THE SIXTEENTH century was the great age of conquest and culture diffusion on the part of the Spaniards and Portuguese; the seventeenth century was marked by the advance especially of the French and English. French fishermen may have caught cod off Newfoundland in the fifteenth century, and Newfoundland cod was certainly sold in Normandy as early as 1510, but colonization was not attempted seriously until, about a century later, tranquillity and prosperity came to France in the reign of Henry IV (page 196). Before that time, Verrazano had skirted the eastern coast of North America and returned to France in 1524, thus giving the French monarch a claim to the continent. Then Jacques Cartier made three voyages (1534, 1535-1536,

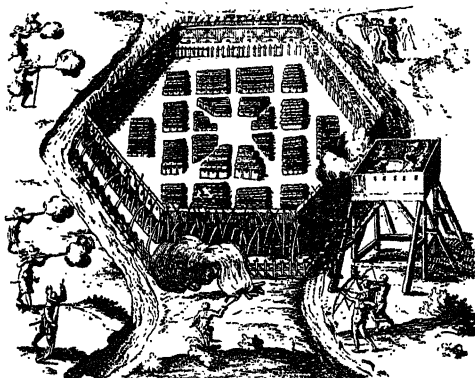
1541-1542) and explored the St. Lawrence as far as modern Montreal, trying vainly to find a passage to Asia. A small colony established above Quebec was a complete failure, however, and nothing further was attempted until Samuel de Champlain founded Quebec in 1608. The English had established themselves in Jamestown only the year before.

*The discovery
and settlement of New France*

THE FRENCH were motivated in their North American venture by the desire to find a passage to Asia, to convert the Indians, and to exploit the lucrative fur trade. Champlain was indefatigable in this work; he discovered in 1609 the lake that bears his name, and later explored the rivers and lakes in its vicinity. Unhappily, he also got swept into Indian politics, and in siding with the natives near Quebec against the warlike Iroquois, he brought on the French the implacable hatred of that powerful Indian nation - a hatred which was to have important effects decades later in the struggle for empire between France and England. When Champlain died in 1635, France had established a permanent colony at Quebec. But only a few hundred Frenchmen occupied the wilderness, bigger than all France together and known as "New France," that extended up the St. Lawrence Valley to the Great Lakes.

The first attempts to settle this area were not successful. In 1627 Cardinal Richelieu (pages 301-302) formed a joint-stock company to exploit New France. To this company, known as the "One Hundred Associates," he gave a perpetual monopoly of the fur trade as well as title to the lands. But he stipulated that the company must bring in four thousand settlers within fifteen years as well as support them for three years after arrival. The company's profits were not sufficient to enable it to fulfill this quota of settlers. Two years after Champlain's death, the territory could boast only two farming settlers; the rest of the population was made up of officials, fur traders, soldiers, and priests.

Frenchmen objected to the rigors of the Canadian winter, and they saw little advantage in emigrating. Attempted Huguenot settlements in Brazil and Florida were ruthlessly suppressed by the Portuguese and Spanish. When the Huguenots became a persecuted minority within France (page 370), they would gladly have hewed homes out of the



*This illustration of Champlain and his Indian allies attacking a stockaded Indian village appeared in his book, *Les voyages de la Nouvelle France*, 1632, which was dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu.*

wilderness to escape religious persecution in France, but they were forbidden to emigrate. As a result of the home government's short-sighted colonial policy New France lost a potentially excellent population. The French who did emigrate preferred at first to go to the more congenial West Indies, where, by 1665, France held fourteen islands containing over fifteen thousand whites and about as many Negro slaves. At that time, the total white population of Canada was estimated at three thousand.

New France

during the reign of Louis XIV

CANADA'S fortunes remained at a low ebb until the reign of the ambitious Louis XIV (Chapters 8

and 9). Louis's able councillor Colbert assumed direction of French colonial policy in 1667. He appreciated the value of New France, and introduced new ideas and new blood. He ended company control in 1674 and placed the country under royal administration. He sent over the enterprising Comte de Frontenac, who was governor from 1672 to 1682, and from 1689 to 1698.

Louisiana explored

and claimed for France by La Salle

FRONTENAC was tireless in his efforts to expand France's domain to the west and south. In

1673 a fur trader named Louis Joliet, a native of Quebec, and a French Jesuit, Father Marquette, traveled by canoe down the Mississippi as far as the Arkansas River. Sieur de La Salle was encouraged to explore the Illinois region, and, in 1682, descended the entire length of the Mississippi. La Salle proclaimed the whole valley to be French, and in honor of Louis XIV named it Louisiana. The ambitious explorer dreamed of acquiring the entire continent for his country, and he conducted a new expedition from France for the purpose of establishing a colony at the Mississippi's mouth. Unfortunately, the expedition missed the mouth and came to grief on the Texas coast, where La Salle was murdered by one of the expedition. A permanent French settlement was finally established on the Gulf of Mexico in 1699. France in the eighteenth century could claim a continental empire extending from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi.

The seigneurial system

of landholding in New France

LATER (pages 452-456), it will be seen how France lost this empire to Britain. The faults of

French colonial policy largely explain this loss. By excluding such groups as the Huguenots, it prevented New France from obtaining a population sufficient to settle and defend its vast area. Furthermore, the French crown, like the Spanish and Portuguese, tried to establish a system of feudal aristocracy by granting high-sounding titles and huge tracts of land to nobles. The lands of these nobles—*seigneurs*—were worked by their tenants—the *habitants*.

The land system was more democratic in New France than in New Spain.

262 The *seigneurs* were generally quite poor themselves, and had to work in the

fields with their tenants, an inconvenience that the great landlords in New Spain did not have to endure. Also, it was not uncommon for the *habitants* to marry the *seigneurs'* daughters. But the French and Spanish land systems both suffered from an important limitation—the absence of free land—that they shared in common though for different reasons. As we have seen (page 246), it was unavailable in New Spain because irrigable land was limited, forced labor resulted, and forced labor encouraged the patriarchal system. In French America land



La Salle's ships in search of the mouth of the Mississippi River, as pictured in an early engraving.

was unavailable to the small worker because the *seigneurs* monopolized it.

The "hardy pioneer" was thus no more a product of the French than of the Spanish system. The tendency of the French government to centralize power in the hands of royal French officials discouraged the local initiative that flourished under the English colonial system. Moreover, England as a maritime power gave greater attention to her navy and overseas empire, whereas France as a great continental power looked primarily to her place in Europe and her land armies. All these factors gave a confidence and a self-starting quality to the British pioneer that the French pioneer, for all his sturdiness, was likely to lack.

Canada abounded in rich lands waiting to be cleared. Yet, since the seigneurial land system, except in isolated cases, would not permit the free gift of soil to pioneers, the more spirited of the population were tempted to try their fortune at fur-trapping instead. Agricultural production was also hindered by the lack of adequate communications and the absence of large markets, for Europe was mainly interested in importing tropical produce from areas farther south. As a result, labor in New France tended to be hard, and poverty to be commonplace.

*The family
and the home in New France*

BUT IT would be wrong to assume that Canadian life was unmitigated misery. The inhabitants had

access to plentiful stores of timber for shelter and fuel, while the wild life in the forest and stream ensured them ample food supplies. Nor was their social life devoid of amenities. The two principal population centers were, of course, Quebec and Montreal. Quebec City still holds its place as the cultural and political capital of French Canada because of its preëminence in colonial days. The governor maintained his court there, while the church also made the city its headquarters. The houses of the period were constructed of logs or stone, and were either whitewashed or plastered on the outside. They contained fireplaces in each room, were roofed with boards, and possessed small windows more often covered by oiled paper than glass. The family wore wooden shoes or moccasins in its daily work, but feast days would bring forth carefully preserved fineries and nostalgic memories of old France.

Women played an important role in colonial Canada. At first society was almost exclusively male, but during the meticulous Colbert's regime, several shiploads "of women of an ordinary reputation" were sent out around 1670 "under the direction of some stale old nuns." One contemporary account gives a rather amusing, if sardonic, picture of their arrival:

The Vestal Virgins were heap'd up, (if I may so speak) one above another in three different Apartments, where the bridegrooms singled out their brides....There was such variety...as could satisfy the most whimsical Appetites; here was some big some little some fair some brown some fat and some meagre. In fine, there was such Accommodation, that everyone might be fitted to his Mind. And indeed the Market had such a run that in fifteen days time they were all dispos'd of....The Sparks that wanted to be married, made their Addresses to the above-mentioned Governesses [the nuns], to whom they were oblig'd to give an account of their Goods and Estates before they were allow'd to make their choice. ...After the choice was determin'd, the marriage was concluded upon the spot, in the presence of a Priest and a publick Notary; and the next day the Governor-General bestow'd upon the married Couple a Bull, a Cow, a Hog, a Sow, a Cock, a Hen, two Barrels of salt Meat, and eleven Crowns.⁷

⁷Baron Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America*, ed. R. G. Thwaites (Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1905), I, Letter ii, 36-37.

It was such women who helped build Canada. They raised large families, made homespun, and worked ceaselessly to create that closely knit and warm-hearted home environment which remains a marked characteristic of French Canadian society.

*Religion
and culture in New France*

THE UNIQUENESS of the Quebec social pattern is still due in large measure to the persistent influ-

ence of the church throughout the province. The special zeal of the Jesuit order had much to do with spreading both the gospel and the French flag over vast stretches of the American continent, and the memory of the heroic feats of many of these martyred missionaries is still cherished in Quebec. It was not long before each settlement could boast its own church—and today it is impossible to travel far in the settled areas of the Province of Quebec without seeing a silver-painted spire rising above a village or standing against the horizon upon a hill. The parish priest has always been deemed an indispensable member of every Quebec village, and from earliest days he has baptized the children, blessed the crops, and married and buried the villagers. As in New Spain, the church controlled the basic intellectual pattern of colonial France—its education, books, and thought. Here, too, non-Catholics were kept out and religious backsliders punished. In fact, some of the civil authorities used to grumble that the church officials meddled too much in the private lives of the colonists, and were too puritanical in their standards of conduct. Between the bishops and the governors of Quebec conflict was frequent, and although the issue quickly became one involving relative prestige and political power, it was likely to arise out of such moral questions as the sale of liquor to the Indians.

New France did not match New Spain in indigenous intellectual impetus and progress. The first bishop, Laval-Montmorency, founded the Quebec Seminary for the training of priests, to which he devoted his private income and much of his attention upon his retirement. Only gradually did it become Laval University, and no other universities were established in colonial times to round out its program. Even today a criticism among many Quebecois is that their province has continued to overemphasize the classical and religious aspects of education, and neglected the mechanical and "practical" subjects. Not until the middle of the eighteenth century was any book or newspaper printed in New France.

*The growth
of population in French Canada*

TOWARD the end of the century, the French population of New France increased rapidly because

of Colbert's foresight. A total of three thousand in 1665 became fifteen thousand in 1700 and eighty thousand in 1763, when Canada fell to English conquest. The increase was due largely to the growth of native-born families,

immigration accounting for a much smaller number than in the neighboring English colonies. In consequence, in the race for man power the French fell behind the English in America. Yet today, their descendants number between three and four millions, who have not only dotted the pleasant St. Lawrence Valley with tranquil villages and made Montreal the third largest French-speaking city in the world but have also emigrated in large numbers south of the border to become an important element in the population of New England.

*The colonization
of Louisiana by the French*

THE FRENCH influence does not end in Canada and New England, however. Following in the foot-

steps of La Salle, a few soldiers and settlers established themselves here and there along the Mississippi. New Orleans was founded in 1717. Various business ventures were organized to bring colonists to this area. Such crops as tobacco, rice, indigo, cotton, and, later, sugar were more certain of a ready market in Europe than those raised by the Quebec *habitants*. Negro slaves were introduced in large numbers, radically changing the pattern of both the agriculture and the social life of Louisiana from that of Quebec. Yet the population did not increase rapidly. The settlers had to contend with river floods, yellow fever, and hostile Indians.

Education in Louisiana as in Canada was in the hands of the clergy, and tended to remain on an elementary level. Not until 1794, after Louisiana had been lost by France, did New Orleans boast a newspaper, the *Moniteur de la Louisiane*. Social pastimes were varied and pleasant, however. Cards were a favorite diversion, and in the latter part of the eighteenth century the upper classes of New Orleans maintained an opera house. Life was made more agreeable for the prosperous also by the importation of furniture, linen, and glassware from France.

In the territory lying between New Orleans and Quebec, the social amenities were much fewer and the hardships and dangers of the frontier much greater. Farming was hindered by the crudeness of tools and by the lack of fertilizer. Warfare with the English and hostile Indians was frequent. While the surpluses of wheat were quickly transported by *bateau* down the Mississippi to New Orleans, upstream voyages were slow and cumbersome. Fur trading was a profitable pursuit in this territory, and French trappers became familiar with the Wisconsin and Illinois scene. Smuggling of goods across the Spanish borders was likewise remunerative.

*Lasting effects
of French colonial enterprise*

MANY MODERN American cities and leading American families owe their origin to the pioneering

efforts of the French in the middle territory. The numerous French place names scattered throughout this area—including St. Louis and Detroit—still testify to the daring and far-flung roving of French missionaries, trappers,

and explorers. The population, however, proved far too sparse and widely scattered to build up the permanent continental empire that planners in Paris had dreamed would extend from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi. But if the empire was doomed to failure on the North American continent, it persisted in the West Indies and Guiana, and the French cultural contribution to the North American scene, as in Quebec and New Orleans, has been a permanent one.

THE DUTCH PARTICIPATION IN THE SETTLEMENT OF AMERICA

THE SEVENTEENTH century saw the rise of the Dutch people to a position of great wealth and economic power. The commercial strength of the Dutch resulted from several factors, among which were their strategic geographical location, their head start in the banking business, and their large mercantile and fishing fleets. As we have already noted (page 182), the Netherlands in 1581 declared their independence of Philip II; by 1609 they had secured their virtual independence, and in 1648 the unconditional independence of the Dutch Republic was acknowledged by Spain. In this War of Independence, the Dutch looked upon the Spanish colonial empire as proper prey, and their superior navy enabled them to wrest the East Indies (not including the Philippines) away from Spain and the Spanish-dominated Portugal, and to make them a possession of the Dutch nation, which relinquished sovereignty only as recently as December 1949.

Early explorations of the Dutch in the New World

THE DUTCH were interested in discovering a shorter route to the Far East, and they hired an Eng-

lishman, Henry Hudson, for that purpose. In 1609 Hudson sailed up the river now called the Hudson in his *Half-Moon* perhaps as far as the site of modern Albany. There we are told he met some Mohawk Indians and won their good will with brandy. Word came back to Holland that this territory abounded in furs and pleasant land. Hudson's voyage was followed by annual visits of fur traders, while exploration continued along the Delaware coast and Long Island Sound. Trading posts were established on Manhattan Island and near modern Albany (1614).

In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was founded with a twenty-four-year monopoly of the trade of western Africa, the islands of the Atlantic, and the eastern coasts of the Americas. The company's charter called for it to "advance the peopling of fruitful and unsettled parts." Actually the Dutch West India Company considered that its prime objective was neither "trifling trade with the Indians nor the tardy cultivation of uninhabited regions" but

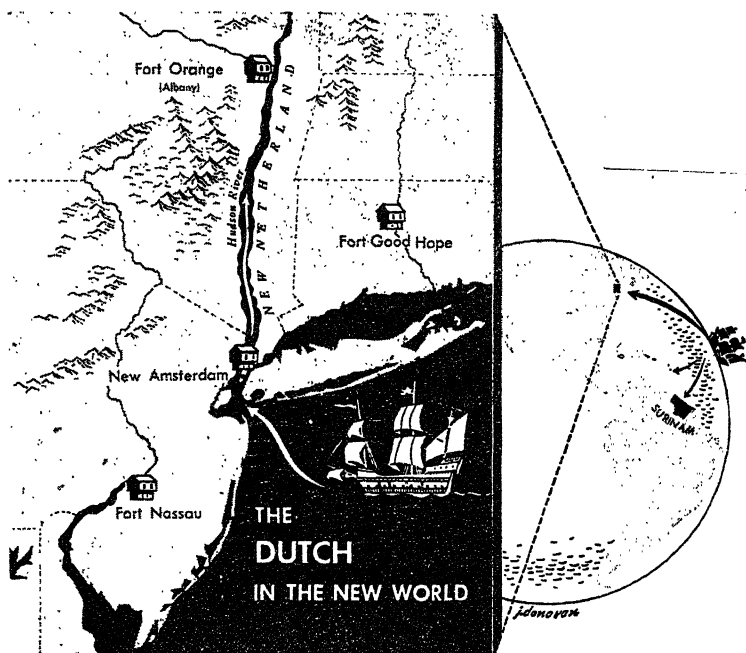
“acts of hostility against the ships and property of the King of Spain and his subjects.”

*Settlements
of the Dutch in North America*

THE COMPANY'S first band of settlers arrived at Manhattan Island in 1624. There they started the

construction of Fort Amsterdam, which became the seat of government. A larger colony settled at Fort Orange, the present site of Albany, while a third group founded Fort Nassau on the Delaware River, opposite the site of modern Philadelphia, and a fourth built Fort Good Hope on the Connecticut. The Dutch thereby staked out a claim to what is now New York and New Jersey. In an attempt to attract colonists, inducements were offered in the form of land grants. Thus, in 1629, any member of the company who brought over fifty families within four years would be granted a stretch of land sixteen miles long on one bank of the Hudson, or eight miles long on both sides—with no limit as to width. Only a few landlords—called *patroons*—took up this offer, and only one of them made a success of the venture. He was an Amsterdam diamond and pearl merchant named Killian Van Rensselaer, who obtained the land of present-day Albany County. Here he sent his many settlers in 1630. But by and large the plan failed to attract many settlers, and, as a result, New Netherland remained impotent from lack of population. New Netherland lasted only forty years, falling without a blow in 1664 to its





Holland's venture into North America was an unsuccessful one. It lacked the support of the mother country such as the Spanish and the English colonies enjoyed. Throughout the forty years of its existence, New Netherland clung to the Hudson, Delaware, and Connecticut valleys. Surinam in South America and some of the West Indies are still Dutch.

aggressive English neighbors. At the time of its conquest, the little Dutch colony had no more than ten thousand people, of whom only a part were Dutch.

*The reasons for the failure
of the Dutch in North America*

THE FAILURE of the Dutch to retain the Hudson Valley and Manhattan—what was to become the most fabulous real-estate prize in American history—is easily explained. First of all, the Dutch had small reason to emigrate from Holland. That country's enormous success in commerce and exploration in the seventeenth century brought to it an age of economic prosperity, religious tolerance, and cultural distinction (pages 315-316). Secondly, the colony found itself engaged in a savage war with the native Algonquins. By the time peace was restored in 1645, the struggle had proved so disastrous that as many as two thousand colonists may have been killed. Thirdly, during the forty years or so

of the Dutch effort to colonize the Hudson and Delaware Valleys, the Netherlands were almost constantly engaged in hostilities with either Spain or England, and thus forced to devote their splendid naval resources to hostilities in European waters and the Indies rather than to colonial enterprises in North America. Fourthly, the West India Company's commercial policy in the colony was a deterrent to success. The Dutch West India officials were primarily interested in the Dutch West Indies and Surinam (or Dutch Guiana), from which they might plunder the Spaniards and engage in the spice, sugar, and slave trade. They were to a much lesser degree concerned with the New Netherland fur trade, and least of all with colonizing and fostering an agricultural economy along the Hudson. Lastly, the West India Company's political system destroyed local initiative. The company controlled the government of the colony in a completely autocratic manner, permitting the settlers no home rule. The company's director governed New Netherland as he saw fit. Some of the directors were capable, though paternalistic, governors; others were quite inadequate. Leading settlers from time to time protested against these conditions in vain. In 1649 they even petitioned the Dutch States-General to assume the government of the colony but were not heeded. As a result, dissatisfaction with company rule was so rife that Hollanders at home were deterred from emigrating, and the colonists themselves refused to support Governor Peter Stuyvesant's resistance to English conquest in 1664.

*The Dutch contribution
to North American culture*

ALTHOUGH Holland's rule in the New World was transitory, its cultural contribution was more

enduring. New Netherland architecture has influenced later American styles, including the concavely sloping roof whose extension over a building's entrance set the pattern for the modern "front porch." The Dutch also made the stepped gable a common feature of American architecture. It was in New Netherland first that the present-day American sports of sleighing, coasting, and skating became popular, as did golf, which is supposedly derived from the Dutch word *kolf*, meaning club. Tenpins or bowling, though an old English game, probably became popular in America through the zest of Dutch players on the Bowling Green of New York. Our custom of coloring Easter eggs comes from the Dutch, as do probably the name "Dixie" and, certainly, the name "Santa Claus." For "Dixie" is sometimes supposed to be a corruption by slaves of a Dutch landowner's name; and Saint Nicholas (Dutch *San Nicolaas*) was the patron saint of New Amsterdam, whose children laid out their wooden shoes on his feast day (December 6) to receive his presents.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the New Netherlanders was their spirit of tolerance and cosmopolitanism—a trait that has remained a hallmark of the life and spirit of New York City. The Jews, generally despised or barely tolerated elsewhere in the seventeenth century, were well treated in

Holland and welcomed in New Amsterdam, and they have retained a prominent role in the city's life ever since. It is said that when New Amsterdam fell to the English and became New York, nineteen languages could be heard in its streets. The Dutch influence long dominated, however. All over New York and New Jersey, Dutch place names—Brooklyn, Orange, Rensselaer—are still encountered and some of the most illustrious families—Schuyler, Van Buren, Vanderbilt, Roosevelt—are of Dutch descent. Dutch legend became a permanent part of American folklore, and entered the New World's literature largely through the efforts of Washington Irving.

THE ENGLISH IMPACT ON AMERICA

IMPORTANT and permanent though the Spanish, French, and Dutch contributions were to the emerging North American culture, the predominant European impact was furnished by the English. Unlike the Dutch, whose life at home offered every inducement for their remaining there, the English of the seventeenth century had many good reasons for wanting to emigrate to North America. The British government early committed itself to a strong navy and, somewhat as a corollary, to overseas expansion; and the merchant class supported it in the hope of exploiting a vast colonial empire. Like the immigrants of all times, the English settlers of America were derived from the restless and discontented elements of the country from which they came. Genuine economic stress or the desire to get richer still, religious persecution or missionary zeal, political dissatisfaction, the hope that the paths to adventure, prestige, and power might be wide open in a new country, the desire to get a fresh start in life, and frequently some combination of these motives led men to leave the ills they had and to fly to others they knew not of. They thus inaugurated a mass emigration movement to the area that eventually became the United States, and that emigration continued on an increasing scale until recent decades.

*Political reasons
for British colonization*

ENGLAND'S insular position
proved ideal for furthering the
development of long-term poli-

cies without interference from unfriendly foreigners. The conclusion of the Wars of the Roses in 1485 brought to England a strong central government capable of making long-range national policies. One of these was the creation and maintenance of a powerful navy as the major bulwark of defense. The defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588 not only justified this policy but it also gave greater security from foreign interference with other national plans. England's navy proved a most valuable tool in her overseas expansion and

settlement. While the continental powers traileed in dynastic wars, with the victor generally taking some European territory that he was likely to lose the first time he was defeated, England tried to avoid too great entanglement in continental affairs. She early adopted the quite effective strategy of waging war against the most threatening continental rival, fighting behind the shield of her navy, and taking as her spoils, not European territory vulnerable to attack, but overseas possessions that her navy kept inviolate. As political policies were adopted to encourage colonization and ensure their continuing value to the mother country, those possessions grew in wealth.

*Economic reasons
for British colonization*

BUT A favorable political atmosphere alone is not sufficient to acquire and develop overseas colonies.

Economic incentives must be strong enough to tempt large segments of the mother country's population to risk their future in colonial ventures. The English of early modern times were no less candid than the Spaniards in seeking treasure. Virginia was described in an early English play as a land "where gold is more plentiful than copper with us" and where "for rubies and diamonds they go forth on holidays and gather 'em by the seashore to hang on their children's coats." But conditions infinitely more prosaic and commonplace than El Dorado were also to lure men forth to the New World. One was unemployment at home. The breakdown of the old feudal manorial system, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the parceling out of lands by Henry VIII to a new landed aristocracy who promptly enclosed them into sheep pastures, all tended to add to the ranks of the luckless unemployed in the sixteenth century (pages 165-166). And in the seventeenth century intensive warfare—particularly that of the Thirty Years' War, which we shall discuss below (Chapter 7)—closed England's markets on the Continent and so blighted the cloth industry that multitudes of artisans could find no work. Bad crops and soaring prices added to the aggravation, and encouraged many to try their fortunes overseas. Throughout this whole period, men cherished the illusion that, with a population of five millions, England was overpopulated and that a solution to the problem of unemployment lay in emigration.

The mercantilists also championed the cause of colonization. They reasoned that it was necessary for England to possess colonies that could furnish her with both raw products and exclusive markets for finished goods. It seemed much better that England get her fish from her colonies, for example, than have to pay the thrifty and potentially hostile Dutch. And statesmen agreed when the mercantilists argued that it was dangerous for the royal navy to have to depend on the Baltic states for timber, masts, tar, and pitch, since prudence demanded that these essential naval stores should come from

sources which could not be cut off by a European enemy and should not be paid for in cash that might enrich a foreign foe.

*Religion
as a factor in colonization*

THOUGH the economic impulse was undoubtedly strong among the motives for colonization, the religious motive was also important. A few entertained a sincere desire to convert the Indians. In fact, the managers of the Virginia Company asserted that the "*Principal and Main Endes*" of their venture "were first to preach and baptize into the *Christian Religion*, and by propagation of the *Gospel*, to recover out of the armes of the Divell, a number of poore and miserable soules, wrapt up unto death in almost *invincible ignorance*."⁸ Nearly all colonial charters made the spreading of the Gospel a cardinal object of settlement. Actually, however, the emphasis upon Christianizing the Indians proved much less significant as a stimulus to colonization than the desire of such minority religious groups in England as the Puritans, Quakers, and Catholics to find sanctuary for themselves from persecution. Unlike the kings of Spain and France who forbade nonconformists to emigrate to their possessions in the New World—to the detriment of their underpopulated colonies—the English ruler was glad to get rid of obstreperous religious sects. These hard-working, sincere, religious refugees made ideal colonists, and, at the same time, the plethora of conflicting sectarian beliefs (in contrast to the conformity of faith in New France and New Spain) hastened the eventual victory of religious tolerance.

*Personal motives
for emigration to America*

INDIVIDUAL Englishmen, like individual Spaniards, Dutch, or French, sometimes came to America for reasons that had no direct connection with their government's larger imperial, diplomatic, mercantilist, or religious policies; and they sometimes came seeking other things than wealth or religious freedom. Some sought fame and glory as pioneers and founders of new countries. Others sought relief from boredom or frustration at home in adventure or new endeavor in strange surroundings. Some left behind careers of failure or crime to start new careers where they were unknown. If, as a general rule, it was the most undaunted who forsook the European fleshpots, and the most hardy who survived in the American wilderness, sometimes the undaunted and the hardy were merely escaping an unpleasant past just ahead of the police, outraged relatives, or clamorous creditors. And occasionally they were just as shiftless and derelict in America as they had been at home.

⁸"A True and Sincere Declaration of the purpose and ends of the Plantation, etc.," *The Genesis of the United States*, ed. Alexander Brown (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1890), I, 339.

*The beginnings
of the British empire in America*

PERHAPS neither the crown nor
the most astute statesmen of the
time fully foresaw to what an

extent their colonial ventures would change from their original purposes. Gradually a new-world economy developed that was no longer wholly dependent upon the mother country and was sometimes hostile to it. A new social pattern emerged from the fusion of many different groups that had been thrown together in a unique physical environment and separated by three thousand miles of water and many weeks, occasionally even months, of hazardous sailing from the mother country. The quickening of communal, then colonial, and, finally, national solidarity resulted from the cooperative sharing of common interests and dangers. As the colonies matured, they created a new and indigenous culture; and although some of its elements remained characteristically European, even these often underwent considerable fusion and adaptation. Basically English in origin, this burgeoning American culture was eventually to accommodate the tobacco in Virginia's fields, the cod in New England's waters, the stepped gables, front porches, and polyglot populations of New Amsterdam, the Negro slaves in the Carolinas, the Iroquois and the Huron, the Creole customs of New Orleans, and the French frontier forts of Detroit and St. Louis, and eventually the haciendas of New Mexico and the missions of Alta California.

The details that underlie this gradual acculturation are, of course, complex. The first English attempts at American colonization ended in failure. Twice Sir Humphrey Gilbert outfitted expeditions and set sail for America, but his first venture was doomed by storms, while the second resulted in his being lost at sea in 1583. Then his half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, took up the challenge and persuaded Queen Elizabeth to grant him a patent to all the land which he might colonize. The canny queen agreed on condition that Raleigh pay to the crown one fifth of all his returns from precious metals. After an exploratory expedition in 1584 brought back glowing reports of a country and climate "the most plentiful, sweet, fruitful, and wholesome of all the world," Raleigh sent out two new expeditions, both of which failed. The last venture also ended in mystery. This expedition set sail in 1587, and the colonists—stranded on the island of Roanoke—completely disappeared from history, except for the puzzling word "Croatoan" carved on a tree.

Raleigh made no further attempts at colonization, and the sixteenth century ended without any permanent English settlement having been established in America. Indirectly, these early experiments, French as well as English, had been of great value because they proved that initial colonization ventures were too large and costly to be administered and financed by any one individual. Such a venture, to prosper, would require the strength and resources of many men.

Thus it came about that the first successful English settlements were established by commercial corporations known as chartered trading companies. They were composed of high-ranking nobles, government officials, rich merchants, and other gentlemen of means. Each member of the company shared in the profits of the company according to the number of shares he owned. The company endured as long as the charter issued by the crown lasted, and this charter was the company's fundamental law. As has already been pointed out (page 116), the trading company sometimes was given privileges usually reserved to a sovereign government. It could raise taxes, coin money, regulate trade, buy and sell property, annex territory, and make war. The charters were thus, in a sense, rudimentary constitutions, and were destined to become a significant source of



This illustration from Captain John Smith's General History of Virginia, 1624, is intended to show the Indian chief Powhatan in 1607, when Smith was his prisoner.

the written constitutions afterwards enacted by the independent sovereign states of America. Two American colonies owed their establishment to English chartered companies. Virginia was founded in 1607 by the London Company; Massachusetts in 1630 by the Massachusetts Bay Company.

The founding and colonization of Virginia

KING JAMES I granted to the Virginia Company in 1606 a charter providing for the establishment of two subsidiaries—the London and the Plymouth Companies. The London group was given the right to trade and settle between the thirty-fourth and forty-first parallels of north latitude, while the Plymouth group was allowed the same rights between the thirty-eighth and forty-first parallels. While the king retained governmental control, the companies' settlers were granted "all liberties, franchises, and immunities...as if they had been abiding and born, within this our realm of *England*, or any other of our said Dominions."

When, in May 1607, three ships deposited their human freight of 105 colonists some thirty-two miles from the mouth of the James River, a more

unsuitable company of settlers could scarcely have been found. True, some were mechanics or laborers, but the majority by far were wholly incapable of coping with the wilderness. Jamestown was a marshy site, and sickness decimated the ranks during the first year. A second expedition arrived the next year, but the new lot of settlers was also ill-chosen, some being goldsmiths who were so concerned about "striking it rich" that, as the exasperated Captain John Smith exclaimed, "there was now no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold." Not more than one fourth of the first two expeditions survived, and only John Smith's practical leadership saved the colony. He insisted that colonists be sent out who knew how to use their hands, and he enforced the rule that only those who worked should be allowed to eat.

The London Company had expected quick wealth, but the colony suffered the most terrible hardships, and profits were slow in materializing. If, however, the goldsmiths searched in vain for their precious metal, a worthy substitute was discovered in 1612, when John Rolfe found that tobacco could be grown both plentifully and profitably. Soon even the streets of Jamestown were sown with "the obnoxious weed."

By 1619 Virginia could boast of no more than one thousand persons, so slow was its growth. But that year was remarkable for three events. The company sent out ninety women who were described as agreeable, young, and incorrupt. With their own consent they were married to those settlers who agreed to pay the cost of their transportation. This was the beginning of some of the oldest families of Virginia. Other women came over from year to year, so that there soon arose in Virginia a generation claiming the colony as its native soil. Another significant event of 1619 was the arrival at Jamestown of a Dutch ship carrying Negro slaves, of whom the colonists bought twenty. Although half a century was to elapse before slaves were imported in large numbers, a new source of labor had been found for the production of the profitable new staple, tobacco—and a dismaying social problem had been permanently introduced into American life. The third great event of 1619 was that the company granted the colonists a representative assembly. This body, which later became the legislature of the state of Virginia, was the first representative government in America.

In 1624, James I, involved in a dispute with the mercantile interests opposing his arbitrary schemes of taxation at home, revoked the Virginia Company's charter and made Virginia a royal province. Political matters did not change appreciably, however. The province was now ruled by a royal governor, aided by a small council and the representative assembly—the House of Burgesses—elected by the planters. Virginia thus became the first

*The founding
of Plymouth by the Puritans*


DURING this time a second permanent colony had been founded to the north, at Plymouth on the

Massachusetts coast. We have seen (pages 164-169) that in England, as on the Continent, the age had been marked by religious strife and that many different Protestant sects had developed, some of which were anxious to "purify" the English churches of vestiges of Catholicism. The Puritans tended toward the belief that their concepts of reform could be brought about within the Church of England. A more extreme group, known as the Separatists, believed that reform could only be achieved by leaving the established church. But James I, particularly displeased by these heretics, demanded conformity. "I will make them conform or harry them out of the land," he is reported to have said.

Rather than conform, a group of Separatists from Scrooby, in Nottinghamshire, fled to the more tolerant atmosphere of seventeenth-century Holland. But there these pious, industrious folk found life both lonely and laden with heavy labor. Finally, they obtained permission from the London Company to settle within the boundaries of Virginia, and a number of London merchants put up £7000 to finance the enterprise. (The pound would buy in those days roughly about twenty-five times as much as the dollar today.) It was agreed that the emigrants were bound for a seven-year period to put the produce of their labors into a common warehouse, from which they would receive their subsistence. A small group of these "Pilgrims" set sail from Delfshaven in the *Speedwell*, and were joined by a larger party sailing from England in the *Mayflower*. But the *Speedwell* proved unseaworthy, the parties returned to port, and most of the company boarded the *Mayflower*, which left Plymouth behind in September 1620.

The little craft with its cargo of 102 men, women, and children was blown off its course by heavy storms, so that, instead of landing in Virginia, it was buffeted to the Cape Cod coast, where it arrived in November. Because they were outside the latitudes assigned to the London Company, these people were no longer under the company's jurisdiction, and had no charter or title to the land before them. To provide for a legal authority among

Uncas  or sagua
Per Markie

Uncas his  Squaw
Per Markie

These signatures of an Indian named Uncas and his squaw appeared on an agreement dated 1641 between them and some English planters.

them, the Pilgrims drew up a brief document establishing their own government; "and by virtue hereof do enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony." The Mayflower Compact, as this agreement was called, was thus one of the earliest examples of a written constitution, "a social contract," adopted by the consent of the governed. The forty-one male adults who signed the compact elected John Carver as their governor.

The Pilgrims made their formal landing at Plymouth harbor, and were soon enveloped by the New England winter. By spring, of the colony's 102 inhabitants, about half had died. But the settlers did not give up. When the time came for planting, they seeded twenty acres with corn. As time went on, the struggling band was joined by other small groups of immigrants. Nevertheless, the colony was fated to remain small; the Separatist sect was never numerous and could therefore not supply the settlement with many recruits, and the soil would not produce a staple such as tobacco, which fetched large profits in the London market. Nevertheless, a second group of Puritans came from England in 1628 and joined a few others who were already established at Salem. Salem associated itself with Massachusetts (page 285) in 1630. Plymouth maintained its independence of Massachusetts until 1691. At that time, its number totaled not more than seven thousand. The Plymouth colony's importance lies not in its economic contribution, which was relatively insignificant, but in its history of popular government and sturdy independence.

Colonization

by the Massachusetts Bay Company

JAMES I had bitterly fought both the Separatists, who wanted to depart from the established church,

and the Puritans, who desired to make the church over both by removing all ceremonies that to them smacked of Romanism and by abolishing the power of the Anglican bishops. When Charles I came to the throne in 1625, the Puritans were confronted with perhaps even greater hostility than before. Emigration to America appeared as a solution of their difficulties. In 1629 a group of Puritans gained control of a company whose title to land in America was reaffirmed by royal charter and which thenceforth became known as the Massachusetts Bay Company.

The Puritans who controlled this commercial company were not humble farmers and artisans as were the Pilgrims, but people of substance—landed gentry, wealthy merchants, university graduates. They belonged to the sturdy middle class. The Massachusetts Bay Company was distinguished from the now defunct Virginia Company particularly by one important fact: its charter and government were transferred to America. Instead of remaining

the Massachusetts Company went themselves to form a colony on Massachusetts Bay, managed their grant and the workers upon it directly, and made on-the-spot decisions regarding the problems of the Company. Thus another resolute step in the direction of self-government was taken in America. Whereas the Mayflower Compact had been a self-granted agreement to work together for orderly government, the charter of Massachusetts Bay was still a royal grant, but exploited in such a fashion as to make the dwellers in Massachusetts a self-governing body.

Led by their governor, John Winthrop, 700 immigrants in eleven ships arrived in Salem in the spring of 1630. Soon they had founded such settlements as Boston, Charlestown, and Dorchester. In the following years immigrants arrived in great numbers, until by 1640 Massachusetts alone could count fifteen thousand colonists, at a time when all of New France had only about one fifth that number. The heavy English migration was due in large part to the persecution of the dissenters in England by Charles I's officials. Massachusetts' prosperity was assured because it was permitted to be a haven for Puritan refugees.

The Puritans had no intention of setting up a democratic society in their new homes, however. On the contrary, their leaders envisaged a stratified society based upon the creation of large estates tilled by tenants, indentured servants, and even Negro slaves. But the "rocks and rills," "the woods and templed hills" of the Massachusetts landscape, justly celebrated in later patriotic verse, did not favor broad plantations with their accompanying large chattel populations. An investment in slaves was likely to prove unprofitable. As a result, New England became a region of small freehold farmers, and many of its people deserted the soil for the sea.

These natural economic developments shaped social developments in turn. Unlike Virginia to the south, in Massachusetts the town, and not the country, became the social and political focal point. In 1634 a representative system was devised whereby each town held an open meeting to elect one or two members to represent it at Boston, where a newly established assembly had power to make laws and levy taxes.

The founding

of Rhode Island by Roger Williams

GOVERNOR Winthrop and the ruling faction were adamant in their zeal to create and maintain

a theocracy; only those who conformed strictly to the leaders' Calvinistic concepts of church and state (page 163) could vote. This inflexible system was doomed to break eventually, however. The man who first rebelled was Roger Williams, a religious refugee from England and pastor of the Salem Church. Unlike Winthrop, Roger Williams believed in the separation of church and state and protested the power of the state to dictate the religious beliefs and

practices of the individual. Because he was an exponent of tolerance and denied the validity of the charter, Williams was banished from theocratic Massachusetts. In 1636 he founded the settlement of Providence on Narragansett Bay near Rhode Island. Two years later, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson—whom John Winthrop dubbed “like Roger Williams or worse” and who had been banished for championing the freedom of private conscience in religious matters—helped to found a colony at Portsmouth on Rhode Island. The following year part of the colony moved to Newport. As other refugees from Massachusetts’ strictness came to Rhode Island, or “The Providence Plantations,” as it was at first called, another settlement grew up at Warwick.

In 1644 this colony of small towns clustered around Narragansett Bay was granted a patent by the Long Parliament (page 319), which was reaffirmed in 1663 by Charles II after his restoration as king of England (page 322). Under Williams’ leadership Rhode Island proved a splendid experiment in democracy. Here again was a group of men and women who had entered voluntarily into a social contract, but one that differed from both the Mayflower Compact and the Massachusetts Charter. At the outset they had neither sectarian cohesion nor royal authority to hold them together. Hence the element of freedom from both church and crown was greater. Rhode Island was thus more secular and more democratic than any other colony in America. The patent permitted this peculiar quality to prevail, and an agreement adopted in 1647 established a kind of constitution that reaffirmed it. Rhode Island became virtually a small federated republic of towns whose inhabitants were individualists, and as such remained until the American Revolution “probably the freest community on the face of the earth.”

*The founding
of the colony of Connecticut*

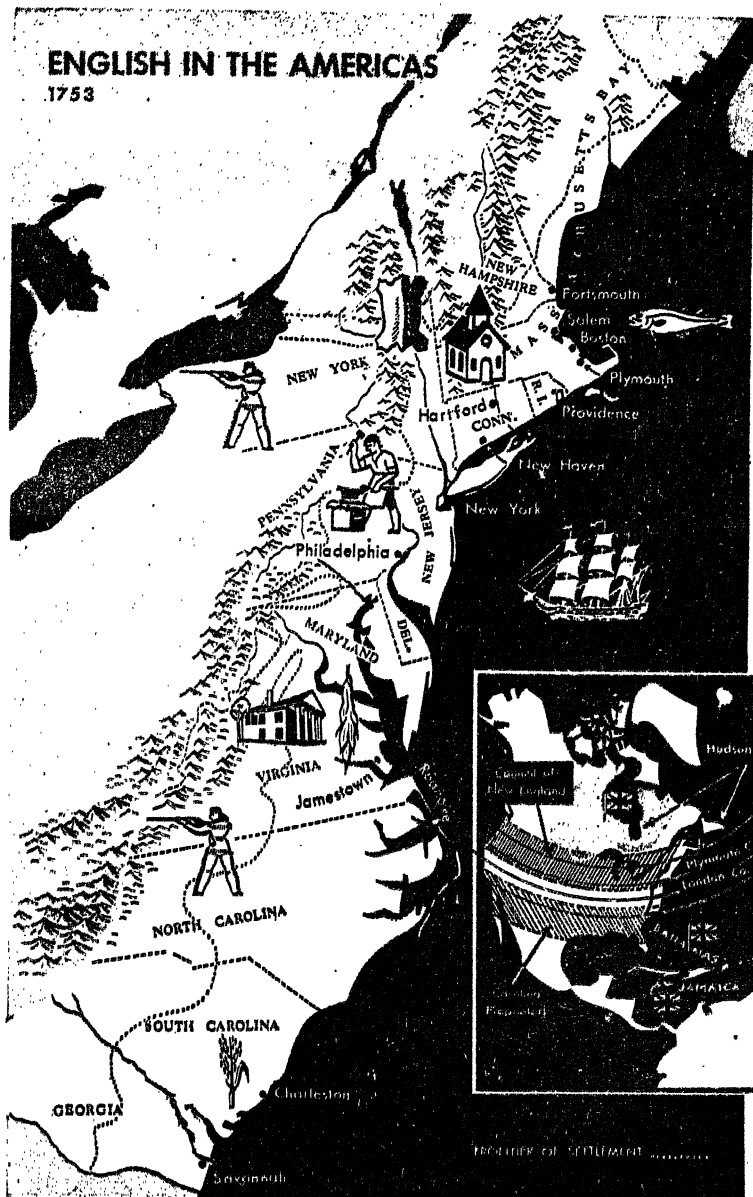
MEANWHILE, in 1636, another
exodus from the Massachusetts
Bay Colony had taken place. It

was led by Thomas Hooker, pastor of the church at Newtown (now Cambridge). Hooker was also a fervent champion of the thesis that “the foundation of authority is laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people.” Such a doctrine was not conducive to harmonious relations with the theocratic leaders of Massachusetts Bay, and in 1636 Hooker led part of his congregation into the Connecticut Valley, where they established Hartford and other towns. In 1638 a rich London merchant, Theophilus Eaton, and a well-known

By 1753, when Georgia became a royal colony, the English were firmly established on the North Atlantic seaboard, enjoying a varied economic life of their own and a brisk, if circumscribed, trade with the mother country. (See map, page 448.) Note that despite overlapping coast-to-coast grants (inset) the frontier of settlement still hovers between the coast and the Allegheny barrier. The colonies were filling up rapidly, however, for they offered a religious haven and economic opportunity to hard-pressed Europeans, and immigration was encouraged by the home government.

ENGLISH IN THE AMERICAS

1753



FRONTIER OF SETTLEMENT

minister, John Davenport, together with a group of settlers founded New Haven and other towns along the nearby coast without legal authorization to do so. In 1639 the freemen of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield drew up the "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut," an earlier example than Rhode Island's of a fundamental code framed by an American commonwealth for itself. Provision was made for a governor, a body of assistants, and an assembly, comprising four popularly elected deputies from each of the towns, which was to meet twice a year whether or not convoked by the governor. In 1662, following the restoration of Charles II, the two clusters of towns around Hartford and New Haven were incorporated under a royal charter as the "company and society of our colony of Connecticut in America."

The beginnings

of New Hampshire and Vermont

OTHER colonies grew out of both Massachusetts and Connecticut.

The settlements beyond the Merrimac River were divorced in 1679 from Massachusetts to become the royal province of New Hampshire. Using Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire as starting places, other pioneers pushed north into Vermont and Maine, or crossed the water to try their fortunes on Long Island, but none of these regions became separate colonies prior to the American Revolution.

The establishment

of the proprietary colonies

IN THE area now known as New England, an important instrument of colonization had been the

chartered trading companies. A second method of colonization was the proprietary grant to one man or to an unincorporated group of men. A proprietor belonged to the upper classes, was generally well-to-do or a favorite of the monarch, and was able to acquire a tract of land in America that he then colonized largely for economic reasons. Seven of the American colonies of England—Maryland, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and the two Carolinas—owed their creation in part at least to such proprietors. Georgia also was founded principally through the efforts of one man, but its early government was vested in a board of trustees.

The founding

of Maryland by the Baltimores

CHARLES I granted in 1632 to a Catholic gentleman, Cecilius Calvert, Lord Baltimore, the region

between Chesapeake Bay and the fortieth parallel in return for two Indian arrowheads annually, as a token of his feudal vassalage, and one fifth of the gold and silver ore found in the area. This land was then named Maryland in honor of the monarch's French wife, Henrietta Maria. In order to attract settlers, Baltimore offered one thousand acres to every gentleman transporting five men together with supplies, and an additional thousand acres for each additional group of five settlers. Units of fifty and of one hundred acres were offered to families promising to make the voyage at their own expense. As a

good Catholic, Lord Baltimore was concerned with establishing a refuge for persecuted members of his own creed. He realized, however, that it would be folly, if not suicide, to limit residence in Maryland to Catholics, and so Protestants were encouraged to settle there too. In 1649 the Maryland Assembly passed the famous Toleration Act, which, although it provided for sentences up to the death penalty for Unitarians, non-Christians, and others who might deny the divinity of Jesus, afforded freedom of conscience to Catholic and Protestant equally. During the religious troubles in England in the mid-seventeenth century (pages 318-322), the Baltimores, despite their circumspect handling of Maryland's affairs, temporarily lost their colony. Again, from 1692 until 1715, when the Lord Baltimore of that day turned Protestant, they were ousted from the government of Maryland, although they were permitted to receive its revenue.

*The founding
of the Carolinas in 1633*

AS WE shall see (pages 400-401),
the Civil War in England, which
resulted largely from religious

conflict, ended in the restoration of the British throne to Charles II in 1660. Charles' accession to the throne gave new impetus to proprietary colonization. The king had various loyal nobles to reward for their help, and the granting of overseas lands was a convenient device. Eight of these men were rewarded by acquiring proprietorship in 1663 of a large tract of land to the south of Virginia, which became known in Charles' honor as Carolina. The proprietors offered religious tolerance in their territory, and many different groups flocked in, including Quakers from Virginia, Huguenots from France, Germans, and Swiss. Negro slaves were used in the cultivation of rice and indigo. But conditions in Carolina proved troublesome, for many of the settlers found both the proprietors' policies and their governing officials objectionable. In 1720 the crown took jurisdiction over South Carolina, and in 1729 the proprietors sold their rights to both North and South Carolina to the king.

*The founding
of New York by the Duke of York*

WHEN New Netherland fell with-
out a shot, England gained con-
trol of an unbroken stretch of

seaboard—an event of profound importance to the cause of ultimate American union. In 1664 the Duke of York received from his brother, Charles II, all the newly acquired region lying between the Connecticut and the Delaware Rivers. Out of this region eventually grew the states of Vermont, New York, and New Jersey. The duke retained for himself the section that was to become the State of New York. Fort Orange was renamed Albany and, of course, the town of New Amsterdam blossomed forth as the town of New York. The Duke of York remained proprietor until he was called to the throne in 1685, at which time New York became a royal province.

*The founding
of New Jersey and Newark*

TWO OF the eight Carolina proprietors—Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret—managed to se-

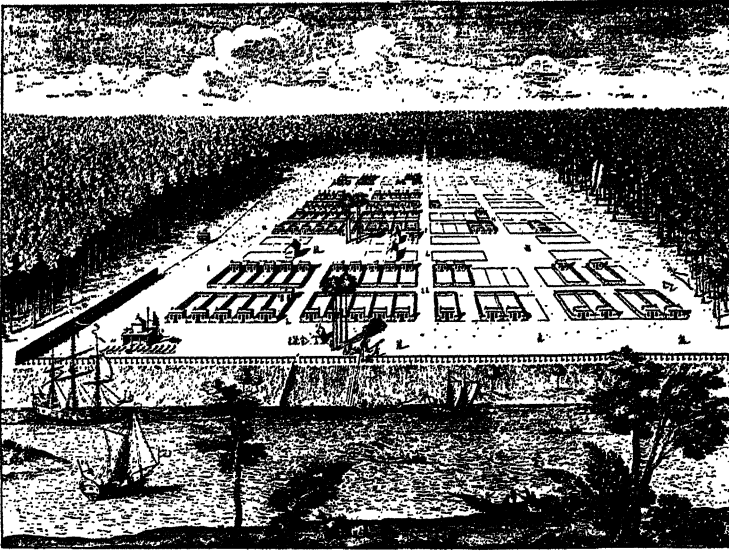
cure additional land through their friendship with the Duke of York. This land was that section of the newly acquired territory which lay between the Hudson and the Delaware. It was now named "New Jersey" after the Island of Jersey in the English Channel, which Carteret had gallantly defended for the king against insurgent forces during the English Civil War (pages 319-320). Immigrants arrived to accept the promise of small freeholds—English Quakers, Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, and Puritans from Connecticut, who founded Newark. Although the proprietors attempted to rule with the help of a popular assembly, their efforts were nullified by the determined opposition of all classes to paying rents for their lands. In 1674, Berkeley sold his share—called West New Jersey—while the Carteret heirs got rid of East New Jersey in 1682. Their successors had no better luck, and in 1702 surrendered their rights to the crown. Turbulence did not cease with New Jersey's becoming a royal province but continued until the American Revolution.

*The founding
of Pennsylvania and Delaware*

THE MOST famous proprietor is probably William Penn, an earnest and personable Quaker.

From his wealthy father, he inherited among other things a claim against King Charles II for the sum of £16,000. Interested in obtaining a refuge in America for his persecuted sect, Penn persuaded Charles in 1681 to grant him a large slice of land—which the king decided should be called "Pennsylvania" (Penn's woods). In the following year the Delaware region—which had originally been settled by the Swedes and known as "New Sweden," and then had been grabbed by the Dutch, and in 1664 by the English—was also placed under Penn's proprietorship. In 1703, Delaware was made into a separate colony, but under the supervision of the Penn family.

In addition to affording sanctuary to the Quakers, Penn was concerned with making his lands profitable. He arrived with his first group of colonists in October 1682, and founded Philadelphia ("brotherly love"). He made peace with the Indians on generous terms, granted religious tolerance to all inhabitants, and created a popular assembly. And to induce settlers to come to Pennsylvania, Penn spread throughout the Old World eloquent appeals suggestive of modern real-estate advertising. For example: "The Richness of the Air, the navigable Rivers, and thus the prodigious Increase of Corn, the flourishing conditions of the City of Philadelphia make it the most glorious Place...Poor People, both men and women, can here get three times the wages for their Labour they can in *England or Wales*." This "sales talk" was perhaps the first in a long series of similar efforts that extended well into the



A plan of Savannah, Georgia, 1734, dedicated to the honorable trustees and Oglethorpe.

nineteenth century to entice immigrants to America. Penn's experiment grew into a flourishing colony. Not only Quakers but also a large number of Mennonites (page 169), the so-called "Pennsylvania Dutch," established themselves there, as well as some Jews.

*The founding
of Georgia by James Oglethorpe*

THE LAST of the thirteen English colonies was Georgia, founded in 1733 by James Oglethorpe. This

gallant soldier was appalled at the inhuman conditions forced upon debtors locked up in English jails, and he determined to alleviate their lot. When he suggested that the solution lay in settling another colony in America, the British government readily agreed, for it saw in Georgia a buffer state between Spanish Florida and the English settlements to the north. George II placed the colony in the hands of a board of trustees for a period of twenty-one years. All except Catholics were to be welcomed, while slavery was prohibited, as was also the sale of rum. A mixed population of immigrants arrived to take up the relatively small parcels of land. In time strong agitation brought about the repeal of the prohibitions of both slavery and rum. The trustees, finding the colonists increasingly difficult to manage, in 1752 turned over their rights to the crown. Georgia thus became a royal province.

*Population growth
in the English colonies*

THE FIRST great English migration to America occurred between 1620 and 1642, and estimates of

the number of Englishmen in America for the latter year exceed 65,000. By 1689 the New England colonies (Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, and New Hampshire) had grown in numbers to 80,000, the Middle Colonies (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware) could boast about 40,000, while the Southern Colonies (Virginia, Maryland, and the two Carolinas) had slightly in excess of 80,000—a total of some 200,000. This rapid increase of population between 1642 and 1689 must be attributed in large part to the steady stream of emigration caused by political and religious disturbances attendant upon the revolutionary ferment in England at this time (pages 319-322 and 400-404). The estimated population of the leading Anglo-American towns in 1690 seems low by present standards. Boston was the largest with 7000; Philadelphia ranked second with 4000, followed closely by New York with 3900; then came Newport with 2600, while Charleston could boast of few more than 1100. If these were little acorns rather than great oaks, it must be remembered that even the largest cities in Europe, though they occasionally numbered hundreds of thousands, as London or Paris, were much smaller than we are accustomed to think of them today.

*The development
of a new American spirit*

OUT OF the Indian culture they found in America and the English culture they brought with them,

the English settlers created a new culture in the New World. It contained also some traces of Dutch, German, Scotch-Irish, Jewish, and other ethnical elements reminiscent of the various groups that they conquered or permitted to join them. The frontier proved, in the thirteen English colonies, as in the Spanish viceroyalties and New France, somewhat a leveler of customs as well as of social position. Class distinction of long standing did not disappear in the wilderness, to be displaced by commoner bonds, so readily as wheat disappeared from the pioneer's table, to be replaced by corn and potatoes. A landlord was still likely to be regarded as superior to a tenant; a merchant had interests and manners that were apt to distinguish him from a farmer. Nevertheless, on the frontier, skill, courage, strength, resourcefulness, initiative, endurance, and persistence were often greater assets than high birth or money, respected though these might continue to be, and were even more important than good manners, genteel education, etiquette, and traditional ways of doing things, even though these were not forgotten. The frontier forced upon the settlers both self-reliance and mutual cooperation against human enemies and natural obstacles. Gradually a new spirit compounded of loose social stratification, freedom of association, and general recognition

of individual worth was fostered among the Whites in America—at the expense, unfortunately, of the Indians and the Negroes, who were regarded as enemies or work animals.

The development of this new spirit was always slow and never thorough. Still it became one of the most important factors, no matter how incomplete, in the creation of the new culture and eventually helped to make a new nation. The development of a new nationalism forms the subject of a subsequent chapter (Chapter 10), where the cultural growth of the English colonies will be described in greater detail. Men of imagination and foresight already could perceive, even as early as the beginning of the eighteenth century, that the thirteen American colonies of England were bound to bring forth a new people for whom local loyalties and their neighbors' interests would weigh more heavily than European imperial ambitions and Old World traditions.

BY THE time the new spirit of independence reached maturity in the Americas, several centuries had elapsed since Columbus had thankfully set foot on West Indian soil. As first-comers, the Spanish had carved out of the new land the lion's share, taking not only a continent and a half for themselves but also the greatest amount of precious metal, and ruling their new subjects with patrician severity. To the exploited Indians and Negroes of Hispanic America the Catholic Church seemed sometimes to be a solace for their suffering and sometimes a tool of those who made them suffer. Here the spirit of independence was to lag far behind that of the British colonists. The Portuguese empire in America, even after parts of it had been taken away by the Dutch, the French, and the English to form the Guianas, was several times the size of Portugal, although it was small in comparison with the Spanish empire in America. Here, too, the Catholic religion was brought in as a permanent influence along with a European language and culture. The French in New France and Louisiana theoretically dominated most of the area north of the Spanish possessions. They, too, brought Catholicism and a strongly centralized political and commercial regime to their American possessions, as well as their language, literature, and culture, but the scarcity of settlers made the Bourbon empire on the North American continent a precarious one, which the French were destined to lose in the eighteenth century. The Dutch had already lost theirs in the seventeenth century, after having themselves conquered the feeble Swedish colony in Delaware. By the conquest of New Netherland, the English were enabled to join their settlements in New England with those of Virginia and the South to make a continuous stretch that ultimately included thirteen colonies. There the Prot-

estant religion and the English language and culture predominated, despite some Catholics in Maryland and scattered handfuls of Jews, and despite the persistence of foreign language groups such as the Dutch in New York, the Germans in Pennsylvania, and the Swedes in Delaware. Only the English colonies were decentralized to any extent and permitted a measure of local self-government and religious toleration. This comparative freedom was in the eighteenth century to help make the Anglo-American territories the first of the colonial empires voluntarily to sever its ties with the mother country.

Spain, France, England, Holland, and Denmark had established themselves also in the West Indies in the seventeenth century and were to stay there either for a long time or permanently even in those instances where they lost footing on the mainland. The European nations thus never wholly lost their political and territorial hold upon the Western Hemisphere, and their cultural dominance for many regions was all but complete and for all sections was quite thorough in the metropolitan areas. New Spain, New France, New Netherland, New England, etc., together made up a new Europe across the sea, which, more or less by accident, came to be known after the name of a single European as "America."

The new American was a European—often an immigrant from Europe, but European in language, religion, practical philosophy, and much else of his culture, even when he was born in America. In fact, the African, involuntarily brought to the American shores as a slave, rapidly forgot his African background and acquired a European culture, in so far as he was permitted to acquire any at all; and most of the aborigines retreated before the European invader unassimilated. But Americans were Europeans with a difference; they were immigrants on a frontier, obliged to adapt themselves to new, trying, often primitive conditions and to build afresh at remote distances from civilization. Hence they had often to shed some of their civilized veneer and to adjust to unwonted circumstances—to invent, to extemporize, to provide for themselves, or to do without. Initiative, resourcefulness, and readiness to face deprivation became high attributes in the wilderness or in frontier settlements, and polish lost some of its appeal.

Thus, as the immigrants and their descendants moved ever farther inland, the frontier gave them a set of values and of institutions that diminished their European ties almost in direct proportion to the distance from Europe and to the newness of their settlements. Within the American colonies, the older settlements tended to become more, and the younger ones less, like European communities. The frontier, after a certain point, became a diminishing influence; the importations from Europe, human, spiritual, and material, increased, if anything, with time. The immigrants gave way to native-born generations or to other immigrants, and the frontiersmen moved on or gave way

to farmers or townsmen, but the new Americans never stopped being predominantly Indo-European in language, predominantly Christian in religion, and predominantly Caucasoid in race, and they rarely planned houses and cities or fashioned communities and governments after non-European models, no matter how much they modified their personalities, customs, and institutions to meet their frontier environment. But the modifications, the differences, were to become important as the American Europeans began to feel that they had less and less need for the aid and interference of the European Europeans—that is to say, as the American Europeans began to feel more American and less European.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- c. 1500 Beginning of the "Commercial Revolution" in Europe
- 1503 The first Negro slaves imported to the West Indies
- 1518-1521 The Aztec empire in Mexico crushed by Cortés
- 1524 Verrazano's cruise along the eastern coast of North America, basis of the French claim to the continent
- 1524 The Council of the Indies established by Spain
- 1531-1541 Pizarro's conquest of the Incan territory for Spain
- 1541 Discovery of the Mississippi River by De Soto
- 1551 Establishment of the first American universities at Mexico City and Lima
- 1565 Founding of St. Augustine by the Spanish
- 1569 Introduction of the Spanish Inquisition to America
- 1607 Founding of Jamestown, first permanent English colony in America
- 1608 Founding of Quebec by Champlain
- 1609 Founding of Santa Fe by the Spanish
- 1609 Exploration of the New England coast and the Hudson River by Henry Hudson
- 1619 Importation of the first slaves into Virginia
- 1619 A representative assembly granted to the Virginia colonists by the London Company
- 1620 The signing of the Mayflower Compact and the founding of Plymouth by the Pilgrims
- 1620-1642 First great English migration to America
- 1621 Organization of the Dutch West India Company
- 1624 Virginia established as the first English royal province in America
- 1624 Arrival of the first settlers of the Dutch West India Company at Manhattan Island
- 1627 Formation of a joint-stock company known as the "One Hundred Associates" by Cardinal Richelieu for the purpose of exploiting New France
- 1664 New Netherlands relinquished to England
- 1674 New France removed from Company control and placed under royal administration by Colbert
- 1680-1696 A great Indian revolt against the Spanish in Mexico
- 1682 Arrival of La Salle at the mouth of the Mississippi and the claiming of Louisiana for France
- 1717 New Orleans founded by the French
- 1733 Georgia, last of the thirteen colonies, founded by Oglethorpe
- 1773 The Royal Academy of Beaux Arts organized in Mexico City



CHAPTER VII

From holy empire to dynastic sovereignties (1600-1660)

THE DOMINANT political phenomenon today is the national state, and the principal criterion of truth is science. In tracing the gradual evolution of the nation and of science within the cultural pattern of Europe, we have seen how the dynasties of Europe built centralized and competitive empires from the innumerable and diverse elements of feudal times and from newly discovered lands, how men of the Renaissance questioned tradition and authority, and how the reformers challenged the church's claim to be sole judge and interpreter of first principles.

We are now about to examine how, in the seventeenth century, these two trends crystallized still more. First, the sovereign state—not yet the nation-state of today, but its dynastic ancestor—was to be written into the treaty that ended the last of the religio-dynastic wars, thus finishing off the long-moribund ideal of a Catholic—and therefore a united—Europe. Second, worldly reason, although thrust aside in the sixteenth century by many Catholic and Protestant theologians alike, was to emerge again to challenge both the old and the new faiths and authorities more boldly and systematically.

The new dynastic realms had now to face the problems inherent in the system of separate sovereign states. Two of these problems were particularly persistent. They concerned the form of domestic government—the constitutional question—and the relations among states—the international question. The upheavals of the sixteenth century were continued in the seventeenth. They were to shape these problems, on the one hand, into a quest for power and, on the other, into a search for security through domestic order and international peace. Likewise, in the realm of science and philosophy, the intellectual and religious unrest of the sixteenth century persisted

in the seventeenth, finding exceptionally fruitful expression in the search for new principles of order and justice in human affairs and new answers to the riddles of the physical universe.

TWO DECADES OF UNEASY PEACE

AT THE beginning of the seventeenth century a war-weary Europe enjoyed a period of relative peace after almost a century of religious wars and dynastic quarrels. In most of Europe, however, this peace was more apparent than real. The issues that had recently inflamed men's passions were still fighting questions, and none could tell when they might flare up again.

*The quest for peace
in the early seventeenth century*

IN FRANCE, as we have seen (pages 186-187), the accession of Henry IV had brought civil

war to an end and his Edict of Nantes had given a measure of equilibrium to the French religious situation. The astute Henry with the aid of his capable minister Sully now pursued a policy of reconstruction. Financial reforms, the improvement of roads and waterways, and the encouragement of trade and agriculture brought a rapid revival of economic prosperity, which the civil wars had disrupted.



An engraving made in 1724 from a Van Dyke painting of King James I of England.

The accession of new rulers to the thrones of Spain and England was followed by the formal conclusion in 1604 of the hostilities that had marked the reigns of Philip II and Elizabeth. The new Spanish king, Philip III, inherited from his father, along with Habsburg pretensions to European domination, a realm exhausted by struggles against the Dutch, the French, the English, and the Turks. The new King James I of England was also King James VI of Scotland. As the first English king of the Stuart dynasty, he was less interested in England's position in Europe than he was in his own position at home as ruler of both England and Scotland. He pursued a

policy of appeasement toward Spain in order to devote his energies and treasury to intrenching himself as absolute ruler.

Other areas likewise enjoyed a peaceful respite. Although Holland and Spain remained at arms because Spain stubbornly refused to recognize the independence of the Dutch, the war in its European phase was a limited one that in 1609 led to a Twelve Years' Truce. In the Germanies a precarious Peace of Augsburg of half a century's duration (page 179) still prevailed under the learned but ineffectual Emperor Rudolf II. And at the beginning of the seventeenth century peace between the Empire and the Turks brought a temporary but significant cessation of hostilities in eastern Europe.

*Domestic conflicts
which arose over religion*

RELIGIOUS rivalries, however, continued to smolder beneath the surface. In Holland disagreement

among Protestant sects was to result shortly in civil war. In France the Huguenots remained armed and resented within a Catholic state. In England the various Protestant sects wrangled uncompromisingly as to just how far reform was to be carried within the Church of England. In the Germanies, the Peace of Augsburg, recognizing but two faiths, Lutheran and Catholic, was endangered by the spread of a strong Calvinist movement and by the failure of Catholic and Lutheran princes to abide by the treaty's stipulations. The situation was further complicated by the shift of certain German rulers from one faith to another, particularly when the ruler was a bishop or other ecclesiastical prince, since his conversion to Protestantism then entailed bitter quarrels over his surrender of church lands in accordance with the disputed "ecclesiastical reservation" in the Peace of Augsburg. The imminence of war was expressed in the formation of two rival alliances. A Protestant Union of German princes appeared in 1608 when the imperial government proposed to oblige the return of all church lands "secularized" in violation of the Peace of Augsburg, and in answer a Catholic League arose in 1609.

*International conflicts
which came over power and trade*

DYNASTIC rivalries, too, ostensibly quiescent, were at work in subtler forms than open warfare.

The now Catholic King Henry of France spent much of the period of peace in diplomatic maneuvers designed to exploit the apprehensions of German Protestants in order to reduce the power of the Catholic Habsburgs. Only the dagger of a Catholic fanatic cut short his designs (1610). On the high seas Dutch, English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese traders and freebooters continued unofficially the quarrels that formal treaties had brought to an end in Europe. In the Americas, the Far East, and the Indies, explorers, traders, smugglers, and colonists carried the rivalries of Europe to the ends of the known world, sometimes with fire and sword.

*The Dutch war
against Spain in the colonies*

THE IMMENSE Habsburg empire overseas, more than matching its dimensions in Europe, presented

a challenge to the less fortunate dynasties, especially during the temporary union of Spain and Portugal (page 218). The prime movers in the defiance of Spanish colonial supremacy were the Dutch. Their invasion of Portuguese holdings in the East, their attack on the Spanish colonial monopoly in the West, and their defiance of Spanish supremacy on the seas were a part of their long war for independence. They had other motives, too. Rapidly rising to commercial leadership in Europe, they were anxious to secure the lucrative spice trade of the East and to share in the rich trade of the West in gold, silver, rum, fish, and furs. In addition they aspired to take Spain's place as the leading colonial power. It was an audacious dream for one of the smallest nations of Europe with a population that the best estimates put at well under three million, but it was to achieve a striking measure of success.

*Dutch designs
on the Portuguese eastern empire*

THE FOUNDING of the Dutch East India Company in 1602 marked a decisive step in the sustained

and systematic attack upon the Portuguese empire in the East. The company's method was twofold. On the one hand, it established new trading posts throughout the unclaimed islands of the East, pushing as far as Australia, which was for a while named "New Holland." On the other, it carried the attack directly to the Portuguese eastern strongholds and, inciting the natives against the unpopular Portuguese, drove their rivals out of one strategic settlement after another. At the same time, while still on the defensive against Spain in their homeland, they assumed the offensive on the seas. In 1606 they annihilated a Spanish fleet in the roadstead of Malacca, thereby gaining control of eastern waters. The following year they repeated their success in an encounter with a Spanish fleet off the coast of Gibraltar, thus securing free passage along the Atlantic coast for their traders and their fleets. By the time the Twelve Years' Truce was signed in Europe in 1609, the Dutch had gained control of East Indian trade and command of the seas from the coast of Europe to China and Japan. In that year, marked also by the voyage of Henry Hudson to North America, they sent their first governor-general to the East to consolidate their successes.

*The English and Dutch struggle
for supremacy in the Spice Islands*

THE DUTCH attack on the Portuguese empire was complicated by competition with the English East

India Company. England's and Holland's overseas trade rivalries had grown bitter in spite of their cooperation against the Habsburgs in Europe. The



The Torments inflicted by the Dutch on the English in Amboyna

This cartoon of the Dutch torture of the English at Amboyna in 1623 illustrates the growing popular resentment despite James I's indifference.

harmony of their European aims soon vanished also as James I pursued a policy of Spanish appeasement and withdrew England from Protestant leadership in Europe. Thus a three-cornered Anglo-Dutch-Portuguese competition developed and extended from the Indian Ocean to the East Indian islands.

In the beginning, the Dutch had the best of the contest, since James I allowed the British East India Company, founded two years before the Dutch Company, to languish. In their separate raids upon the fabulous wealth of the semi-autonomous Portuguese empire, the English at first had stayed to the west—around Ormuz and Surat, while the Dutch had centered their activities around the highly profitable Spice Islands. But then the victors began to quarrel over the spoils. The Dutch dispossessed the Portuguese from Amboyna, one of the Molucca Islands, in 1609, and the British, now reaching beyond India for posts, also tried to settle there. In 1623 this phase of the Dutch-English conflict culminated in the massacre of a small British garrison by Dutch forces. As a result of James' appeasement policy the English withdrew from the islands and confined their efforts to India. At James' death the British company could boast only a few trading posts and garrisons scattered from the Persian Gulf to the east coast of India. The Amboyna massacre roughly established the boundaries of each empire's enterprise until the close of the eighteenth century.

*Defiance
of the Spanish monopoly*

MEANWHILE in the Americas, it will be recalled, several peoples contested the Spanish monopoly.

The Twelve Years' Truce in Europe in 1609 found the English established at Jamestown in Virginia and the French upon the St. Lawrence River. That year Henry Hudson sailed up the river that still bears his name and staked out a new-world claim for the Dutch. In the succeeding years, while in Europe the armed truce wore on, the French, the English, and the Dutch alike widened their holds on North America and carried their war to South America by establishing settlements on the very edge of the Spanish-Portuguese dominion in Brazil. In 1621, the year in which the truce ended, Dutch ambitions were crystallized in the formation of the Dutch West India Company, which, like its counterpart in the East, was aimed directly at the wealth and power of Spain. Subsidized by the States-General of the United Provinces and promised the aid of the Dutch navy, the new commercial company extended Dutch military power to the farthest reaches of Spanish dominion in the West. Curaçao, the largest of the Dutch West Indies, was occupied in 1634, and later the company extended its sway to the neighboring islands. From the native oranges has been derived the liqueur "curaçao," one of Holland's finer contributions to the alcohol trade.

*Conflicts
during the Twelve Years' Truce*

THE YEARS during which the Dutch-Spanish truce preserved an outward peace in western Europe

were years of growing antagonisms and civil embroilments. The assassination of Henry IV of France made the nine-year-old Louis XIII king under the regency of the queen-mother, Marie de' Medici. The regent, a foreigner and a woman, proved unable to carry on the centralizing policy of her husband. Her regency was marked by factional quarrels among the princes and by Huguenot disturbances that temporarily diminished France's effectiveness in international affairs. The struggle between the regent and the nobles led to the meeting of the French Estates General in 1614. This proved to be its last convocation for 175 years. When the disputes among the estates led to its adjournment in 1615, its end went almost unnoticed.

Contemporaneously in England James I conducted a ten-year experiment in absolutism (1611-1621) by ruling his country, except for a two months' interlude, without Parliament. For a time, it appeared that he would succeed in his effort to destroy the representative principle in England just as it was being destroyed in France. Absorbed in this constitutional struggle, England, like France, remained aloof from international affairs.

In the Netherlands the years of truce were filled with a politico-religious struggle. The rural provinces wished to escape the domination of the province of Holland, which boasted much of the wealth, half of the popula-

tion, most of the big cities, and nearly all the international prestige of the United Provinces. The leading bourgeois of the province were anxious to preserve their preëminence in the federation, but they were opposed by royalist elements that wished to make the House of Orange a ruling dynasty. The royalists received their support mostly from the rural provinces. This political conflict was merged with a religious one. The rural population, tending to be more orthodox than the cosmopolitan areas, gave great support to the strict Calvinists, who were known after their leader Franz Gomar as "Gomarists." On the other hand, a sect known as the "Arminians" (after the theologian Jacobus Arminius) won its support chiefly from the bourgeois groups, who repudiated the Gomarists' rigid interpretation of the doctrine of predestination. Because the Arminians drew up a remonstrance in 1610 setting forth their belief in conditional rather than absolute predestination, they became known as "Remonstrants," whereupon the Gomarists became known as "Counter-Remonstrants." Compounded of religious fervor, conflicting political loyalties, suspicion between country-dweller and city-dweller, and rivalry for control of a growing and prosperous empire, the struggle became bitter. Johan van Oldenbarneveldt, who was lord advocate (i.e., spokesman) of the province of Holland, was the outstanding defender of provincial rights and of the Remonstrants. Those who wished to see a tight dynastic and religious union of the seven provinces rallied around Maurice, the son of William of Orange. The outcome of a decade of dissension was the trial and execution of Oldenbarneveldt (1619) and the partial triumph of Maurice. Religious uniformity was imposed throughout the seven provinces, and although the form of government remained republican, the successive heads of the House of Orange, as hereditary stadholders, more and more assumed the leadership of the little nation with the huge empire.

*The ambitions of
Gustavus Adolphus in the Baltic*

WHILE these things were going on, in northern Europe King Gustavus Adolphus of the power-

ful Vasa dynasty of Sweden launched a campaign for control of the Baltic Sea. His aim was to make the Baltic a Swedish lake and Sweden a world power. He temporarily bought off his Danish rival for Scandinavian supremacy, after one of the numerous indecisive wars that had highlighted the history of the two countries in the century since their separation. He next wrested from Russia her claims to certain Baltic territories (1617), shutting off that country entirely from the sea. Then he obliged the Polish king to yield the Baltic lands in dispute between them. By 1629 he had become the leading figure in the Baltic and a prominent factor in European politics.

Thus, as the Spanish-Dutch truce expired, the old struggles that had torn nations apart in the sixteenth century were still major issues in the affairs 297

of Europe. Inflammable materials were steadily piling up, and there was no telling where an unconsidered act might cause disaster.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR AND THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA

THE THIRTY Years' War began in 1618 as a German civil war, partly religious, partly political, and soon involved nearly all of Europe directly or indirectly. The Peace of Augsburg more than half a century earlier, by leaving the choice between Lutheranism and Catholicism to the German princes, had made of Germany a checkerboard of states adhering to one or the other faith; and the spread of Calvinism and the success of the Catholic Counter Reformation had thoroughly upset the unstable balance. As the other dynasties of Europe watched for signs of Habsburg weakness, German territories shifted from one faith to another, and Protestants or Catholics rejoiced accordingly.

*Politico-religious tension
and antagonism in the Germanies*

CATHOLICS resented especially the secularization or confiscation of ecclesiastical lands in Ger-

many. Bitter fighting spread both within the boundaries of separate German states and among neighboring states. When merged with the political rivalries of the numerous petty princes and the natural preference of the emperor for imperial unity in government and religion, these conflicts repeatedly brought the precarious Peace of Augsburg near to the breaking point. The discord between the Holy Roman emperor and the rulers of the various states of the Empire to some extent cut across the Protestant-Catholic division. Some Catholic princes were opponents of a strong imperial authority even though they acknowledged the emperor as a leader of Catholicism, and a few Protestant princes sided with the emperor for the sake of political advantage. In addition, Protestant rulers were divided among themselves between Lutheranism and Calvinism, and many of them were at odds for purely political reasons. Any quarrel among any of the princes, or between one of them and the emperor, was bound to feed upon heated antagonism and was likely soon to involve them all.

*Incipient nationalism
and religious war in Bohemia*

✓ A DISPUTE in Bohemia precipitated the conflict. ✓ This country, so remote to western Europeans

that Shakespeare thought it had a seacoast, was the land of John Hus, whose death at the stake as a heretic two centuries earlier had served rather to perpetuate than to extirpate anti-Catholicism among his people. The majority

of them were Czech and often at odds with the German minority, who controlled its government under its theoretically elective but regularly Habsburg king. "Like a caterpillar in a cabbage, a serpent in the breast, a rat in the granary, a goat in the garden, so in Bohemia the German cheats, steals, and deceives,"⁹ wrote a Czech patriot. Bohemia had welcomed Protestantism, and it flourished in several forms, even under Catholic kings, by virtue of a grant of toleration known as the "Letter of Majesty."

When in 1618 the thoroughgoing Catholic King Ferdinand (who was expected shortly to become Holy Roman emperor) determined to rid his domain of Protestant heresy, he had to infringe upon the Letter of Majesty. National sentiment and outraged religious feelings immediately combined to produce a Czech revolt. Protestant patriots threw representatives of the emperor from the palace window in a dramatic protest known as "the Defenestration of Prague." Their amazing escape from death in a seventy-foot drop was attributed by Catholic witnesses to the intervention of angels and by Protestants to the heap of paper and rubbish onto which they fell. A world war was thus begun.

The defeat of

Protestant Bohemia (1618-1625)

THE ENSUING conflict became known as "the Bohemian period" of the Thirty Years' War. The

rebels, having elected a new king in the person of the Elector Frederick of the Palatinate, the Calvinist head of the Protestant Union, drove the imperialist armies as far as the walls of Vienna. This was the high point of Protestantism in the Germanies. The choice of Frederick as king of Bohemia was a notable Protestant victory, because it endangered the Habsburg possession not alone of Bohemia but also of the imperial title. For seven electors chose the emperor, and of the seven three were already Protestant. If the Bohemian king, one of the electors, were also to be a Protestant, the Habsburg heir could no longer expect to be the regularly successful candidate.

The Protestant advance was quickly turned, however. The deposed King Ferdinand of Bohemia was elected to the imperial throne in 1619, since the other Protestant electors refused for political reasons to support Frederick. The Habsburg king of Spain sent troops, and the Catholic League and individual princes (including some Protestants) rallied behind the imperial banner. The Bohemian forces and their Protestant supporters from Germany and Hungary were crushed. Catholicism was forcibly imposed on Bohemia; its government and institutions were assimilated to those of other Habsburg possessions, fixing a rigid Teutonic dominance upon its Slav population. The Protestant Union was dissolved. The Elector Frederick, derisively called

⁹Quoted in E. Denis, *Fin de l'indépendance bohème* (Paris: A. Colin et Cie., 1890), II, 425. 299

"the Winter King," was banished from the Empire and his Palatine domains were confiscated. The estates of the Protestant rebels, who fled or were exiled, were distributed among the victorious Catholic nobles, and Protestantism largely disappeared in Bohemia.

The threat

of Habsburg domination of Europe

MEANWHILE the struggle between the Dutch Protestant rebels and the Spanish Catholic Habsburgs

had been resumed in 1621 at the end of the Twelve Years' Truce. Once again Habsburg power threatened to dominate Europe as in the days of Charles v and Philip II. Habsburg political ascendancy might mean a reunited Catholic Europe.

It was a grandiose dream, but by 1625 it seemed not at all impossible. The English king, Charles I, who succeeded James I in that year, was, like his father, embroiled in quarrels with Parliament. In France, though Louis XIII was now king in fact and had found an able minister in Cardinal de Richelieu, the weakness and confusion of Marie de' Medici's regency were still felt and were now further complicated by Huguenot resistance to the government. In the Netherlands, torn by civil and religious quarrels, "nothing went well after the death of the Advocate," as Oldenbarneveltdt's successor put it. Italy and Switzerland remained weak, divided, and partly under Habsburg influence. There remained in all western Europe only the Scandinavian powers strong enough at that juncture to challenge the Habsburg revival of the imperial dream.

The Danish period

of the war (1625-1629)

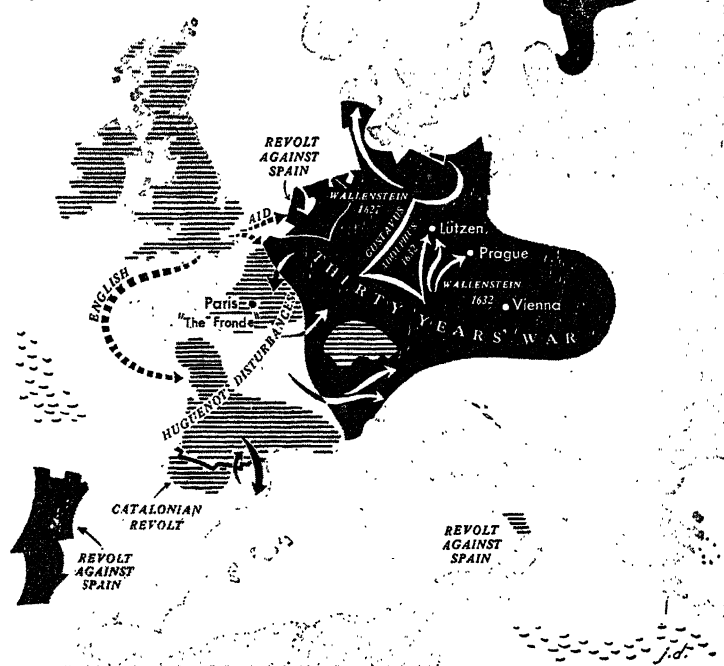
GUSTAVUS Adolphus, still in pursuit of Baltic supremacy, was engaged in war with Poland. But

King Christian IV of Denmark, being also duke of the German Protestant state of Holstein, had a lively interest in Germany as well as in the Habsburg threat to the Baltic region. He launched his forces against those of the Emperor Ferdinand II and rallied other Protestant princes to his banner. The Protestant forces were strengthened by financial aid from England and Holland. The war, hitherto chiefly a German affair, widened into a European conflict. It was still a struggle of Protestantism against Catholicism but now also of lesser powers against Habsburg dominion over Europe.

In the ensuing "Danish period" of the war, the Protestant forces were beaten roundly. Imperial troops under an adventurer-general named Wallenstein swept north through all Germany, and in 1629 Emperor Ferdinand imposed a peace of his own choice on Denmark. Inside the Germanies he required the return to the Catholics of all disputed ecclesiastical lands by an Edict of Restitution. The German Protestants, still divided in their allegiance, had now been twice defeated; imperial unity seemed irresistible.

RELIGIO-DYNASTIC WARS 1600-1660

≡ CIVIL WAR
 ■ WAR
 ↘ AGGRESSION



War for religious reasons reached a high pitch in the first part of the seventeenth century, culminating in the Thirty Years' War, which left the Germanies ruined and hopelessly divided. Dynastic ambitions and defense of local advantages intervened, often obscuring the original issue. In the British Isles, France, Catalonia, and Naples, civil war flamed; and Portugal, Holland, and Switzerland finally won their old fights against their Habsburg masters.

The Swedish period of the war (1630-1635)

THE EUROPEAN situation had changed, however, during the short period of Danish intervention. In France, the strong hand of Cardinal de Richelieu had made itself felt in the kingdom. He had once more established royal control over the aristocracy; and, in the same year that Ferdinand issued the Edict of Restitution, he had diminished the special privileges of the Huguenots in France. Though a prince of the Catholic Church at the helm of a Catholic state, he now offered

aid to the Protestant forces aligned against the Habsburg emperor. The apparent inconsistency of Richelieu's attitude toward the Protestants was dictated by the dominant motive of his career—to make the French monarchy strong at home and the Habsburgs weak abroad. The religious shadings of the German struggle faded in the glow of dynastic rivalry.

French aid came in the form of a subsidy to Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, whose major purpose now was to ensure his position on the Baltic against the Habsburg threat. Richelieu also had since 1629 created a minor diversion by attacking the Habsburgs in Italy—with no great success. The Dutch likewise lent Gustavus Adolphus financial and moral support; and he was more loyally assisted by the powerful Protestant rulers of Saxony and Brandenburg than any earlier anti-imperialistic leader had been. In the ensuing Swedish invasion of Germany, the crack troops of Gustavus proved a worthy match for the imperial army and Wallenstein. Gustavus Adolphus' soldiers were the first ever to be drilled to shoot by platoon volleys, and thus were able to secure fire-superiority over their enemies.

At this critical juncture, disagreement between the emperor and his allies seriously threatened the success of the Habsburg dream. Both Spain and the German princes who supported the emperor now objected to Wallenstein. Wallenstein's army was devoted to him personally, and he took care of their interests by systematically making war support war. He himself had acquired new titles and rich estates by Protestant confiscations. Otherwise, he was largely indifferent to religious disputes. Suspicion, perhaps groundless, arose that he was more ambitious for himself than for the Empire. Twice he was removed from command; and the second time, before he could be formally cleared of a charge of treason, he was assassinated by some of his own officers. But in the meantime Gustavus Adolphus had been killed in battle, and, though the Swedes continued the struggle, in 1635 most of the German states again accepted a peace favorable to the Habsburgs.

*The French period
of the Thirty Years' War*

THE WAR might have come to a close with an undeniable Habsburg triumph had not Richelieu

preferred otherwise. In 1635 France formed an open alliance with the Swedes and the few German princes who were still resisting the Habsburgs. At first the French were obliged to take the defensive. A Habsburg force invading from the Spanish Netherlands came within striking distance of Paris, but, in a burst of patriotic spirit, the French checked them at Corbie. The enthusiastic reception of Corneille's *The Cid*, a dramatic masterpiece built around a Christian patriot in medieval wars against the Moslems, was a striking manifestation of the contemporary French solidarity. The so-called "crisis of Corbie" furnished a significant example of a rare phenomenon in the seven-

teenth century—popular support behind dynastic ambition in times of national stress. The check of the Habsburg invasion enabled the French to take the offensive in Germany and to prolong the war for another decade or more.

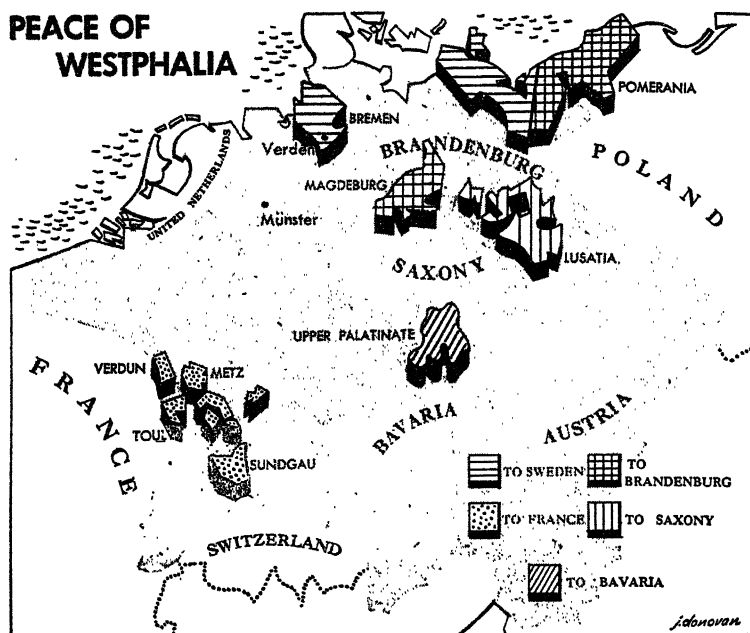
Religious loyalty had meanwhile all but disappeared, and Protestants and Catholics alike now took sides or remained neutral according to political considerations. Torn between loyalties, Brandenburg, for instance, had shifted from side to side and had been grievously maltreated by both. A new elector of Brandenburg, Frederick William, soon to be called "the Great Elector," decided in 1641 to end Brandenburg's equivocal position. He made a truce with Sweden and withdrew from the war to lick his wounds and to derive such profit as he could from neutrality. The lesser rulers of Germany traded allies in a fashion equally inconsistent with their religious affiliations. The Protestant King Christian IV of Denmark, more concerned about the Baltic than the German issue, attacked the Protestant Swedish forces (1643). The Catholics of Portugal chose the year 1640, when Spain was gravely involved with Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands, to throw off the Spanish yoke. And in the last years of the war, abortive revolutionary movements broke out in Catholic Sicily against His Catholic Majesty of Spain and in France against Cardinal Mazarin, who had fallen heir to Richelieu's role as chief minister.

*The negotiation
of the Peace of Westphalia*

AS THE war dragged on, diplomats from all over Europe assembled in the Duchy of Westphalia

and engaged in the first and the longest general peace conference in European history. Diplomatic communication could be only as fast as the horses that carried special couriers over the bad roads between courts and peace conference. Questions of etiquette took months to settle. Because the Swedes refused to give precedence to the French and the papal observers declined to sit with Protestants, negotiations were conducted in two different places—those of the Empire, France, and other Catholic princes at Münster, and those of the Empire, Sweden, and other Protestant princes at Osnabrück. Even then, however, Imperial-French jealousy was so great that a Swedish resident of Münster had to act as go-between, while at Osnabrück a Frenchman had to play the same role between Imperialists and Swedes. It took six months for the delegates to decide how they were to sit and who was to enter the conference room first. Meanwhile the war went on, and the bargaining power of the diplomatic representatives rose and fell with their countries' fortunes on the battlefield. But gradually the mass of claims and counterclaims was beaten into shape and emerged in 1648 as the Peace of Westphalia. It brought to an end the longest continuous stretch both of intense warfare and of peace negotiation on record.

PEACE OF WESTPHALIA



The Peace of Westphalia reduced the importance of religion as a cause of future international conflict, but it increased the probability of dynastic wars through the chaos of the Germans. The Holy Roman Empire was already divided into hundreds of states, and now some of its territory was enfeoffed to foreign powers (France and Sweden). The map above indicates only the larger pieces of territory that changed status.

Religious and political disunity
of the Empire permanently assured

THE RELIGIOUS issues over which the German war had begun were settled again on the principle of

cujus regio eius religio (page 179). Since Calvinism was given the same recognition as Lutheranism, the individual ruler was now allowed to choose for his subjects from among three faiths instead of two. Religious liberty was still incomplete, however, since less powerful religious groups, such as the Anabaptists, were unable to achieve a similar status. The disputes over ecclesiastical lands were compromised by granting possession to whoever held them on January 1, 1624, whether Catholic or Protestant. Disputes were to be settled by an imperial court (*Reichskammergericht*), in which Protestants and Catholics were equally represented.

International territorial rearrangements were also slowly hammered out. 304 Certain German lands on the Baltic were assigned to Sweden, while Alsace

and some other lands on the Rhine and a special position in Lorraine went to the French. Because of their control of German territories, France indirectly and Sweden directly now were to wield important influence over the German diet. Within Germany, part of the Palatinate was restored to the son of the late "Winter King" of Bohemia. The rest was given to Maximilian of Bavaria; and Bavaria was recognized as an eighth electorate, thus assuring a Catholic majority among the electors. The astute Frederick William of Brandenburg, through French intercession, received sizable additions to his territory, which made that state a potential rival of the Habsburgs among the north German principalities. Holland was declared independent of the Spanish Habsburgs, and Switzerland of the Austrian Habsburgs. Although the Habsburg titles to Bohemia and Hungary were confirmed, the territorial adjustments of the Treaty of Westphalia were on the whole disadvantageous to Habsburg prestige. The other sovereigns willingly sacrificed Habsburg lands in a quest for a delicately balanced power among the nations as a means of preserving peace (page 308).

✓ The Treaty of Westphalia also permanently ended the Habsburg dream of a revived Catholic empire. The German princes were granted a number of sovereign rights, including the right to exchange ambassadors and make alliances with one another and with the other nations. Since some of the German states had begun to conduct their own foreign affairs long before this, Westphalia merely legalized for all what had been practiced by some. Thus the German empire not only continued to be subdivided among several hundred petty states, but now these were more effectively separatist than ever, because each was permitted to conduct its own foreign affairs independently.

*The strengthening
of the new sovereignties*

✓ NEITHER political nor religious
unity proved ever again possible
in Europe through a universal

church or a Catholic empire. The national state system, which had taken form slowly under the guiding hands of the dynasts, began to appear explicit. More clearly than ever, the rival suzerains of Europe confronted one another, with no intermediary or arbitrator to mitigate their antagonisms. The only hope for the maintenance of international peace lay in agreement among sovereign states, each theoretically equal with the others and enabled in case of dispute to attempt decisions by the threat or the actual employment of force.

*The waning
of religious controversy*

THE PEACE of Westphalia was
relatively successful in concluding
the international religious

struggle. This success was due not so much to the concrete provisions of the treaty, which embodied no new principle except the recognition of Calvinism, as to the gradual waning of religious hatreds and intolerance and to the



From "The Miseries of War," by the famous French etcher, Jacques Callot (1592-1635).

stabilizing of the several national churches. The Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia demonstrated that religious disputes had lost much—though, as we shall see time and again, not all—of their international significance. Though the pope condemned the treaty as "null, void, invalid, iniquitous, unjust, damnable, reprobate, inane, empty of meaning and effect for all time," and extreme Protestants were equally dissatisfied, the settlement was generally accepted and, in Germany, at least, religious persecution became exceptional until Hitler's time. Witch hunts still occurred among the peoples of Europe, intolerance and superstition flourished, new creeds appeared claiming to be the sole possessors of revealed truth, and in Spain and Rome the Inquisition continued to hunt out heresy in lands where heresy had been rare for almost a century. But thenceforward religious differences were to be subordinate to other factors in the antecedents of international conflicts. In that sense the Thirty Years' War was—as it is sometimes called—"the last of the religious wars."

The lasting setback to Germany from the Thirty Years' War

FOR GERMANY, and through Germany for the rest of Europe, the Thirty Years' War was an enduring

disaster. She had been the battleground of Imperialists, Spaniards, Danish, Swedish, French, and others. Regular armies and loosely organized mercenaries had tramped through her fields and towns for thirty years, looting, burning, and massacring as they went. The biggest armies ever seen in battle until those days had fought fiercely on her soil during the longest period of continual campaigns that has ever been known in the history of warfare. Her economy had been completely disrupted, her crops ruined, her people uprooted from their normal lives. The civilian population paid the heaviest

*The decline
of Habsburg power in Europe*

OUT OF the Thirty Years' War a new pattern of political power emerged. The Bourbons in

France, building on foundations laid by Richelieu and Mazarin, challenged the Habsburgs' claim to be the leading dynasty of Europe. The prestige of the Spanish Habsburgs precipitously declined as their military power waned. In concluding peace with Holland, Spain had been forced to grant the Dutch rebels everything for which they had fought. In addition the Spanish king had lost the crown of Portugal, though he continued to resist the Portuguese until 1668 in a stubborn, costly, and fruitless war, just as he had resisted the Dutch. Spain, however, still retained her vast empire overseas, the Spanish Netherlands and Franche Comté on the borders of France, and Naples, Sardinia, and Sicily in Italy. Switzerland, whose Valtelline Pass had been an important channel of Habsburg communications between Spain and Austria, was confirmed in its independence of Habsburg control. The Habsburgs' power in Germany, though still great, was likewise seriously curtailed, for thereafter the imperial title, instead of adding to their strength, involved obligations that proved rather to be a drain on the resources of their native state of Austria. Several other states of the Empire, such as Saxony, Bavaria, and Brandenburg, achieved significant military or political strength and became potential rivals of Austria for the hegemony of the Germanies.

*The rise
to power of Bourbon France*

THE FRENCH were now placed in a position to play off the larger German states against the em-

peror. Brandenburg had become a sizable state in part through the diplomatic intervention of the French. But since, in addition to his German territories, Frederick William held the duchy of East Prussia in hereditary fief from the Polish crown, for a while his attention was directed to the Baltic. Sweden, however, continued to dominate the Baltic. Poland and Russia, little concerned in the Thirty Years' War, remained largely aloof from western Europe; and England, having played only an indirect part in the war, continued preoccupied by her own domestic conflicts. Thus, partly by inherent strength and partly by default of effective competitors, Bourbon France emerged from the Thirty Years' War as the strongest rival to Habsburg power in Europe. Only the Dutch, the English, and the Swedish were at all in a position to check the French in the west—it remained to be seen how effectively—and only the French were strong enough to confront the Habsburgs.

REVOLT AND WARFARE (1648-1660)

INTERNATIONAL affairs in the twelve years following the Treaty of Westphalia present a complicated pattern that can be understood only if they are

examined against the background of a wave of internal revolution that swept over large parts of Europe. In part, this revolutionary activity was the result of the same causes that had brought the tribulations of the Thirty Years' War to Germany. In part, it was the result of that war.

*The revolutionary wave
in England and on the Continent*

RESISTANCE in England to royal pretensions gave the signal for a general flare-up. England had re-

mained largely isolated from the Continental struggle. The same issue nevertheless arose there—whether the king would become absolute in both politics and religion or would have to share control with others. We shall give more detailed attention to this challenge to absolute monarchy in England later (pages 318-323). Here it will suffice to mention that it reached the point of civil war in 1642, and in 1649 culminated in the execution of King Charles I. There followed an experiment in parliamentary government known as the Commonwealth and the Protectorate, with Oliver Cromwell as the dominant figure, which lasted until 1660. In Naples and Portugal, the native population took advantage of the preoccupation of Spain with France to resist the absolute monarchy of Spain. At the same time, the stubborn Catalonians, spiritedly defending their local autonomy, had also risen in revolt against the ruler in Madrid. In Holland, as soon as independence was assured, the Orange stadholder with the moral support of absolutist France tried unsuccessfully to overthrow the republican confederation. The French monarchical position was itself defied in a civil war known as "the Fronde." This was a war of officials and aristocratic cliques, intent upon regaining their privileges and resentful of the centralizing policies of the Italian Mazarin. Because of the aid the Spanish gave to the rebels, it lasted from 1648 to 1653. Despite some serious crises, the Bourbon monarchy emerged from it stronger than ever.

The standards and flags captured by the French in their great victory over the Spaniards at Rocroi in 1643 are borne to the Cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris in triumph.



*French intervention
in Spanish and German affairs*

THOUGH no widespread European conflict developed, the Treaty of Westphalia hardly brought peace

to Europe. Spain, having refused to make peace with France at Münster, kept on fighting. At first hostilities took the form of Spanish interference in French domestic conflicts. France retaliated by giving aid and comfort to the Portuguese struggling for their independence. At the same time, commercial and colonial rivalries led to the first formally declared Anglo-Dutch war from 1652 to 1654. Upon the close of that indecisive conflict, England joined France in her war against Spain. When the Treaty of the Pyrenees was made in 1659, France won some lands that rounded out her boundaries, while England secured some temporary advantages. The significance of the war was that it reconfirmed Spain's loss of hegemony.

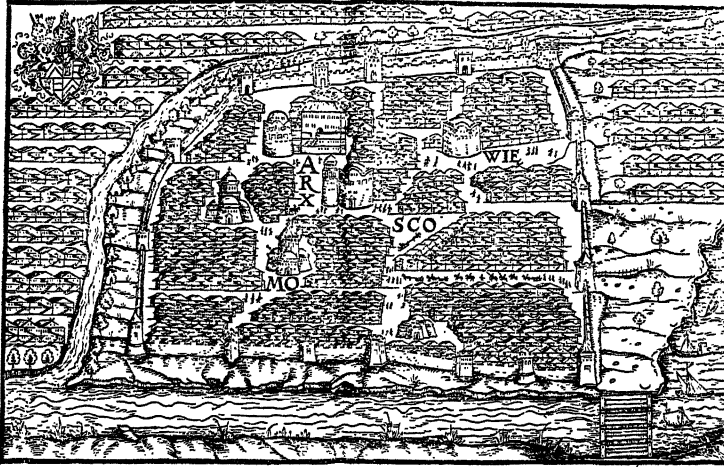
As provided by the Treaty of the Pyrenees, in a ceremony of unprecedented splendor the young French king, Louis XIV, was married to the Spanish princess, Maria Theresa. Intended to symbolize the end of Habsburg-Bourbon rivalries, this marriage was in fact to become a means for furthering the designs of Louis XIV. The Portuguese-Spanish conflict continued and, with it, France's support of Portugal against the Spanish king. In the Empire France, through the influence gained by the Westphalian settlement over certain imperial territories, intrigued likewise against the Austrian Habsburgs.

*Warfare
and crises in northern Europe*

IN THE Baltic, the Swedish king, Charles X, continued the policy of his forebears by invading Poland

(1655-1657) and Denmark (1657-1659). These hostilities came to be known as the "First Northern War." From Denmark Charles secured control of the straits between Sweden and Denmark. In the Polish war, Frederick William of Brandenburg at first fought with Poland against Charles, but later deserted his Polish suzerain and joined Charles long enough to win the acknowledgment of both Poland and Sweden to his sovereignty in East Prussia (1660). Thereby the electors of Brandenburg, though still nominally vassals of the emperor, became independent as dukes of East Prussia. Step by step Brandenburg-Prussia kept pace with Sweden in the struggle for supremacy in the Baltic, as both advanced at the expense of Poland.

Meanwhile a potential rival to all three was gathering strength to the east. At the beginning of the century, Russia had suffered a period of aristocratic civil wars known as the "Troublous Times." Finally, the nobles of Russia in 1613 chose Michael Feodorovich Romanov to be czar. Thus was begun a dynasty that was destined to retain its absolutist pretensions until the twentieth century, long after other European monarchs had surrendered theirs. Michael stayed out of European affairs during the Thirty Years' War,



Moscow by the end of the sixteenth century had expanded beyond the powerful walls of the Kremlin, which enclosed the royal palaces and Byzantine-style Orthodox churches. Outside the Kremlin stretch the many wooden houses of the city proper.

mending his fences and building his bridges, both literally and figuratively. On his death in 1645 his son Alexis succeeded him. Alexis reversed his father's policy, joined the coalition that sought to check the Swedish in the First Northern War, and subsequently continued the vogue of nibbling away at overgrown Poland. The Treaty of Andrussovo (1667), which ended the Russo-Polish war, gave the city of Kiev and most of the Ukraine to Russia, brought her to the Dnieper River on the west, and put her into threatening contact with the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. It was no longer possible for Russia to remain isolated from European affairs. The evident crumbling of Poland, the inevitable conflict on the Baltic, and the imminent conflict on the Black Sea were now problems directly affecting her own frontiers.

*The appearance
of stability in Europe*

THE YEAR 1660, marked by the
French-Spanish royal marriage,
the restoration of the monarchy

in England, and the declaration of peace on the Baltic, seemed to hold forth the promise of European stability once more. The major provisions of the Treaty of Westphalia still held in western and central Europe despite international conflicts. When Louis XIV, upon the death of Mazarin in 1661, determined to be his own chief minister and to rule in fact as well as in name, he might have devoted himself to the preservation of the international settlements of 1648-1660. As we shall see, he chose instead to upset them.

ABSOLUTISM

AND ITS OPPONENTS

A SIGNIFICANT result of the religious and military conflicts culminating in the Thirty Years' War was the growth in many quarters of sentiment in favor of the recognized sovereigns. War's disruption of economic life, bearing heavily on peasant and landlord, employer and laborer, merchant and petty shopkeeper alike, led people generally to favor a strong government capable of maintaining order. Some monarchs were thus encouraged to seize more power, and only in England were they to be decisively frustrated.

*The emergence
of the independent sovereign state*

THE TREATY of Westphalia completed a development that had long been in process. By giving international sanction to the independence of states from both pope and Empire, it destroyed two ancient checks upon the sovereignty of nations. The sovereign states of Europe had been, with a few exceptions, the creations of their rulers. We have seen (Chapter 1) how strong monarchs gradually increased their political authority by dominating the feudal aristocracy and centralizing the administration of national affairs and (Chapter 3) how the church, once an international power, was drawn through Reformation and Counter Reformation into the monarchical orbit. In the seventeenth century the sovereign state had three characteristics: (1) it was a discrete territorial unit, (2) life was largely regulated within it by a ruler generally recognized as dominant in religious, economic, and political affairs, and (3) the titular sovereign's control was normally subject to no outside force.

*Growing sentiment
in favor of absolutism*

THE CHALLENGE to authority implicit in Renaissance individualism, the Protestant resistance to the medieval church, the Peasants' War of 1524, and the writings of the advocates of resistance to tyranny, while establishing revolutionary precedents that were to be recalled again and again in times of crisis, found little response among those whose traditions and outlook were authoritarian and who wanted only domestic peace and order. Even at the height of the religious upheaval in the sixteenth century, few men had advocated freedom of belief. Instead, men had fought to impose their own "true" religion upon dissenters. Religious conformity was considered normal in the well-organized state. Political conformity was even more commonly favored by the seventeenth-century mind. With the exception of nobles who saw in a weak monarchy the chance of power for themselves, most people regarded the increase of royal authority as the answer to the troubles of their times. By the beginning of the Thirty Years' War it was generally believed that the only alternative

to royal authority was either anarchy or a retention of the centrifugal feudal power of the aristocracy. The rising middle class preferred the centripetal force of royal authority, and the vast bulk of the population among the peasantry, as well as the artisans and workers in the cities, agreed with them.

The divine-right theory

adapted to the seventeenth century

THIS BELIEF in the necessity of strong monarchy had already appeared in the writings of such

eminent men as Bodin. In the seventeenth century, some believers in hereditary royalty as the source of order, strength, and justice in a state gave a new emphasis to the old theory. They advocated royal absolutism built around the right of hereditary kings to rule as they saw fit, free from restrictions of church, empire, nobility, tradition, law, or constitutions, and checked only by the direct inspiration of and responsibility to God. This theory had developed in an earlier era as a counterclaim to papal supremacy in the centuries-old struggle between the popes and secular rulers. But whereas it had once been advanced to justify royal resistance to papal interference in internal affairs, in the seventeenth century it was adapted to assert the king's right to be the head of both state and church, to put down civil disorder, and to impose religious compliance. Disobedience to the king's will, in both political and religious affairs, thus became treason against God's appointed ruler.

James I

as an exponent of divine right

A ROYAL exponent of this view was King James I of England. In his *True Law of Free Monarchies*,

written in 1598, five years before he became king of England, James asserted that monarchs ruled by divine hereditary right and were answerable to God alone. Divine right was his answer not only to popes but also to those who asserted the right of Parliament to a voice in the government, and to Puritans who claimed the right of religious dissent.

Popular belief

in the divine-right theory

THE DIVINE-RIGHT theory came to be widely held in states ruled by strong monarchs whose author-

ity had proved beneficial to their subjects. In the meeting of the French Estates General in 1614 the Third Estate, or commoners, engaging in dispute with the aristocratic and clerical estates, announced as a fundamental law of France "that the king is sovereign in France, holds his crown from God only, and that no power, spiritual or temporal, can deprive him of the obedience of his subjects."

Absolutism achieved

at the expense of the aristocracy

IN THE growth of strong monarchies the representative assemblies of the various realms (some-

times tricameral bodies representing clergy, nobility, and commoners respectively) often were the last barriers to absolute rule. These bodies, generally

dominated by the aristocracy, had been widely accepted as features of good government. We have explained (Chapter 1) that their power varied considerably from region to region—from electing and dominating the king in Poland, to giving advice that was not binding upon the king in France. Nevertheless, if absolutism were to triumph, such powers as remained to the estates had to be enfeebled.

The chief opponents of such an enfeeblement were the aristocracy, for whom the estates were a means of exerting some power, however limited, upon the sovereign. In Spain the decline of the estates had been largely achieved in the sixteenth century. Under the most capable Spanish kings, the once-powerful *Cortes* of the various provinces (there was no assembly representing the whole nation) were either rendered impotent or suppressed entirely. In the seventeenth century a series of Spanish rulers, as dull as their sixteenth-century forebears had been colorful, exercised an absolutism so thoroughly entrenched that they retained their position in spite of personal ineffectiveness, court quarrels, and separatist movements. In France, as we have already noted (page 296), the Estates General met in 1614-1615 for the last time until the French Revolution. The meeting was characterized not by any questioning of the king's prerogatives but by the quarrels between the nobility and the Third Estate. Under Richelieu, French absolutism was further strengthened by reduction of the powers of the provincial estates and of the Paris parlement, one of the highest courts of the realm. The subordination of the parlements was a signal victory for absolutism because they had claimed the right to refuse to register the king's edicts—which, whenever their claim prevailed, was tantamount to a veto of royal legislation. Richelieu's reduction of the Huguenot rebellion of 1625-1628 also augmented royal authority by ending the special Huguenot privilege of maintaining a state within the state. He also obliged the aristocracy to accept greater royal supervision of local affairs through royal appointees known as "intendants" and to respect the king's law and police power. Under his successor, Cardinal Mazarin, the parlement of Paris, in alliance with factions of the nobility, challenged absolutism in the civil wars already described as "the Fronde" (page 309), but from these wars Mazarin and regal authority emerged triumphant. On his death in 1661, Mazarin was able to hand on to King Louis XIV a royal power that no political rivals in the realm could effectively challenge.

Absolutism

established generally in Europe

IN THE other monarchies of continental Europe the estates fared little better than in France and

Spain. The Great Elector, Frederick William, secured unprecedented power by repressing or disregarding the local administrative and advisory councils of both Brandenburg and East Prussia. In the Habsburg possessions, such provincial estates as had survived to the mid-seventeenth century were made

obsolete or powerless after the Thirty Years' War. Bohemia, by its revolt in 1618-1625, lost the privilege of electing its king, and the crown of Hungary was also made hereditary in 1687, though the estates were permitted to survive. In Denmark the hitherto elective monarchy became absolute and hereditary in 1661 by a so-called "King's Law," which expressly declared that the monarchy acquired the authority surrendered by the estates. At first, the usual trend was reversed in Sweden by the six-year-old* Queen Christina, who succeeded Gustavus Adolphus. Through her minister, she granted a written constitution known as "the Form of Government" (1634), which concentrated political authority in the great nobles. Toward the end of the century, however, Charles XI was to make the Swedish king absolute again by reducing the Swedish estates to impotence as well as by huge confiscations of nobles' lands. In the Empire, though the authority of the emperor declined, the power of the imperial diet declined as well; as the rulers of the member states became sovereigns in their own right by the provisions of Westphalia, the diet became a congress of diplomatic representatives rather than a legislative body. Within the separate German states, many rulers, following the general trend, increased their power at the expense of the nobility.

*Some exceptions
to the trend toward absolutism*

IN ONLY a few countries did the nobility retain or improve their position. In Poland, where trade

and industry played little part, there was no effective middle class to ally itself with the king in curbing the powers of the nobility. Hence the diet (the *Sejm*), representing the landed nobles, maintained and even increased its power, and the kingship remained elective. The rule of the *liberum veto*, first used in 1652, by which a single noble could veto any proposal, rendered the estates as impotent as the king in guiding the affairs of the country, and Poland remained a feudal anachronism—generally referred to as "the Republic of Poland," because the king was elected. In Holland, Switzerland, and the ancient aristocratic city-states of Germany and Italy some form of republicanism also survived. Switzerland remained a loose federation of thirteen sovereign cantons and several allied and protected states, with a loose federal diet but without a central administration. The United Provinces continued as a republican confederation despite the heated conflict between the proponents of monarchy and the adherents of the States-General; only in the nineteenth century would the House of Orange gain recognition as the reigning family.

*Holland's "Golden Age"
of commerce, finance, and culture*

HOLLAND was, in many other ways, an exceptional country. Unlike other federations of the

day, it was powerful, prosperous, and liberal. In the first half of the seventeenth century, in spite of religious quarrels and civil and foreign wars, it had

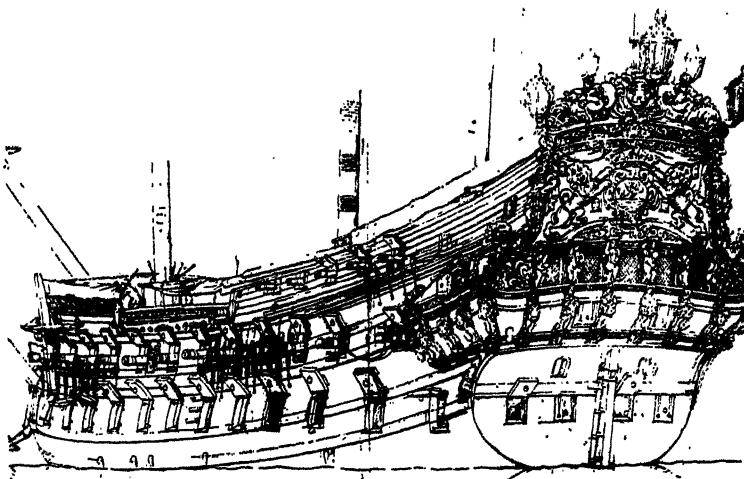
the most tolerant government in Europe and became the haven of the persecuted and of those who sought freedom of thought. The English Puritans, fleeing the intolerance of James I, sojourned first in Holland before embarking for the New World. They found Jews from Spain already living there in peace, and, later in the century, French Huguenots were likewise to find a similar refuge. Descartes and Bayle, whom we shall presently meet among the greatest intellects of the age, left their native land to write in the freer atmosphere of the Dutch cities. Artisans and entrepreneurs had crossed the border from the southern Netherlands, when that region was reoccupied by Spain, and had set up prosperous woolen and linen works. For most of the century Holland led the world in commerce and finance and rivaled the great powers in colonial enterprise, while in her tolerant and propitious environment painters such as Rembrandt and Frans Hals, explorers such as Tasman, scientists such as Leeuwenhoek, and philosophers such as Spinoza added luster to her culture.

If Holland, however, offered a bright example of freedom and tolerance, it was only in relation to a generally intolerant Europe. For even in Holland a great patriot like Oldenbarneveldt could be executed or a great jurist like Grotius exiled for differing with the authorities in theology and political philosophy; and the landless poor could not be nobles or burghers, who alone were permitted to share in the government. The explanation of Holland's Golden Age was rather that the merchants of the province of Holland, like those of the Italian city-states in an earlier generation, had acquired, along with their wealth, an interest in the arts, letters, and science, making the metropolitan and cosmopolitan centers in which they lived less concerned about orthodoxy than the rest of the country and rendering it possible for intellectuals to prosper and to remain relatively untrammelled. Holland's republicanism was no more for export than Switzerland's was. On the contrary, both countries provided outstanding examples of the widely held political belief, derived largely from the history of the Greek and Roman city-states, that a republic could survive only if it were very small or, if large, only if broken up into federated parts.

*The cooperation
of Parliament with the Tudor kings*

ENGLAND was destined to become the center from which democratic ideas were to radiate throughout

Europe and America. Englishmen were not the first to speak of resistance to tyranny, and they are among the last to cling to the institution of monarchy. Yet it was in England that the constitutional conflict between king and Parliament (as her estates were called) was most sharply drawn, giving rise in its course to classical expressions of the philosophy of both royal and popular sovereignty. The Tudor dynasty in England (1485-1603) had established a



Holland's powerful navy protected her thriving overseas commerce, and extended and defended her colonial empire. This heavily gunned man-of-war, drawn by Willem Van de Velde the Younger, dates from the seventeenth century.

strong monarchy but had consistently avoided conflict with Parliament, which had retained a marked degree of control over royal revenues. Because the Tudors were in the main popular with their subjects and followed forms and policies calculated to please the strong bourgeois element, no successful challenge of their absolute rule was effected and Parliament was generally subservient to their wishes.

Nevertheless, in England the sentiment in favor of absolutism was less general than on the Continent. At least three reasons can be assigned for this fact. In the first place, since the English nobility were already more thoroughly dominated by the Tudor kings than their confreres had been by contemporary continental rulers, the kings and the commoners had less reason to unite against them. In the second place, religious differences among the English people, though bitter, had not yet become so acute as to cause civil war, and hence less demand for a strong ruler arose. In the third place, the institution of primogeniture in England (whereby the oldest son inherited the title and estates of his father, leaving younger children without visible claims to aristocracy) tended to create an alliance between noble families and other gentry rather than the marked gap between nobles and commoners that existed on the Continent. Thus in England the king was less likely either to seek or to find support in the middle class against the aristocracy.

*Religious complications
in England under King James I*

UPON THE death of Elizabeth, King James of Scotland became the first Stuart king of England.

He was notoriously tactless and was already committed to the principle of divine-right monarchy. It was not long before he was involved in open conflict with Parliament. Fundamentally, the dispute was over the distribution of political power—over the point where the royal prerogative ended and the parliamentary privilege began—but religious and economic considerations quickly entered the controversy.

James was attracted to the moderate Protestants who sought to restore to the English churches some of the lost Catholic ritual. He also meant to continue to control the Anglican Church through royally appointed bishops. His church policy in general resembled that which a century later was to become known as “High Church.” Many Protestants of England were disturbed by these views, and the more extreme Protestants—the Puritans—found them in direct contradiction to their conviction that the Church of England ought to be “purified” still further of Catholic practices. Among the Puritans were many “men of substance”—prosperous businessmen who also disliked James’ readiness to collect taxes without Parliament’s formal approval. Nor did they approve of James’ foreign policy, which was friendly to Spain at a time when English public opinion was largely favorable to Protestant Germany and to James’ son-in-law Frederick, the unfortunate “Winter King” of Bohemia (pages 299-300).

*The quarrel
between James I and Parliament*

THE HOUSE of Commons, including the representatives of the gentry and middle class—not the

great lords, as on the Continent—led the resistance to the threat of absolutism. When James bluntly rebuked them, Commons with equal bluntness defied him in a declaration which they euphemistically labeled an *Apology*. In Parliament, they insisted, members “may speak freely their consciences without check and controlment.” After his first Parliament adjourned (1611), James rarely convoked it again and clashed with it hotly whenever he did allow it to meet.

*The struggle
between Charles I and Parliament*

WHEN JAMES I died (1625), his son Charles I inherited his political and religious policies and con-

flicts. Charles tried at first to rule with Parliament, hoping to manipulate it more skillfully than his father had. But the wrangling continued, and his third Parliament demanded (1628) his acquiescence to a Petition of Rights, proclaiming (1) that taxes were not valid without the consent of Parliament; (2) that soldiers could not be forcibly billeted in private houses; (3) that martial law might not be proclaimed in time of peace; and (4) that no one could be imprisoned without a specific charge. On all of these counts, Charles

had already been more or less guilty of fairly arbitrary acts, but he now reluctantly accepted the Petition in order to receive Parliament's consent to some much-needed subsidies. He quickly violated his pledge, however, and for over a decade ruled without Parliament. Meanwhile he raised money by means that many of his subjects considered illegal and that John Hampden dared to protest stoutly, going to jail but becoming a popular hero in consequence.



The Anglican Church, split between the moderate reform party and the Puritans, is represented in this political cartoon as a double-faced Janus.

Charles' "high church" policy soon created military needs that forced him to yield temporarily. When he attempted to apply his "popish" religious views to Scotland, the Scottish Presbyterians resisted to the point of force. To raise funds for an opposing army, Charles again convoked Parliament. Parliament demanded, however, that Charles redress certain grievances before it would vote him any money, and he promptly dissolved it again. It thus acquired the name of "the Short Parliament" (1640). But Charles' inability to raise money otherwise and the growing danger from a Scottish invasion of England forced him to call upon Parliament again. This session became known as the "Long Parliament" because it lasted nearly twenty years.

*Two camps in England:
"Roundheads" and "Cavaliers"*

PARLIAMENT now took advantage of Charles' predicament to force unpalatable legislation upon him.

Charles felt obliged to accept the Triennial Act, requiring Parliament to meet at least once every three years with or without the king's consent, but refused to sanction the Nineteen Propositions putting church, military, and administrative affairs largely under Parliament's jurisdiction. His refusal led to armed resistance and civil war. Around Parliament rallied a party that came to be known as "Roundheads" (from their custom of cropping their hair), and around the king rallied the "Cavaliers." The Parliamentary party was made up largely of the middle class and Puritans, and some gentry; the

Royalist party, of most of the gentry, Anglican clergy, and nobles. The Puritans, however, were themselves divided, chiefly between the Separatists, or, as they were now called, the Independents, who believed in the right of each congregation to govern itself, and the Presbyterians, who believed in local, regional, and national church units governed respectively by presbyteries, synods, and assemblies. Both groups were united in their objection to the rule of king and bishops in church affairs and in their belief in Calvinism.

In general, the Cavaliers were aristocratic and rural, the Roundheads bourgeois and urban, but many exceptions to this general rule made class lines indistinct. In so far as the conflict tended to be a class struggle, it differed from similar complications on the Continent, where the tendency was for the middle class to ally with the king against the aristocracy to create an absolute monarchy. The English, as events of the eighteenth century were to show, were a stride ahead of the Continent in the three-cornered fight of king, aristocracy, and middle class for political power.

*The Civil War in England
and the defeat of the king's party*

IN 1642, the year in which Continental peace negotiations were begun at Westphalia, the consti-

tutional quarrel in England broke out into civil war. It ended in 1646, when Charles surrendered to the Scots. Factions among the victors (the Scots, the Presbyterians in Parliament, and the Independents in the army) were so mutually embittered that he almost succeeded in playing them against each other. He actually split Parliament and made a secret alliance with the Scots. But a renewal of the Civil War in 1648 led to the defeat of the king's Cavaliers and their Scottish allies, a "purge" of the pro-Charles Presbyterians from Parliament, and the triumph of the Independent army under Oliver Cromwell. The success of the Independent army meant a victory not only against the principles of royal absolutism and Anglican episcopacy but also for the greater religious individualism that was implied by the Independents' religious doctrines.

*Commonwealth
and Protectorate in England*

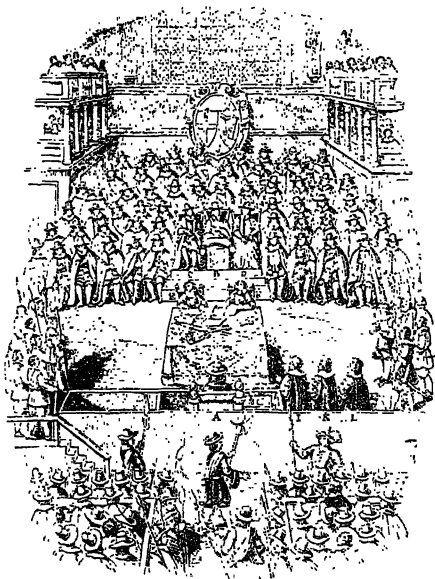
AT THE BEGINNING of 1649, Charles I was tried, found guilty of treason, and beheaded—the first

royal sovereign to suffer that fate at the hands of a body claiming to hold its authority from a sovereign people. The House of Lords was then abolished, and the country was soon thereafter declared to be a "Commonwealth." The leading figure in the Commonwealth was Oliver Cromwell, who, adopting the much-admired tactics of Gustavus Adolphus, had whipped the Parliamentary soldiers into a crack force now known as "The New Model Army." This army of Puritans, in whom revolutionary and religious fervor combined to make devoted soldiers, now turned against the one-chamber Parliament. They ac-

cused it of being arbitrary in government and ungrateful to its soldiers, whose pay was long in arrears. In 1653, the army overthrew the Commonwealth and drew up a new constitution called "the Instrument of Government." This document is a milestone in the revolutionary tradition of Europe. It was, strictly speaking, not the first written constitution of modern times, as it has sometimes been called. As we have seen (pages 278, 281, and 282), certain New England colonies already had made compacts that might be called constitutions; the Dutch Union of Utrecht had created a federal constitution for the United Provinces in 1579; and Sweden had been governed since 1634 by a written charter known as "the Form of Government," which lasted until Charles XI rejected it. The British Instrument of Government was thus only an early link in a growing chain. It recognized the need for a strong executive but sought to prevent his developing absolute power. Cromwell was granted supreme power as "lord protector" for life, but he was to be assisted and to some extent controlled by a council and a Parliament. Cromwell, however, quickly came to dominate the political scene by the strength of both his army and his personality.

Cromwell lived only five years longer. During its short career the Protectorate witnessed the end of the war with the Dutch, the defeat of the Spanish through the French alliance, the domination over the Scottish

Highlanders and the Irish Tories, the readmission of the Jews (who had been expelled from England in the thirteenth century), and the promotion of British interests in the West Indies. It also witnessed the enactment of a set of Puritanical laws that muzzled the theater and the book trade and pro-



Trial of Charles I, from a print in Nalson's Report of the Trial, 1684. The description of the plate points out that "the pageant of this mock tribunal is thus represented by an eye and ear-witness of what he heard and saw there." The letter A designates the King sitting before his judges, and the letter G (in the background) Oliver Cromwell.

hibited some innocent as well as some unwholesome amusements of the people.

*The restoration
of monarchical government*

RICHARD CROMWELL, Oliver's son, within a year found his father's shoes too big and resigned.

Just as disorder and upheaval had promoted the cause of monarchy on the Continent, so in England eighteen years of anti-monarchical instability favored royal prestige. After civil war and kaleidoscopic experiments in government, the restoration of the hereditary king seemed the only acceptable solution to most men. Charles II, son of the beheaded king, was enthusiastically welcomed back to England in 1660, but with the explicit understanding that he would not emulate his father and grandfather and would rule through Parliament. Thus the monarchy of England seemed to have become a constitutional monarchy responsible to a representative body, in contrast to the French pattern of absolute monarchy responsible to God alone and checked only by the necessity of observing traditional charters, rights, or local usages.

*England's challenge
to monarchical absolutism*

THE ENGLISH Civil War had dealt a blow to the idea of divine-right monarchy by beheading a heredi-

tary king without destroying the country. What was more, it had shown positively that a country like England could be ruled and even remain prosperous, despite foreign and internal complications, under a nonaristocratic constitutional regime. Thus it provided a historical precedent—a horrible example for those who continued to believe in monarchical absolutism or a partly successful but encouraging experiment for those who looked to the ultimate triumph of popular government.

*Milton
on liberty and freedom of thought*

THE PURITAN REVOLUTION also produced some provocative thought, which was to be influ-

ential in the later development and expansion of the representative principle. During the years of the parliamentary controversy with the Stuarts, great lawyers like Sir Edward Coke and orators like John Hampden had proclaimed that states were founded on a fundamental law by which even kings were bound. During the Civil War and the Commonwealth, the Puritan poet John Milton, drawing upon his Biblical and classical learning as well as his own experience, turned pamphleteer to defend the new order in England. "No man who knows aught," he stated categorically, "can be so stupid to deny that all men naturally were born free, being the image and resemblance of God Himself, and were by privilege above all creatures, born to command, and not to obey."¹⁰ Thus Milton rejected the whole fabric of royal absolutism

and reaffirmed a principle that became a keystone of democracy—that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Milton also insisted upon freedom of thought and opinion, for only by such freedom could truth become known. “If it comes to prohibiting,” he declared, “there is not aught more likely to be prohibited than truth itself, whose first appearance to our eyes, blear’d and dimm’d with prejudice and custom, is more unsightly and unpalatable than many errors.”¹¹

Levellers,

Diggers, and Fifth Monarchy Men

SEVERAL extremist antiroyalist groups propounded theories that foreshadowed later social and

revolutionary movements. The Levellers believed in the rights of the individual and hence in the sovereignty of the people. They worked to extend the franchise to all men over twenty-one who had the economic status of “housekeepers,” and to redistribute the seats in Parliament on the basis of population—both democratic ideas far in advance of their time. Another of the Levellers’ ideas was the separation of the legislative and the executive powers in government on the ground that it is “an occasion of much partiality, injustice and vexation to the people that the Law makers should be Law executors.”

The Levellers were forerunners and advocates of political democracy; other groups, on the other hand, were advocates of economic and social equality and forerunners of socialism. The Diggers advocated the abolition of private ownership of land so that the poor might have access to it, and in other ways urged the elimination of economic and social inequalities. A group of millenarians, proclaiming the imminent coming of Jesus to create the “Fifth Monarchy,” combined their enmity toward the established church with a desire for political and economic equality. Too radical for their own time and hounded by the police as disturbers of the peace and traitors, Levellers, Diggers, and Fifth Monarchy men alike were nevertheless a reflection of agitation among the disenfranchised and largely inarticulate lower classes in a movement which was chiefly a struggle for power among their “betters.”

The rationalist theory

of absolutism expounded by Hobbes

THE DISORDERS and bloodshed of the civil wars also produced England’s most notable secular

apology for absolutism—the *Leviathan* of Thomas Hobbes. We have seen (pages 193-195) that in the later sixteenth century the concept of the social contract, by which the authority of the king was declared to have been derived from a contract with his subjects, was used by Protestant and Catholic writers to justify rebellion and even regicide. Hobbes, however, employed the concept of social contract to develop the opposite conclusion—absolute obedience to an unlimited monarch. Hobbes’ argument runs thus: Man is

¹¹John Milton, *Areopagitica* (1644).

guided by self-interest alone, and his life in a state of nature (i.e., in the pre-social state, without control by any authority) is "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short." For the sake of order and security, therefore, men voluntarily surrender their precarious liberty through a social contract—made by the individual with society—and entrust the protection of their rights to a government, the "Leviathan" whose power would save them from anarchy. This surrender is irrevocable; the contract is binding upon the subjects but not upon the sovereign, who is beyond and above the contract. Thus the rights of rebellion and resistance to law are explicitly denied. Toward the end of the book, in a passage apparently added in view of the changed circumstances after the death of Charles I, the right to change allegiance is implied if the sovereign cannot afford his subjects that protection which was the purpose of their contract. So long, however, as a king is able to maintain himself, the relationship between subject and king is argued to be the same by Hobbes' rational argument as in the theological doctrine of divine right.

Like the doctrine of divine right, Hobbes' political philosophy was an expression of the general desire for a strong authority, independent of popular control and able—in an age when civil wars and wars between nations were frequent, bitter, and intense—to maintain peace and order inside and outside the realm. Published in exile in 1651, when the refugee Charles II was weak and a new "Leviathan" appeared ready to take his place in England permanently, Hobbes' book was regarded with suspicion by royalists, who disliked not merely its apparent approval of changed allegiance but also its nontheological, rationalist tone. Hobbes, shunned by his fellow exiles, returned to England, where he made his submission to the Commonwealth.

THE NEW DYNASTIES

AND INTERNATIONAL PEACE

THE QUEST for domestic peace and order had its counterpart in international relations. The misery and exhaustion attending the thirty years of continuous and intense warfare turned men's minds forcefully to the blessings of peace and the desirability of some device for the avoidance or, at least, the diminution of the horror of war. The system of sovereign states that emerged from the Thirty Years' War thrust into a new context the age-old problem of maintaining peace in Europe.

*International anarchy
and the desire for peace*

THE OLD order of universal church and state, however imperfectly realized, had given to medieval

Europe a certain ideological unity and a common political heritage. Its demise left the sovereign states face to face without higher authority or supreme

arbitrator, no matter how theoretical, to settle disputes, as the pope or the emperor had done in days gone by. Among the nations now prevailed that anarchy which within nations was so sedulously resolved by the theory and practice of absolutism. But a similar solution of international difficulties seemed remote. An effective international authority had not existed since the Pax Romana, and leading sovereigns of Europe had just fought the Thirty Years' War to prevent a revival of even the shadow of the Roman Empire. Theorists were busy asserting the sovereignty of the state from all outside influences and controls, a logical and necessary implication of the doctrine of absolutism responsible to no human agency. The only hope for peace lay in institutions compatible with the sovereign state—in diplomacy and the slow growth of "international law."

Crucé's plans

for peace in Le nouveau Cynée

IN THE midst of the devastation of the Thirty Years' War, three noteworthy plans for European

peace were produced of which the starting point was the system of sovereign states. The first of these, *Le nouveau Cynée* (*The New Cyneas*) (1623), the work of an obscure French monk named Éméric Crucé, advocated a permanent council of ambassadors of the world's sovereigns to settle international disputes. The basis of peace was to be the maintenance of the status quo, "so that each Prince remains within the limits of the lands which he possesses at present, and that he does not pass beyond them for any pretences."¹² The council "would meet discontents half way; and would appease them by gentle means, if it could be done, or in case of necessity, by force."¹³ Crucé was thus prepared to contemplate a certain limitation on sovereignty in the interests of international order. The highest ranks in this council were to go, in the order of precedence, to the pope, the Turkish emperor, the Holy Roman emperor, the king of France, and the king of Spain. The king of Persia, the emperor of China, Prester John (legendary head of a legendary Christian kingdom in Asia or Africa), the ruler of Tataria, and the grand duke of Muscovy were to contend for sixth place. The monarchs of Great Britain, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Japan, and Morocco and the Great Mogul and other rulers from India and Africa "must not be in the last ranks."¹⁴ Crucé, it would appear, envisaged a world-wide organization for the preservation of peace. Within nations, monarchs were to build the foundations of peace by preserving domestic tranquillity and reducing import and export duties in order to encourage international commerce. Crucé's scheme had no influence on practical politics in his day. *The New Cyneas* nevertheless deserves consideration

¹²Éméric Crucé, *Le nouveau Cynée*, ed. T. W. Balch (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane & Scott, 1909), p. 130.

¹³*Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁴S. J. Hemleben, *Plans for World Peace through Six Centuries* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), pp. 25-26.

as the first systematic attempt in a war-torn generation to suggest how sovereign states might live peaceably together. Crucé in 1623 was unable to solve the dilemma that still plagues the peacemakers of our day—how to enforce the pacific settlement of international disputes without violating national sovereignty.

The "Grand Design"
put forth in Sully's Memoirs

A PLAN for achieving European peace whose influence was wider than Crucé's, probably because

more in keeping with the possibilities of its day, was the scheme known as the "Grand Design of Henry IV." First published in the *Memoirs* of Henry's minister Sully in 1638, it is generally believed to be the figment of Sully's own imagination rather than the plan of his sovereign, as Sully claimed. The pattern of the Grand Design was "to divide Europe equally among the fifteen leading powers in such a manner that none of them might have cause either of envy or of fear from the possessions or power of the others."¹³ Minor disputes (Sully believed that major ones would be circumvented by his scheme) were to be settled by a permanent council representing the fifteen powers. The manner in which Europe was to be divided into fifteen spheres of influence reveals at once that the Grand Design was not only a plan for peace but a scheme for reducing the House of Habsburg and ensuring the dominant position of France in Europe. It was a plan only slightly less impractical in that age of persistent Habsburg power than that of Crucé. It made the further mistake of assuming that the status quo (once the initial redistribution of territory was effected) would be generally acceptable and thus the basis of a permanent peace. Crucé, while taking the status quo as his point of departure, had faced squarely the possibility of serious conflicts, to be settled if necessary by force of arms; Sully simply willed such disputes out of existence.

Hugo Grotius,
the founder of international law

THE MOST significant writer on European peace during the Thirty Years' War was the Dutch jurist

Hugo Grotius, whose lengthy treatise *Concerning the Law of War and Peace* was published in 1625. His ideas were more matter of fact than those of Crucé and Sully. Rather than proposing to eradicate war, as Crucé's and Sully's subsequent proposals did, Grotius set out to diminish the number of wars and lessen their intensity by applying to relations between nations the same fundamental concepts of "natural law" that were contemporaneously held by some to form the basis of law within nations.

Natural law was conceived as essentially an ethical code universally acceptable because based upon human nature in its customary or potential manifestations throughout the world. Though independent of contemporary

¹³Duc de Sully, "The Grand Design of Henry IV," *Memoirs* (London: Sweet & Maxwell, 1921), p. 41.

Christian theology and derived largely from classical philosophy, its principle might be and sometimes was expressed in the Biblical precept: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." On this principle, as well as on the principle of balance of power (page 328), Grotius erected a theoretical system of international justice that he hoped would limit wars to defense and outlaw "unjust" wars of ambition, conquest, aggrandizement, propaganda, and revenge. Similarly Grotius hoped, once hostilities were started, to limit their consequences as far as possible to the combatants, sparing the civilian population the horrors commonly experienced in an age when armies lived off the land. If fought in accordance with a mutually restrictive and beneficial code of "natural" international law, warfare would be stripped of atrocities, both sides would observe good faith, and the rights of neutrals would be recognized. While Grotius' system was not law in the usual sense of the term, since there was no authority to enforce it, his system exerted considerable influence in his own day toward mitigating the evils of war, and many of its proposals were embodied in later international agreements and conventions. Grotius is frequently referred to as the founder of modern international law.

*Dynastic ambitions
and use of power politics*

ALL THREE of these schemes for reducing or eliminating war's horror met with the difficulty that

international relations were frequently molded by ambitious and sometimes irresponsible sovereigns. Dynastic rivalries and, by extension, national rivalries were to be expected. The sovereign state developed in a suspicious atmosphere which made Crucé's attitude unrepresentative: "Why should I, a Frenchman, have an antipathy to an Englishman, a Spaniard or an Indian? When I consider that I am a man as they are, subject to error and sin, and when I recall that nations are bound by a natural and therefore indissoluble link, I cannot summon up feelings of hatred."¹⁶ On the contrary, Grotius' opinion—that war is the natural and inevitable result of human passions—was more realistic. In such an atmosphere, collective cooperation for the sake of peace was difficult to obtain. Alliances to preserve a delicate balance of power, "power politics," became inescapable as each dynasty found itself dependent for its preservation or its aggrandizement either upon its own resources or its skill in forming combinations with other dynasties.

*Diplomacy
in international relations*

THE SENDING and receiving of permanent diplomatic representatives had by this time become an

established custom in all the leading courts of Europe. Precedent had gradually established a pattern of international intercourse which, in the absence of critical disagreements, facilitated harmonious relationships between nations.

¹⁶Émeric Crucé, *Le nouveau Cyprès*, as quoted in D. Ogg, *Europe in the Seventeenth Century* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1943), p. 548.

Commercial treaties and defensive military alliances were becoming common where the marriage alliance had once been the principal bond between dynasties. Diplomacy had become distinguishable as a profession in its own right. It was generally restricted to those of high birth, and, for that reason as well as because an ambassador was supposed to reflect the eminence and honor of his court, emphasis on etiquette in diplomatic intercourse went to such extraordinary lengths as in the quarrels over precedence at Westphalia (page 303). But in spite of needless ceremony, diplomacy provided the machinery necessary for amicable relations between sovereign states and achieved a considerable degree of international cooperation. The international congress to which many states sent representatives to discuss the restoration of peace, of which Westphalia was the first example, became an institution closely resembling, despite its irregularity, a European legislative system.

*The development
of international law in Europe*

THE BODY of international law to which nations were willing to adhere grew considerably during the

seventeenth century, especially with regard to minor matters. Treaties were often made between two nations by which they explicitly agreed to observe certain rules in their dealings with each other. In addition, a code of customary practice not embodied in formal treaties developed from precedent, reinforced by recognition of its utility and by force of habit. The test of whether or not a principle or a point of procedure passed into the body of international law was its general acceptance by the various states. On large issues, however, each state remained a law unto itself, and the fabric of custom, treaties, and alliances that were regarded as binding in times of peace often collapsed—still more completely than in more recent times—as nations went to war. International law, long after Grotius' extensive commentary upon it, remained unenforceable wherever the vested interests of sufficiently strong powers were endangered by it.

*The role
of the balance-of-power principle*

EVEN IN power politics, however, there were limits to dynastic ambition. These limits were set by a

phenomenon known as "the balance of power." Whenever one state, dynasty, or alliance became so strong that it threatened to dominate the rest of Europe, the other states combined to counterbalance its power and so to restore the European equilibrium. This principle had come into play on a small scale in fifteenth-century Italy, where, whenever one city-state threatened to dominate its neighbors, the others would band together to restore the balance. In this fashion the states maintained their independence of one another, incidentally rendering impossible the achievement of Italian unity.

Similarly, in the sixteenth-century wars between Valois and Habsburg over Italy (pages 178-179), lesser powers shifted from one side to the other,

redressing the balance whenever fortune weighed too heavily on one side. Cardinal Wolsey, advisor to King Henry VIII in England, was one of the earliest statesmen to make deliberate use of the balance-of-power idea on a European scale, shifting England's support between Charles V and Francis I as England's exigencies demanded. In the same long struggle, as already pointed out (page 183), Francis even allied himself with the infidel Turk in order to counterbalance the power of Charles.

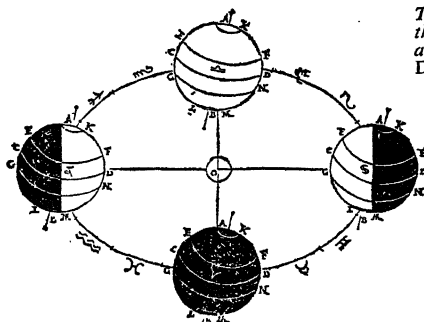
In the seventeenth century, the idea of balance of power was formulated into a principle of international conduct by Grotius: peace might be preserved by establishing an equilibrium of power in Europe that no government would dare upset. If a government dared to try, it would be defeated. The successive combinations of states against the Habsburgs during the Thirty Years' War were the product of fear that superior power might become a permanent possession of the Habsburgs; and the Peace of Westphalia embodied the hope that the Habsburg power could be so curtailed by the acquisitions of others as to redress the balance and make an enduring peace possible.

After the Peace of Westphalia, the balance of power came gradually to be the cardinal principle of international politics in Europe. It sometimes served as a means of preserving peace by confronting potential aggressors with the threat of counterbalancing force. At the same time, however, it exerted compulsion upon each side in a struggle to seek advantages that would swing an unsteady balance in its favor. The balance-of-power principle thus became the justification for the partition of weak states among the strong (see, for example, pages 410-415), for as soon as one strong power annexed a bit of territory, the others felt compelled to do likewise in order to redress the balance. The principle of balance of power survived long after the seventeenth century; the delicately balanced alliance systems of the twentieth century are examples of the world-wide operation of this principle. Since it was not wholly effective in preserving international peace and since the idea of a single European empire could not be successfully revived even by Napoleon Bonaparte, aggression for some and security for others continued to be the major aims of diplomacy.

THE SEARCH

FOR TRUTH AND ORDER

THE RELIGIOUS and political upheavals of the seventeenth century made men uneasy about some of their most cherished beliefs and ideals. Just as they aspired toward a political order that might give them security, so in the realm of thought and belief, they sought new answers to old problems. In the



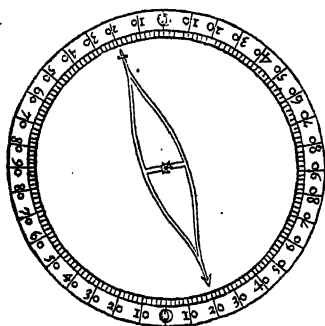
This diagram, showing the rotation of the earth on its axis and its revolution around the sun, appeared in Galileo's Dialogues, 1632.

seventeenth century the Renaissance idea that man is the measure of all things continued and gathered strength. The upsetting knowledge of strange and far-off cultures increased with every new discovery, settlement, and commercial venture. New faiths, each claiming truth divinely revealed, multiplied in proportion to the ineffectiveness of the appeal to arms in resolving religious differences. The uncertainties of life in an era of rising prices and changing economic institutions caused men more than ever to ponder the relationship of wealth to justice. The challenge to royal sovereignty through rebellion and regicide made them weigh the relative value of liberty and order. All this new knowledge and speculation cast doubt on old habits and traditions and revived the search for lasting principles and certainty.

*The search
for the regular laws of nature*

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY scientists made great strides in the effort to discover the laws of nature. Their scholarly zeal was in part the result of the dethronement of the clergy as the arbiters of the moral order in the universe, and of the waning confidence in the direct concern of God with the affairs of man. The geocentric universe of finite spheres beyond which lay God's heaven gave way, before the implications of the Copernican system, to a universe of immense and infinite space devoid of theological implications and indifferent

to moral precepts. The new concept turned the attention of the scientist to the laws of motion and the determination of the order, whether moral or not, that governed the universe, held the planets in place, and made things go on the earth.



The compass (left) and astrolabe (facing page) were instruments used by William Gilbert in his astronomical measurements. These prints appeared in his De Magnete, 1600.



*Gilbert's theory
of magnetic movement*

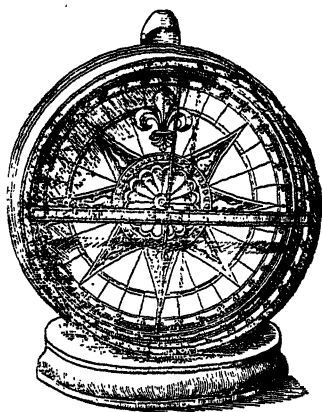
ASTRONOMY, physics, and mathematics, which provided the formulas in which the laws of motion

were expressed, became the paramount concerns of the scientist in the seventeenth century. In the year in which Bruno met death at the stake for his philosophy of the universe (1600), William Gilbert published his *De Magnete*. Gilbert explained the action of the magnetic compass and examined other magnetic and electrical phenomena. He also asserted that the earth itself is a huge magnet, thus dimly foreshadowing the concept of gravity by which scientists in a later age would explain the actions of physical bodies.

*Studies of motion
made by Galileo and Kepler*

THE INVENTION of the microscope at the end of the sixteenth century—probably by a Dutch-

man named Zacharias Janssen—enabled men's eyes to see objects hitherto invisible because of their minuteness, and the simultaneous development of the telescope overcame distance in the same fashion and enormously extended the field of celestial observation. In 1609 Galileo Galilei, an Italian adherent of the Copernican system, a mathematician gifted equally in speculative insight and mechanical ability, constructed a telescope from written directions. Converting the Cathedral and the Leaning Tower of Pisa to scientific uses, Galileo had already (at the age of eighteen) discovered the isochronism of the pendulum—that each swing, no matter how wide, takes the same length of time—and had demonstrated (seven or eight years later) the law of falling bodies—that objects of different weights fall at the same rate of acceleration. With his handmade telescope Galileo now discovered hitherto unknown planetary phenomena that confirmed his belief in the Copernican theory. "I will prove," he announced, "that the earth has motion, and surpasses the moon in brightness, and is not the place where the dull refuse of the universe has settled down; and I will support my demonstration by a thousand arguments taken from natural phenomena." This



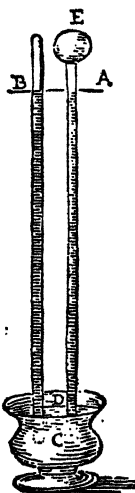
In this experiment pictured in Baptista Porta's Natural Magic, 1644, fire is being kindled by directing the sun's rays through a lens.

was a clear and bold statement of the new scientific method, and it required all the more courage since he had already been forced to resign from his own University of Pisa for his contradictions of the accepted Aristotelian physics.

In the same year (1609) a German mathematician named Johann Kepler, working in correspondence with Galileo and with the materials collected by his mentor Tycho Brahe, announced new mathematical laws governing the movement of planets. They modified in detail but substantiated in essence the Copernican heliocentric theory. Supplemented by newer observations a decade later, the laws of Kepler, describing the movement of planets around the sun, confirmed the belief, already held by many scientists, that a natural order prevailed in the universe, an order whose immutability was expressible in mathematical formulas.

*The contributions
of Napier and Descartes*

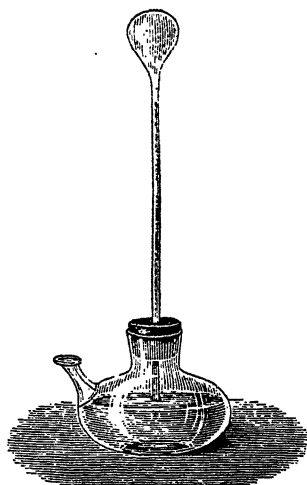
THE INCREASED knowledge of astronomy went hand in hand with the advancement of mathematics and physics. The invention of logarithms (1614) by the Scotsman John Napier enormously simplified the complex calculations necessary in arriving at accurate astronomical formulas. As someone aptly put it, logarithms double the lives of mathematicians by halving their labors. The more extensive use of the decimal system to express fractions of numbers, largely the contribution of Henry Briggs, also simplified calculations. Likewise the development of analytical geometry by the French philosopher-mathematician René Descartes, expounded first in 1637 in an appendix to his philosophical *Discourse on Method*, which we shall presently examine (page 336), aided the astronomer in expressing the movements of bodies in space. By means of analytic geometry, or the coordination of geometry with algebra, relationships could be translated into algebraic equations and it became easier to represent astronomical phenomena in mathematical symbols and formulas.



Torricelli's barometer, using mercury, was perfected in the first part of the seventeenth century.

*Application
of the new science*

THESE scientists were concerned not only with theory but also with the practical application of the new scientific knowledge. Galileo and others calculated the parabola traced by a projectile in flight, a significant contribution to the science of ballistics. The phenomenon of centrifugal force was studied and formulated, resulting in a better understanding of the place of rotation in machinery. New instruments of measurement and observation were developed and old ones perfected. Galileo and his students, of whom the most productive was Evangelista Torricelli, improved the thermometer, the barometer, and the compound microscope. New inventions based on newly discovered principles appeared, among them the air pump and the pendulum clock.



*Harvey's discovery
of the circulation of the blood*

THE MICROSCOPE enabled the scientist to see strange things in his study of the functions of the human body. In 1628, in a work entitled (in Latin) *Anatomical Essay concerning the Motion of the Heart and Blood*, the English physician William Harvey was able to show that the blood circulates through the body and to describe the mechanical perfection of this circulatory system. Microscopic research by other scientists substantiated Harvey's theory and extended his findings. Harvey also propounded the theory of "epigenesis," which holds that in the generation of life, the germ cell is entirely new and that the embryo goes through successive stages of development until birth. This was a radical departure from the traditional theory of "preformation," to the effect that the germ was a fully formed organism and merely increased its size until birth. Harvey set forth his discovery in *Essays on Generation* (1651), and thereby founded the modern science of embryology. The new understanding of the embryo and the blood seemed to indicate that the animal body functioned with the same regularity as the physical universe.



A later reprint of Galileo's thermoscope (above). The fluid rose or fell in the tube as the air in the bulb was cooled or heated. The furnaces (right) from Natural Magic, 1644, were employed in pressure experiments.

*Boyle's studies
in chemistry and physics*

ROBERT BOYLE, a contemporary
compatriot of Harvey, studied
both physics and the nature of

chemical change. By repeated experiment he cast scorn upon the methods of the alchemist and demonstrated the application of the inductive method in chemistry, earning the title of "the father of modern chemistry." He made significant contributions to our knowledge of combustion, electricity, color, refraction, sound, and respiration. In 1660 he enunciated the law which still bears his name—that the volume of a gas, if the temperature remains constant, decreases in proportion to the pressure. Outstanding among his voluminous writings was *The Sceptical Chemist* (1661).

*Francis Bacon
and the advancement of learning*

BOYLE himself was attracted to
the ancient quest of the alchemists
—the transmutation of metals, but

he tried to effect it by scientific experimentation. The principles of scientific experimentation were by his day fairly well formulated. The English philosopher Sir Francis Bacon had given the new method systematic expression in his *Novum Organum* (1620). Inveighing against the methods of classical scientists, who fitted the particular fact into the general proposition and thus relied greatly on theorizing, Bacon advocated the reverse procedure—the collection of facts first, from which general propositions could then be formulated. In this so-called "inductive method" it is still debated whether Bacon assigned a proper role to hypothesis in scientific inquiry. At any rate, he sought to formulate a method of experimentation and discovery that would lay a new foundation for knowledge and extend human power. He was not well acquainted with the science of his own day or the methods it employed, but contemporary scientists like Kepler, Harvey, and Boyle were engaged in developing scientific techniques that, while departing from his recommendations, promoted the general purposes he ascribed to science.

Bacon's philosophical writings are important not only for their exposition of the inductive method but also for the role this exposition was to play in the larger scheme of things. Firstly, he looked upon science as a reliable road to universal truth. This was a double-edged contention, striking with equal force against the theological assertion that faith and the church were the only sources of ultimate truth and against the claim of the followers of antiquity that all scientific method was already known. Both the a priori method of the scholastics and the "induction by simple enumeration" of Aristotle were repudiated in favor of an induction by eliminating "negative" instances and advancing from axiom to axiom. Thus Bacon established a new criterion of knowledge divested of theological association.

Secondly, Bacon considered experimental science to be the road to
334 human betterment. "Is truth ever barren? Shall he [man] not be able thereby

to produce worthy effects, and to endow the life of man with infinite commodities?"¹⁷ The true aim of science is "to extend more widely the limits of the power and greatness of man." Knowledge leads progressively to new knowledge and inventions. "Let men only consider: if they would apply only a small portion of the infinite expenditure of talent, time and fortune now given to matters and studies of far inferior importance and value, to sound and solid learning, it would be sufficient to overcome every difficulty."¹⁸ Here was a notion of progress generally foreign to the medieval mind, which had been prone to regard society and mankind's physical condition as "pre-formed" once and for all by God when he had created the world. The idea that human progress could be achieved by the accumulation of knowledge was one more disturbance of the pattern of thought still common. In his *New Atlantis* (1627) Bacon set forth a scientific utopia.

Descartes
and the philosophy of rationalism

WHILE Bacon proclaimed experiment as the high road to truth, a younger contemporary, René

Descartes, whose analytical geometry was so important to the new physics, asserted that rational doubt was the beginning of all knowledge. Like Bacon, Descartes held that the first step in the search for truth was the systematic exclusion of preconceived notions. Descartes's method of seeking truth was like Bacon's also in that it was based on reason and experiment. But whereas Bacon accorded experiment first place in his system, Descartes believed that knowledge is founded on reason and attainable through logical deduction. All knowledge, he thought, might conceivably be related in the same way that one geometric axiom follows from another. "Provided only one should take care not to receive anything as true which was not so, and if one were always careful to preserve the order necessary for deducing one truth from another, there could be none so remote at which he might not arrive at last, nor so concealed which he might not discover." Starting with a hypothetical repudiation of all knowledge, he nevertheless was convinced he could not doubt his knowledge of his own doubting; and if he doubted, then he must exist: "I think, therefore I am." He then proceeded by logical steps to argue from the fact of his own existence that there must be a cause of his existence, and hence God, an immortal soul, and a material universe.

In this fashion Descartes erected a system of dualism (i.e., belief in both body and soul, in both the motions of matter and the thoughts of mind), which could be regarded as altogether independent of theological method or scholastic principle. Philosophy, sometimes considered the handmaiden of

¹⁷Francis Bacon, "Mr. Bacon In Praise of Knowledge," *The Letters and the Life of Francis Bacon*, by James Spedding (London: Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts, 1861), I, 123.

¹⁸Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum* (1620).

theology, became through the logic of Descartes the application of reason and scientific knowledge to a dual universe. The physical was conceived of as existing side by side with, though independent of, the intellectual. Descartes's conception of the physical universe, governed by immutable laws of nature, appeared in his *Discourse on Method* (1637). Meanwhile, men like Galileo, Kepler, and Boyle were also probing the laws that governed that physical universe, or like Harvey were examining those of the physiological sphere, or like Hobbes were applying reason to social affairs. The slowness with which rationalism was to advance was, however, demonstrated by the persistent confusion in the minds of these very men. Bacon was not well informed regarding the work of Copernicus or Harvey; Kepler still believed in astrology; Boyle had a passion for theology; Harvey was an Aristotelian; and Hobbes' conception of science can be described as dubious.

*Opposition
to the new scientific theories*

THESE men, building on the achievements of Copernicus and other predecessors, paved the way

for a change in the dominant pattern of European thought. They were engaged in an undermining of what most of their contemporaries believed to be the eternal answers. It was only natural that their theories and findings should meet storms of disapproval. Bacon was denounced for belittling the scientists of antiquity. When nearly seventy years of age, Galileo ran afoul of the Inquisition. His *Dialogues on the Two Chief Systems of the World*, in which three scholars discuss the relative merits of the Ptolemaic and the Copernican systems, was placed upon the Index. He himself was forced to recant his heresy and was temporarily imprisoned. The story that he rose from his knees after his recantation whispering that the world still moved (*E pur si muove*) was a later invention. Descartes's works were also placed on the Index, and his method became the center of an intellectual controversy, led by the Jesuits, lasting for decades. The Continent, fighting the Thirty Years' War over rival religious faiths, and England, torn by religious controversy, were loath to relinquish cherished beliefs. The conflict remained, for later ages to endeavor to solve if they could, between those who thought that truth was to be found only by the scientific method and those who thought that truth lay in a higher law; and a third group grew up that thought that somehow the two opposing schools might be reconciled.

THE BAROQUE

IN ART AND LETTERS

336 **I**N ART and literature, the seventeenth century was an age known as "the baroque." The tendency toward exuberance and ornamentation that we noted



An etching of Saint Catherine by Peter Paul Rubens.

in Italian painting and architecture of the late sixteenth century persisted in the seventeenth-century masters. To it was added some of the inquiring and restless spirit that characterized contemporary politics and science. Hence 337

the baroque came to represent a revolt against classical and traditional restraints as well as a taste for the ornamental and the rich.

*The baroque
in painting and architecture*

A PREDILECTION for the picturesque, theatrical, decorative, and splendid was a dominant char-

acteristic of baroque painting. It had its own grandiose individuality, at the same time that it represented a transition from the individualism of the Renaissance to the orderly classicism that was shortly to appear. It employed a new idiom, using space, light and shade, brilliant color, and dramatic effect to express a lavish taste. The canvases of the Flemish master Peter Paul Rubens were filled with a sensual magnificence, while the unsurpassed portraits done by his pupil Sir Anthony Van Dyck emphasized the pomp and ostentatious costume of the English court figures that he painted. Diego Velázquez portrayed with fidelity the courtly world of Philip IV's Spain, and his younger contemporary and disciple, Bartolomé Murillo, painted, among his numerous religious pictures, appealing cherubs and madonnas for his Catholic audience.

Baroque painting had its counterpart in the architecture of the period. Beginning in the later sixteenth century in Italy, the baroque style, characterized by the symmetrical façade, the well-proportioned cupola, and varied ornamentation, rapidly spread throughout Europe. The free use of marble sculptural elements and elaborate designs of wrought metal and polychrome stone was a development from the more decorative phases of Renaissance architecture. Some of the famous cloisters and churches of South Germany were remodeled in this style; others were built anew. Lorenzo Bernini, perhaps the greatest of baroque architects, and an outstanding sculptor as well, produced magnificent buildings, colonnades, and statues in Italy, France, and elsewhere. In Spain a peculiarly baroque architecture was attributable to the influence of José Churriguera and his sons, from whose name is derived the term "churrigueresque." In late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century Spain the defiance of classical tastes was notably unrestrained, and this churrigueresque style, exported to Spain's colonies, has until recently characterized the form of the missions and churches of Latin America. In this period architects designed not only public and private buildings but avenues, fountains, and public gardens and squares, in which they sought effects of vastness, grandeur, and ostentation.

*The golden age
of art and culture in Holland*

NOWHERE in Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century was art more expressive of the

local culture pattern than in Holland. This was the golden age of Dutch art.

338 The "Dutch masters" did not always conform to the baroque fashion, just as

their country did not conform to the prevailing political pattern. The prosperous burgher society of Holland produced painters whose peaceful landscapes, comfortable household scenes, and group portraits of guildmasters and city councils suited admirably the tastes of the bourgeois patrons of art. Where courtly art in monarchical countries was grandiose and affluent, the art of republican Holland was homely and serene. Jan Vermeer, Frans Hals,



"Abraham's Sacrifice," an etching by Rembrandt van Rijn.

Jacob van Ruisdael, and Rembrandt van Rijn were outstanding among the many able painters who thus immortalized the pleasant, dignified everyday life of their homeland in its most glorious period.

*Exceptional work
of Rembrandt and Velázquez*

TWO ARTISTS stand out in the painting of this seventeenth century. Rembrandt, like his Dutch

contemporaries a master of portraiture and landscape, was one of the few among them who worked with religious subjects. He painted literally hundreds of pictures, and did numerous etchings, some of which have probably never been surpassed as examples of that art. Rembrandt was a master of composition in light and shade, and of its use to create an atmosphere, to put a glint upon metal or glass, or to suggest an emotion. In Spain, Velázquez stood out, in contrast to his theatrical and sentimental contemporaries, painting without distortion or grandeur but with sympathetic observation and a masterly technique.

*Baroque tendencies
appearing in literary style*

THE LITERATURE of the period, like its art, contained elements of the baroque. Giambattista Marini

developed an ornate poetic style that threatened for a while to spread from Italy to Germany and elsewhere. In England the vigor and clarity of Shakespeare gave way to the obscurity, learning, imagery, and unconventional style of John Donne, the English preacher-poet, and of the so-called "metaphysical poets" who imitated him. In the works of Donne and his followers the central thought was clothed in such extravagant "conceits" as to be difficult for any but the initiate to understand. In Spain, the poet Góngora intentionally cultivated the elegant, the precious, and the obscure, giving rise to a trend among poets of less wit and genius that became known as "Gongorism." The same "precious" tendency, though not universal, was apparent among writers of France and elsewhere.

*Reaction
against the baroque in literature*

IN LITERATURE as in art, reaction developed against the ornateness and complications of the baroque

style. Simplicity, clarity, and order became the keynotes of the counter movement, and artists and writers alike took classical forms as their models. This tendency was especially noteworthy in the tragedies of the French dramatist Pierre Corneille, who, except in his most famous play, *The Cid* (page 302), adhered strictly to the classical unities of time, place, and action. He made his characters not so much human beings with human inconsistencies, like Shakespeare's, as consistent personifications of human passions.

The interest of prominent statesmen, who were frequently also patrons
340 of the arts and sciences, led to the formation of academies that were at the

same time a recognition of and an impetus to the talents of scientists, artists, and writers. In Italy the Accademia della Crusca was founded in Florence in 1582. Recognizing that the need for precision in language was no less than that in mathematics, science, and philosophy, the Accademia began to publish an authoritative dictionary of Italian in 1612. The Académie Française, founded by Richelieu in 1635, contributed to the movement toward order and clarity by passing judgments on literary style and by beginning the compilation of an authoritative dictionary of the French language. The Academy of Beaux-Arts was founded in 1648 by Mazarin, and the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres in 1663 by Colbert, who also founded the Academy of Sciences in 1666. In England the Royal Society, a scientific academy formally opened in 1660, had begun informal meetings around 1645, with Robert Boyle as one of its original members. It demanded of its members "a close, naked, natural way of speaking; positive expressions; clear senses; a native easiness; bringing all things as near the Mathematical plainness as they can." In 1670 the Collegium Naturae Curiosorum, a sort of academy of natural sciences, was founded in Vienna and sponsored a series of scientific *Miscellanea*.

*The influences of patronage
on form and content of literature*

WRITERS, like artists, lived by royal, noble, and bourgeois patronage, their literary effort producing little or no income of itself. The law as yet did not generally recognize the copyright as a means of protecting the author's proprietary stake in his publications. The patron's taste influenced both the form and the content of literature, as of painting, and books were often dedicated to patrons. Drama was popular with court circles. The patronage of Richelieu, who even dictated the plots of plays, made possible some of the dramas of Corneille. That Richelieu did not like the choice of a Spanish theme when France was at war with Spain is often believed to have been the reason for his disapproval of *The Cid*. Whatever the reason, it cost Corneille much in the way of financial reward, even though the play was a great popular success. In England the masque, a poetic pageant (Milton's *Comus* is an outstanding example and Ben Jonson wrote many), flourished under the patronage of the Stuarts and their entourage. With the Puritan Revolution, English literature turned to politics. Milton, for example, wrote several of his political tracts as an employee of the state, and Hobbes was a tutor of the exiled Prince Charles, later Charles II. Throughout the century poetry, good and bad, flourished because patrons demanded odes or lamentations for suitable occasions. Leading characters in dramas and novels were kings or men of high position; lesser figures were the place-hunters, counselors, adventurers, and clowns who frequented court circles.

*Music
in the early baroque period*

THE SEVENTEENTH century witnessed the elaboration of several significant forms of musical ex-

pression. Opera houses were built in several cities of western Europe; and grand opera, comic opera, the ballet, and the castrated male soprano became familiar features of metropolitan culture. From the oratory of the Santa Maria Church in Rome the "oratorio" spread; the oratorio is a musical composition on a dramatic religious text, usually with a chorus and an orchestra but without staging or acting. The "cantata" developed as a sort of briefer oratorio—usually secular, however, and for one voice with fewer accompanying instruments. Instrumental music now often took the form of the "sonata," an extended composition in several contrasting movements; or of the "concerto," a composition in which the principal instrument or instruments were supported by a fuller orchestra; or of the "suite," a series made up of compositions based upon different kinds of dances. Among the leaders of these developments—especially of the opera or the oratorio—were the Italians Claudio Monteverdi (1567-1643) and Alessandro Scarlatti (1659-1725), the Florentine-born, French-naturalized Jean Baptiste Lully (1633-1687), and the Englishman Henry Purcell (c. 1658-1695).

*The state of politics
reflected in the letters of the time*

THE QUALITY of the national literatures reflected the political health of their homelands. The

ascendant nations—the England of Milton, the Holland of Grotius, the France of Corneille, the Sweden of Stjernhjelm, "the father of Swedish poetry," sustained a high level of literary production. Spain, declining, produced no outstanding literary figure in the seventeenth century to accompany Velázquez and Murillo. In Italy under Spanish domination, letters failed to keep pace with Italian scientific achievements. In the seventeenth century, nevertheless, Italy was still the inspiration and the mecca of musicians, scientists, artists, and writers like Boyle, Poussin, and Milton from all over Europe. Galileo, moreover, is considered by some to have written at this time the best prose that Italy ever produced.

In Germany, the battleground of the Thirty Years' War, literary and artistic achievement suffered along with everything else. Culturally, as politically, Germany sank rapidly into provincialism. Among the few outstanding works of German literature in the seventeenth century before Leibnitz (page 389), the most renowned was a novel called *The Adventuresome Simplicissimus*, written by Hans Grimmelshausen (1669). A novel after the manner of the Spanish picaresque, it is full of realistic detail about conditions in Germany during the war, based on the author's own adventures with the Hessian army, by whom he was kidnaped at the age of ten. Expressive of the chaotic conditions in Germany, it contains in the course of its wandering narrative a

plan for universal peace. But, sardonically expressive of the hopelessness to which the German people had sunk, this plan, calling for a German leader who would force peace upon the world, came from the mouth of a wandering lunatic. Simplicissimus' efforts to understand a puzzling world and his final sense of resignation arose from the background of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, but he might have lived in any country at any time of crisis.

THE BAROQUE of the early seventeenth century was soon to merge with the baroque of the glamorous age of Louis XIV. The earlier period had obviously been one in which disintegration and pessimism prevailed in many areas. And yet it had also had its uplifting and unifying forces. Political absolutism had given birth in some quarters to the expectation of national glory and domestic order. The advance of knowledge by experimental philosophy led to a hope for continuous progress. The exuberance of the dominant artistic style expressed prosperity and intellectual daring. In a few countries great expectations blossomed. Holland, despite its royalist dissensions, held forth special promise as a flourishing and progressive republic. France had built up a dynastic leadership in Europe that Spain and Austria would soon have reason to regret and the other countries of Europe to fear. England had come, whole though scathed, through a revolution that was to place her far ahead in the ensuing race for political liberty and to set an example for other parts of the world to follow. Brandenburg-Prussia and Russia were growing into formidable powers in European politics.

Royal absolutism and dynastic glory, growing upon the popular quest for order and security, had found its champions, in theory and practice. James I and Thomas Hobbes, Richelieu and Mazarin advocated a monarchical power that could not be easily uprooted, and soon their words and labors were to find an exemplar par excellence in Louis XIV. But the causes of liberty and peace, and of restriction upon arbitrary power, had also found eloquent champions. What men like Grotius and Milton had set forth in theory, and what the Puritan Revolution had aspired to in fact, represented human demands no less lasting and real than the desire for order and security, power and glory. These aspirations and desires, and the conflicts between them, were to outlive the absolute dynasts.

An age that could boast Galileo, Descartes, Rembrandt, and Milton, despite the horrors of its Thirty Years' War and its English Civil War, might well be considered a great age. But like every age, great or petty, it was also an age of transition. The age to which it led was one that the philosopher and historian Voltaire was to rank with Periclean Athens, Augustan Rome, and Renaissance Italy as one of the four greatest ages in the history of Europe until his day.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1582 Organization of the Accademia della Crusca in Florence
- 1599-1660 Diego Velázquez, Spanish painter
- 1602 Founding of the Dutch East India Company
- 1606-1669 Rembrandt van Rijn, Dutch artist
- 1608 Formation of the Protestant Union of German princes
- 1608-1674 John Milton, English poet and pamphleteer
- 1609 A Catholic League formed in opposition to the Protestant Union
- 1609 New mathematical laws governing the movements of planets announced by Kepler
- 1609-1610 Confirmation of the Copernican theory by Galileo
- 1609-1621 The Twelve Years' Truce, ending sporadic fighting between the Spanish and Dutch
- 1618-1625 The Bohemian period, or first phase, of the Thirty Years' War
- 1619 Execution of Oldenbarneveldt, Remonstrant leader, and imposition of religious uniformity upon the Netherlands
- 1620 Sir Francis Bacon's *Novum Organum*
- 1623 The Amboina massacre
- 1625 Grotius' *Concerning the Law of War and Peace*
- 1625-1629 The Danish period of the Thirty Years' War
- 1627 Bacon's *New Atlantis*
- 1628 The Petition of Rights accepted by Charles I of England
- 1628 Harvey's *Anatomical Essay Concerning the Motion of the Heart and Blood*
- 1630-1635 The Swedish period of the Thirty Years' War
- 1632 Galileo's *Dialogues on the Two Chief Systems of the World*
- 1635 Founding of the Académie Française by Richelieu
- 1635-1648 The French period, or final phase, of the Thirty Years' War
- 1636 Corneille's *Cid*
- 1637 Descartes's *Discourse on Method* and *Geometry*
- 1638 Sully's *Memoirs*, containing his "Grand Design"
- 1642-1646 Civil war in England between the Roundheads and Cavaliers'
- 1648 Conclusion of the Thirty Years' War by the Peace of Westphalia
- 1648-1653 The Fronde, a civil war in France
- 1649 Execution of Charles I of England
- 1649-1660 Period of the Commonwealth and Protectorate in England
- 1651 Publication of Harvey's *Essays on Generation*
- 1651 Publication of Hobbes' *Leviathan*
- 1655-1659 The "First Northern War"
- 1660 Restoration of the monarchy to England with Charles II
- 1660 The Law of Compressibility announced by Robert Boyle

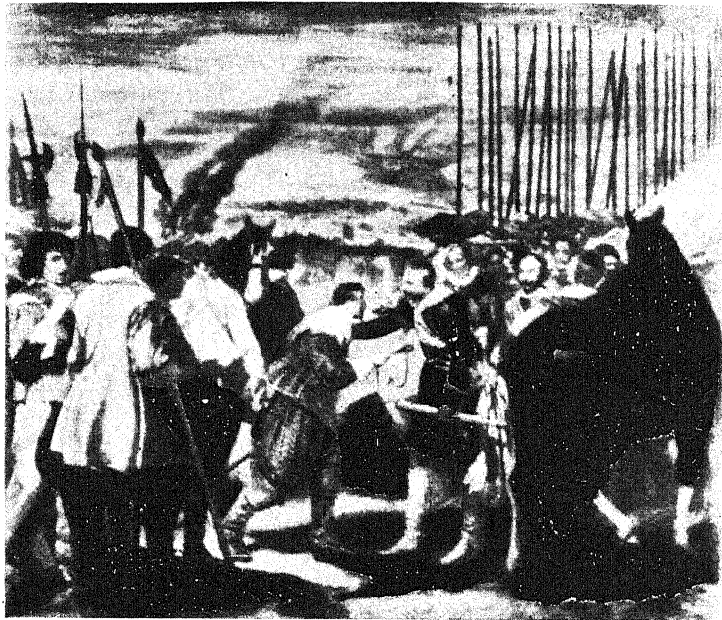
PART THREE

From divine right to human rights (1660-1775)

INTRODUCTION

THE YEARS 1660-1775 witnessed the steady rise of England, Prussia, and Russia as great powers, the rise and decline of Holland and Sweden, the general decline of Spain and Turkey, and the stabilization of Austria's and France's position. The glory that once was Spain is recollected by Velázquez (†1660) in a celebrated painting of a Spanish victory over the Dutch in 1625.

VELÁZQUEZ: SURRENDER OF BREDÁ



The seventeenth century was a "golden age" for the United Provinces. In that period the competition for overseas empires reached a high pitch. The English, the French, and the Dutch tried to establish themselves on the North and South American mainlands alongside of the Spanish and the Portuguese. The Dutch were ousted by the English from North America before the end of the century, but retained a vast empire in the East and West Indies, South America, and Africa. From it they derived rich resources and wealth that made possible a great prosperity and a high level of culture for Holland, despite its small population, its domestic strife, and frequent wars with Spain, England, and France.

The United Provinces took a leading part in the effort to counterbalance the aggressions of Louis XIV and his allies at the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth. They helped to create the Triple Alliance and the League of Augsburg. They bore the brunt of Louis's Dutch War. Their stadholder, William of Orange, became joint ruler of England when the Glorious Revolution of 1688 expelled James II. He played an important role as soldier and diplomat in the wars that under his successors checked Louis, though without destroying the power of France. Exhaustive campaigns and domestic complications, however, made clear by the eighteenth

century that Holland's small size would not enable her to continue her part as a great power, and the Dutch went on the defensive behind their "barrier fortresses" and upon their colonial islands.

In the days of her greatest glory, Holland had produced many great men. To science she gave geniuses like Huygens and Leeuwenhoek, to letters Spinoza, and to exploration Tasman. She had befriended the Pilgrims, Bayle, Descartes, and royalist refugees from the English Commonwealth. But her greatest contribution was in art. In the seventeenth century Rembrandt (†1669) was only one, though probably the most brilliant one, in a galaxy that included the younger Brueghel, the Ruisdaels, Hals, Vermeer, and other so-called "Dutch Masters." Rembrandt produced several self-portraits, of which the one at the left was among the later examples.



REMBRANDT: SELF-PORTRAIT

The years 1660-1775 span the age of absolutism and the Enlightenment. Perhaps the greatest monarch of the era was Louis XIV of France, here portrayed at his prime by Hyacinthe Rigaud (1659-1743). Louis brought France to cultural and diplomatic eminence, but, despite spectacular military successes, he failed to overthrow the balance of power in his own favor. On the other hand, in his reign began the processes by which the French overseas dominion was to dwindle and misery and unrest at home were to find expression at first in literature, then in public remonstrances, and finally in revolution.

Louis XV inherited a still powerful and respected throne, great prestige abroad, and a highly centralized regime. In a series of wars of succession he was able to add to France's European holdings, but at the expense of higher taxes, increased dissatisfaction, and the loss of empire in North America and India.

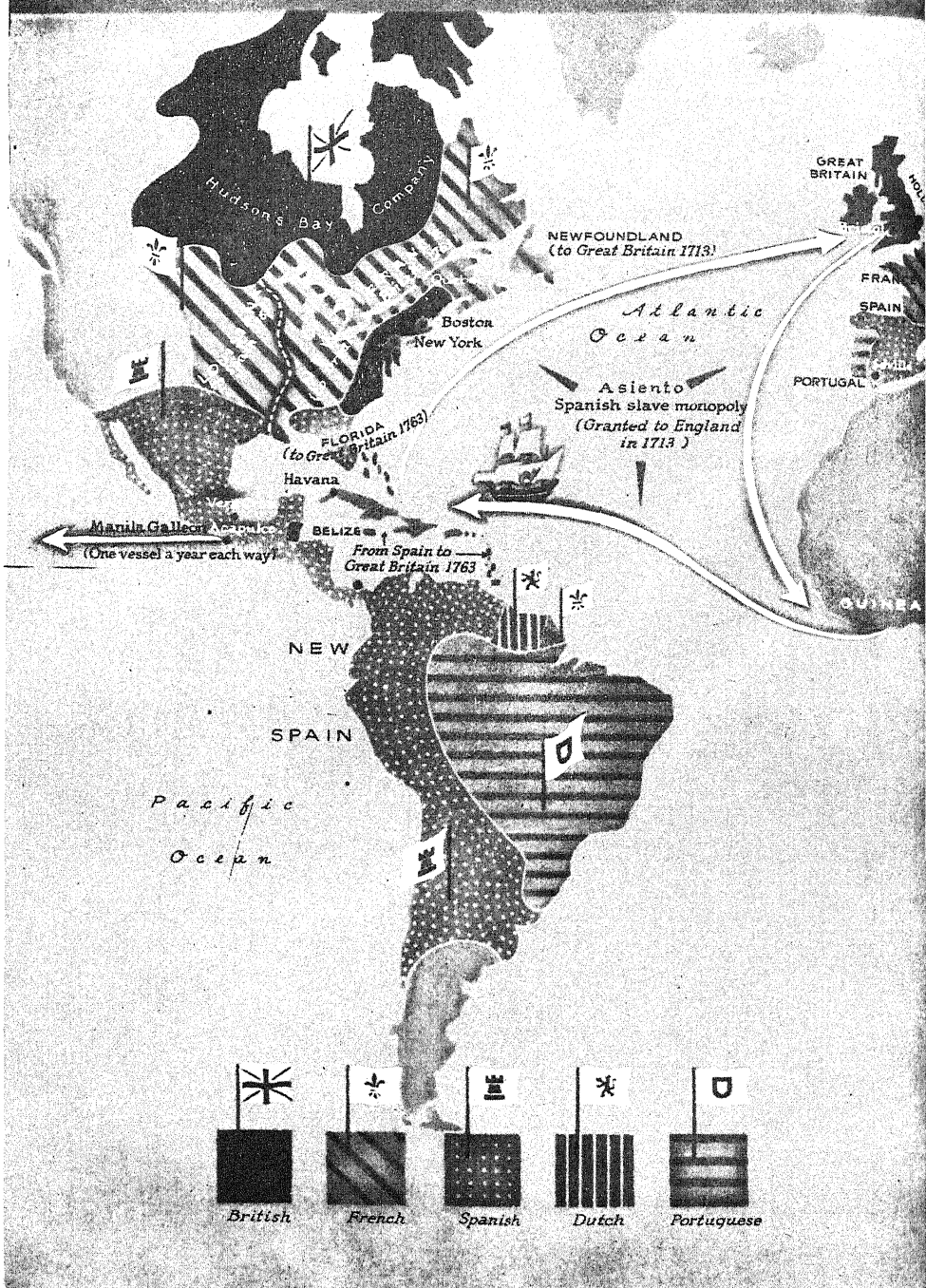
Both reigns were blessed with great names in art and literature. Louis XIV took his responsibility as arbiter of cultural affairs more seriously than Louis XV. Among the men of letters whom he or his retinue encouraged were Corneille, Molière, and Racine. The artists of his day included Poussin, Le Brun, Watteau, and Mansard.

The literature of protest, however, had already begun under the "Sun King" with such illustrious writers as La Bruyère, Fénelon, and Vauban. Under Louis XV it became less clandestine and more articulate, with *philosophes* like Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire, and Diderot. From English revolutionary precedents and Deism, from the interest in the "good savage" and the "Chinese sage," from Cartesian rationalism, Lockean psychology, and Newtonian physics, and from their own classical and French background the *philosophes* developed a series of different political programs. They agreed, however, in one thing—that unenlightened absolutism should give way to some "natural" form of government. Some *philosophes* saw in "enlightened despots" like Frederick of Prussia the answer to the enigma of a "natural" but orderly society.

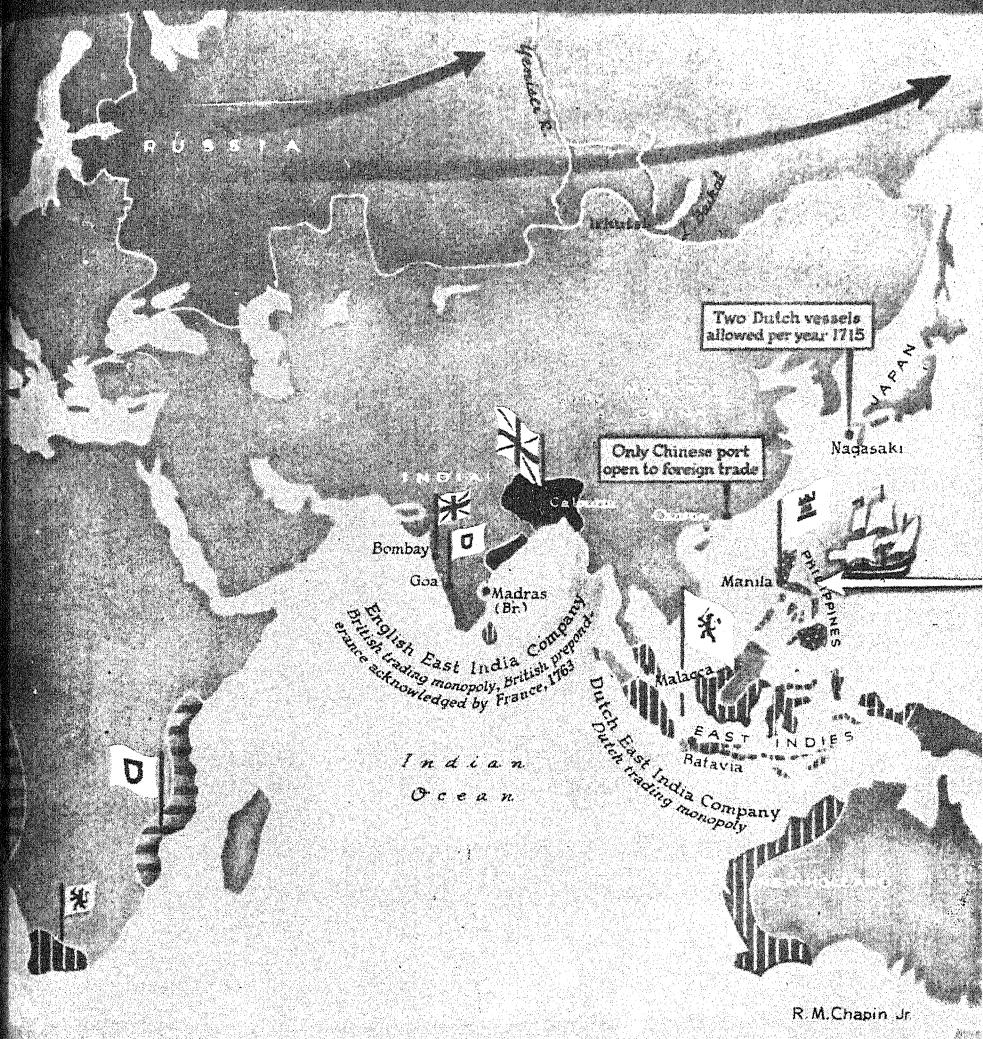


RIGAUD: LOUIS XIV

COMPETITION

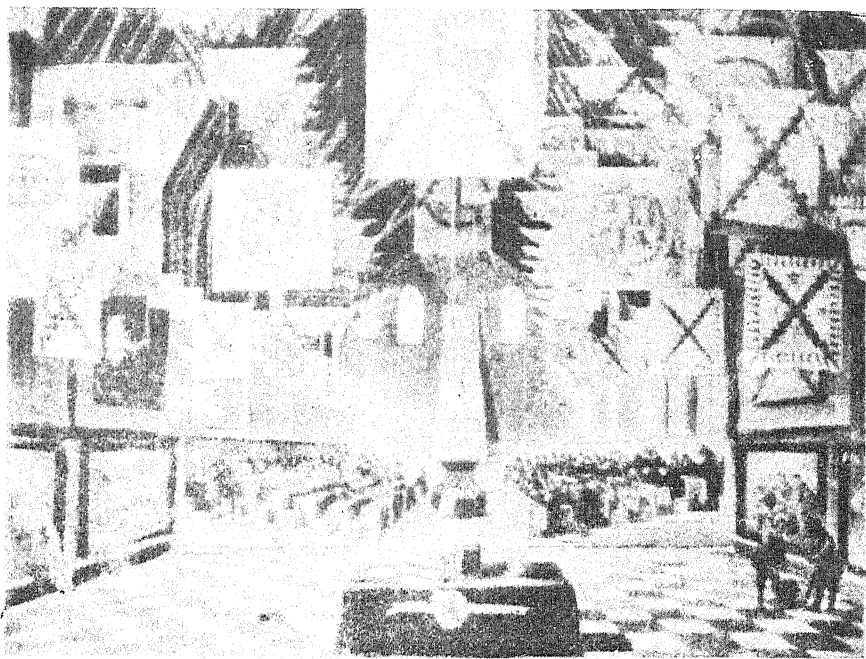


FOR POWER



R. M. Chapin Jr

The years 1660 to 1775 witnessed the rise of England and the decline of Portugal in the world struggle for power and trade. While only trading rights and posts were at stake in the East, in the West whole empires changed hands as the nations of Europe vied for power. Governmental monopolies became a universal tool in this fierce international competition, and trade followed a rigid pattern. Trading companies operated in sharply delimited spheres, especially in the East. Although government regulation of trade was the rule, pirates and freebooters thrived with tacit official consent. During this period both China and Japan expressed their resentment of European intervention by virtually closing their doors to the outside world.



VAN DELEN: STATES-GENERAL OF HOLLAND

Even as enlightened despotism was being elaborated in Europe, the idea of government by the consent of the governed continued to develop. The prosperity of the Dutch Republic, ruled since the sixteenth century by the States-General (above), and the glory of the short-lived British Commonwealth under Cromwell (below) were among the factors that kept republicanism alive.



Louis XIV counted on the colonial and commercial rivalry of Holland and England to give him a free hand in the Spanish Netherlands. The Glorious Revolution of 1688, however, totally upset his calculations. Part of Louis XIV's and Louis XV's purposes in the subsequent wars was to replace the Stuarts upon the English throne. The victory for parliamentary government in England and the writings of Milton, Hobbes, Locke, and others whom civil war and revolution had moved to political speculation affected subsequent revolutionary activity in America and Europe.

In Louis XIV of France and Frederick II of Prussia respectively the eighteenth century found outstanding exemplars of the "absolute" monarch and the enlightened "despot." Among Louis's projects as patron of art was the purchase of the Gobelin tapestry works. Below is one of a famous series of tapestries devoted to the glorification of Louis XIV. Though Louis won his military victories through generals and ministers, several of these tapestries celebrate his achievements as a warrior. In contrast to Louis, Frederick was a great general in his own right. But he preferred to appear as a paternalistic autocrat, no matter how ruthless he may have been in diplomacy or war. Johann Gottfried Schadow (1764-1850) became court sculptor and secretary of the Academy in Berlin in 1788 (after Frederick's death). Besides the sculpture to the right, he did a well-known statue of Frederick (who was also a patron of music) playing the flute.



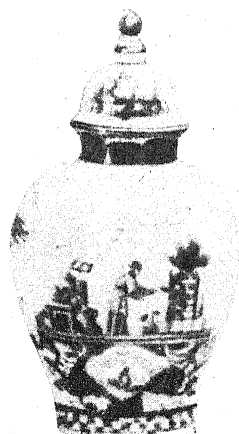
SCHADOW: FREDERICK THE GREAT

GOBELIN TAPESTRY: LOUIS XIV ENTERS TOURNAI





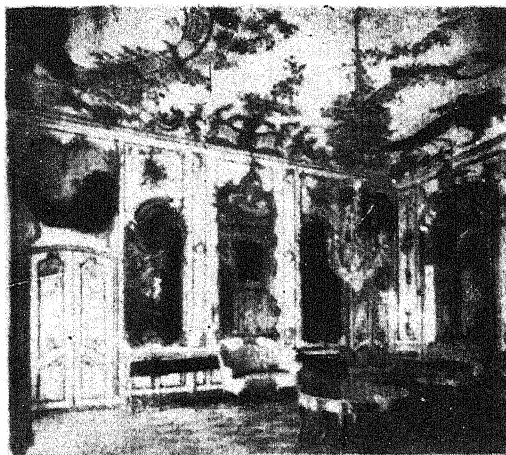
FAÏENCE PLATE FROM ROUEN



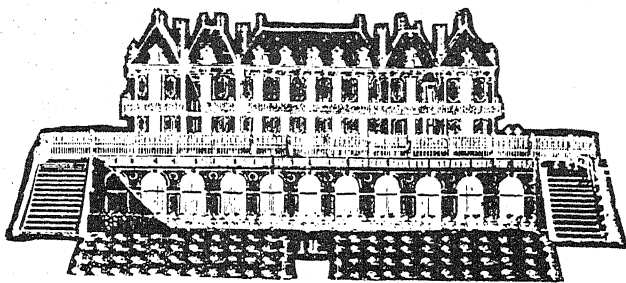
MEISSEN PORCELAIN JAR

The Restoration of the Stuarts to the English throne gave a new impetus to British imperialism, marked by the acquisition of Bombay and New York, the chartering of Connecticut and Rhode Island, and the founding of New Jersey and Pennsylvania. At the same time Colbert urged a willing Louis XIV into empire-building enterprises in the East and the West. When the two imperialistic urges collided, a "Second Hundred Years' War" began—a series of far-flung conflicts eventually involving Europe, Asia, Africa, and the Americas, and ending with a signal victory for the British.

MUSIC ROOM, POTSDAM



Meanwhile traders and missionaries had made the inhabitants of America and Asia better known to Europeans, and exoticism became a vogue in Europe. The respect for Chinese culture became especially pronounced. Carvings and designs, brought from the brilliant China of the K'ang Hsi reign to Europe by competing East India companies, inspired the fashions of the day. Europe's potters strove to imitate Chinese porcelains, decorating their wares with Chinese motifs (as above). "Chinoiserie" influenced the style of tapestries, furniture (notably Chippendale's), and gardens, and sometimes of whole rooms, like the one in Frederick II's palace (left).



CHAPTER VIII

Louis XIV and French hegemony 1661-1690.

ABLE ADMINISTRATORS like Sully, Richelieu, and Mazarin had made France a highly centralized state. When Louis XIV undertook to rule as well as to reign, he was able to count upon enough military force, economic resources, and political unity within the state to make him easily recognizable as the master and the most dominant figure—the “Sun King.” Louis’s personality and policy combined to make him cultivate the position of absolute monarch—one in whom the principal legislative, judicial, and executive authority was vested and whose power, therefore, was almost unquestioned.

The absolute monarch, we shall see, was not quite totalitarian, however. He was limited by persistent survivals of ecclesiastical, corporate, and feudal privileges from the past, by local charters, treaties, and capitulations, and by the desire, reinforced by religious and philosophical principles, to be enlightened and paternalistic. If he saw fit, nevertheless, he could muster enough strength to overcome these obstacles to his accumulation of power. Louis XIV often did so; and Louis XIV, we shall find, was the model after whom other absolute monarchs fashioned their careers. Until the 1680’s Louis was not only to increase in domestic and international stature but, in so doing, to make France the great cultural center and the major political power of Europe.

At the same time, counter forces were being enrolled to offset the Sun King’s potency. At home he was to meet little opposition that he could not override, but abroad coalitions were to be effected that ultimately would redress the balance of power. In the first decades of his reign, although obliged to stop short of his goal, he nevertheless won impressive advantages and enhanced both his reputation at home and the consternation of the other powers like Holland, England, Sweden, Spain, and Austria. This glory ulti-

mately proved to have been purchased at a great price—perhaps a greater price than France could afford; and England was to arise as a rival and counterpoise to Louis XIV's France. But only after William III became a joint ruler of England in 1688 did that eventuality appear at all likely. Until that day—and for some time beyond it—Louis XIV remained the most dazzling king in an age of absolute monarchs.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY SOCIETY

EUROPEAN society at the close of the seventeenth century was in some regards much like that of earlier centuries. The great intellectual, religious, commercial, and geographical revolutions of the preceding eras had effected important social changes, but for the most part, the outward forms seemed the same, no matter how profound the internal modifications. Except in a few republics, society was still topped by a king and his court; the clergy was still given the place of highest venerability; the nobles, especially the military nobles, still enjoyed the most privileges and the highest honors and offices; the bourgeoisie still resented their social inferiority and strove to overcome it; most of the population by far was made up of peasants; and the poor of the cities were largely negligible and, in any case, generally neglected.

*Absolutism
and the divine-right ruler*

THE KING claimed to rule "by the grace of God." He was the head of the national church. He was

usually the chief personality in shaping his people's culture and institutions. He nearly always proposed to weld his dynastic state into a unified and uniform nation with himself as its puissant ruler. In countries like France, the full growth of royal absolutism in the latter part of the seventeenth century was the outcome of a long process. In Prussia, on the other hand, it was to be rapidly created by a few rulers; and in Russia its achievement was to be so swift that it amounted to a kind of autocratic revolution.

"One king, one law, one faith" was the ideal of seventeenth-century absolutism. It was an ideal only imperfectly achieved in even the most absolute of states. Local traditions, practices, and institutions were confirmed by ancient treaties and charters, and still had to be respected; religious dissent was to be found in almost every state and led to doubt of the ruler's supremacy in church matters; and powerful groups such as the nobles, the clergy, and the guilds persisted in stubborn defense of their traditional or chartered privileges. Nevertheless, in many states of Europe the broad aims of absolutism were achieved to a striking degree. Internal order was maintained; religious uniformity was enforced with the king as head of the church; and the resources of the state were increased and better marshaled



This vignette, from a poem by Boileau dedicated to Louis XIV, portrays a group of cherubs playing with the symbols of absolutism—the crown and scepter of France clustered about an orb bearing fleurs-de-lis, the French royal emblem.

through royal regulation. Sometimes these ends were considered desirable in themselves for the greater welfare of the monarch's realm, but often they were sought only as a means of competing favorably with other states in the continual struggle for international superiority in commerce and war.

*The role
of the professional soldier*

RELATIONS with other states were of paramount concern to the seventeenth-century monarch, and

his government's international power and prestige were to a great extent determined, as they are today, by the relative efficiency of his army on the field of battle. For that reason, as well as for the maintenance of his power at home, military force was an important instrument of his authority. Seldom did the king count upon a citizen soldiery, however. Professional armies made up of men who had been soldiers all their lives and knew no other trade were officered by noblemen who considered military service their highest calling. If enough nationals could not be induced, cajoled, and impressed into the royal army, whole military units were always available for a price in Switzerland, Germany, and elsewhere. These well-equipped, well-trained mercenaries became a familiar feature of the seventeenth-century army, replacing or supplementing older systems of feudal levies, recruitment by officers, and privileged military castes.

Battles were numerous. It was a period in which war followed war, with only brief intervals of peace, involving constant drains on royal treasuries and consequent burdens upon the middle and lower classes, who paid the

largest share of the taxes. Although absolutism generally meant domestic peace and order, it tended to sharpen dynastic ambition. A king who was autocratic might go to war all the more readily because he was able easily to command the military resources of a well-regulated state. Nevertheless, warfare in a period of horse-drawn transportation was necessarily limited in the numbers and areas directly involved and so meant a drain upon only a part of an unoccupied land's resources. "Total war" was still mostly unknown.

*The influence
exerted by the court nobility*

OF THE king's subjects, the courtiers were the most dashing. Their influence varied from one state to

another, but in general their glamour was great and their power considerable. Court nobles had many social privileges. Many offices and occupations were open only to them, and they retained generous exemptions from taxation and the right to levy feudal dues upon the peasantry. They were still rich as landlords and important as military, ecclesiastical, diplomatic, and civil officials. Young courtiers, as members of a hereditary official class, were frequently well trained for their anticipated posts in the army, the government, or the church. Sometimes the nobles were also highly appreciative patrons of the arts and letters, science, and philosophy. But their political power and authority had of late been endangered by the increasing clamor of king and middle class for power and authority. Many an ancient scion was now more a hereditary parasite than a vigorous part of the government.

*The local glamour
of the country nobility*

NOT ALL nobles were courtiers. Some were too proud or too poor to go to court and become hench-

men of the king. They remained on their estates—the squires of England, the *hobereaux* ("sparrow hawks") of France, the Junkers of Prussia—cultivating their lands, superintending their own affairs, and playing the local lord when they could. They often had great prestige in their own provinces, which was enhanced if they occasionally visited court or went off to the wars. While their national fame was less than that of the great absentee landlords who lived at court, they were frequently better liked or respected among the peasants on their lands, when they were not petty tyrants or skinflints.

*Rise of the bourgeoisie
to power in England and France*

AT A time when wealth was measured largely in land, the economic power of the landowning aristoc-

racy was still great. The aristocrat's political importance, however, was gradually being overtaken, in western states at least, by the growing power of the middle class—the merchant and the industrial entrepreneur. In France, that power was still at the disposal of absolutism; in England it had been enlisted to overthrow absolutism. In France, commerce and industry ad-

vanced largely under royal initiative and within the framework of royal control, and the merchant or manufacturer was dependent on the king's good will in running his business. In England, on the other hand, the crown granted private monopolies to individual entrepreneurs, who were then fairly free to manage their affairs as they saw fit. They thus developed an independence of royal favor conspicuously lacking in France, and this independence, which had already played a part in severing one king's head from his body, was soon to have a role in forcing another king from his throne.

<i>The burden of taxes on the common man</i>	THE PEASANT in some ways paid for the wars, the elegant court, and the elaborate government of
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his ruler. The peasantry generally made up around three-quarters of the population. Cities rarely contained more than a hundred thousand, and the largest, London and Paris, had only around a half million. The city artisans and the "proletariat" (which at this time meant "low," "vulgar") seldom had enough property to pay taxes. Although in some countries, like France, they had begun to organize rudimentary labor unions (*compagnonnages*), such associations were frowned upon by the law and were more like clubs for mutual aid and camaraderie than for collective bargaining. The new middle-class merchants, industrialists, and bankers paid huge taxes, but these groups were not numerous; and as taxes were frequently on land and agricultural commodities, and as privileges and exemptions reduced the large landowners' tax load, it was the peasantry as a class who paid by far the greatest share of the taxes to state, church, and feudal lord.

<i>Powerlessness of the masses to effect a change</i>	RESPECT for the political power of the common man was seldom a characteristic of seventeenth-
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century statesmen. Writers like La Bruyère and Fénelon or reformers like the Marshal de Vauban sometimes showed a becoming moral indignation at the common misery. But the peasants were not a revolutionary force. A busy king could afford to be paternalistic about them in a leisurely fashion, for the Bible taught him that "the poor always ye have with you." They were a perpetual but not pressing problem and bore their burdens as best they could because they had no means of avoiding them. They moved within the framework of a stratified society and an absolute state, and if they sometimes protested against it, the rare peasants' uprisings, in France disdainfully called *jacqueries*, were usually frustrated and did little to alter their conditions or to shape institutions and the course of empires. It was the more articulate and powerful upper classes—the aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, and especially the kings—who were the decisive influences in designing the early modern cultural pattern.

*The trend in France
toward peasant proprietorship*

NEVERTHELESS, the generally passive relationship of the common man to the land, to his bet-

ters, and to the intellectual, political, and religious currents of the time was significant in the movements and trends of his day. The peasants' precarious livelihood depended upon the soil they tilled. Some of them were freeholders, some were tenants, some were sharecroppers, and some were serfs. By the end of the seventeenth century there was considerable variation in different parts of Europe in the relation of the peasant to the land.

In France the manorial system still generally prevailed with its usual peasant holdings, its primitive methods of cultivation, its common ownership of pasture and woods, and its obligations owed to the lord. But despite the persistence of many feudal obligations, an increasing number of peasants were acquiring certain proprietary rights in their lands. Subject to the dues and rights claimed by the lord, they were free to use the produce of their property as they wished and to sell the land or will it to their heirs. This trend toward peasant proprietorship became so clearly marked even before the French Revolution that, with the eventual abolition of the manorial system, France acquired and retains today an agricultural economy largely based on small proprietary holdings. The tendency to purchase even a conditioned property right in a piece of land was especially characteristic of the enterprising peasantry in the more fertile areas of France. In the less fertile areas, serfdom tended to survive uncurtailed or to change to *métayage* (sharecropping). By either of these institutions, the landlord was assured of labor, and the peasant was fairly certain that, no matter how unfortunate or shiftless he was, his lord's need for labor would provide him with subsistence.

*The growth of large estates
in England and in eastern Europe*

IN ENGLAND, on the other hand, the more rapid growth of capitalism and the incentive of the

profitable wool trade operated to break up the manorial system and to consolidate smaller holdings into large estates devoted mainly to sheep raising. The peasantry tended to become agricultural laborers rather than freehold proprietors, or to seek employment under the domestic system or in the small factories that were increasing in numbers. A class of freeholders known as the "yeomanry" maintained itself for some time after the decline of the manorial system, but by the end of the seventeenth century it was gradually dying out, its holdings being purchased by the wealthier classes. England became a land of large estates and has tended to remain so to the present day.

In middle and eastern Europe the aristocratic basis of land ownership and the system of large estates were in the seventeenth century even more pronounced than in England. Except in southwest Germany, the peasantry lost status and sank to serfdom. In eastern Germany, Poland, Russia, and the

Austrian domains, the landowning aristocracy retained on their own estates the semifeudal authority that in the west had been undermined by the gradual increase of monarchical power. In addition, the comparative absence of commerce and industry tied the peasant closely to the land. The lowly status of the peasants on huge estates owned by Prussian Junkers, Russian boyars, and Hungarian magnates was to persist into the twentieth century.

<i>The increasing gulf between highborn and lowborn</i>	ALL OVER Europe the gulf between upper and lower classes tended to grow wider in the seven-
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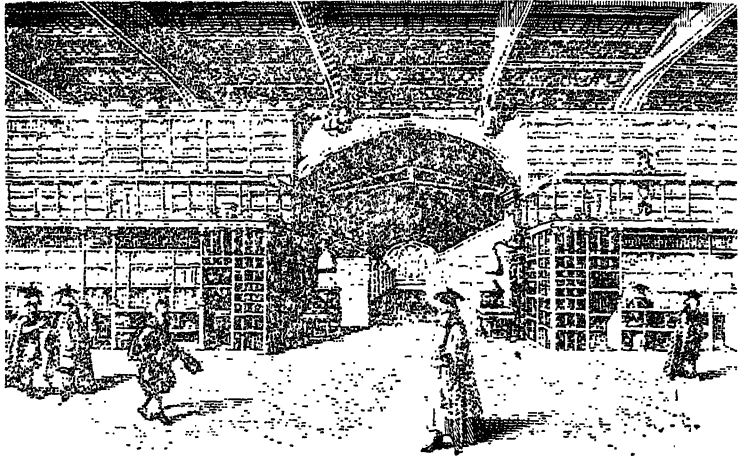
teenth century. Yet this development did not take place everywhere to the same extent. In England, for example, many of the gentry were as ignorant and provincial in manners and attitudes as the lowliest farmhand. Nevertheless, even in England the lower classes were expected to keep their place. It was only in capitals and palaces, where the wealthy bourgeoisie frequently penetrated the ranks of the aristocracy by marriage and prestige, that rigid class distinctions might become at all obscured.

<i>Reasons for the increase of class distinctions</i>	SEVERAL trends increased the barrier between upper and lower classes. One was that the rich be-
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came richer, and their manner of living became more and more lavish. Whereas in medieval times the nobles suffered many of the same hardships that the commoners had had to endure, the seventeenth-century aristocrat, and the well-to-do merchant too, were noted for their luxurious mode of living. They wore fine clothes, gave sumptuous banquets, gambled, drank imported wines, attended balls and theaters, traveled to foreign lands, and patronized poets and scientists. Whereas the lord had once lived side by side with the peasants on his estate, he now lived an entirely different life from that of the lowly tiller of the soil. In France and to some extent in England, many nobles literally moved in a different world. They were absentee landlords. They lived at court or in the cities, and often neither knew nor cared what was happening in the provinces.

A second development that tended to set the lower classes more apart from the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie was the growth of a class of wage earners. Both on the farm and in the small shop, the impersonal employer-worker relationship was replacing the cooperative manorial enterprise and the master-and-assistant relationship of the guild system. This change was still rare on the Continent, but in England it was becoming rather common. Something like one half the English population were farm hands who owned no land. A class of agricultural laborers was growing up whose interests were often antagonistic to those of the employer on whom they were dependent.

A third trend was the increase in the hiatus between the educated and the ignorant. The educated were the clergy and, as a rule, the aristocracy and the



Great libraries were known in the seventeenth century. The Bodleian Library at Oxford University, whose interior is shown above, and the Royal Library in Paris were examples. They were not public libraries, however, and they were not thronged.

wealthy bourgeoisie. The mere ability to read and write put them in touch with a whole world of ideas and knowledge that was utterly foreign to the illiterate peasant, whose education rarely went beyond learning his catechism by rote from the parish priest or vicar. Even among the literate, there were wide divergences, for, though belles-lettres were now customarily written in the national tongue, science and scholarship were still generally expressed in the international language, Latin, and were expected to become the property only of the initiate. Among the educated, new ideas in religion and philosophy and new scientific discoveries were doing much to modify old patterns of thought, while the lower classes, only indirectly affected by the intellectual ferment, believed and acted as their parents had. This period between the Middle Ages and the Industrial Revolution, when new ideas were rapidly colliding with old ones but were largely a monopoly of those who could buy and read the expensive books in which they were set forth, was characterized by a most marked cultural lag. Those who worked for a living lagged far behind those who had money and leisure.

*General acceptance
of distinctions between classes*

BUT THOUGH the upper and lower strata of society were growing further apart, contemporaries in

both classes were probably unconscious of the trend. Class cleavage was generally accepted as the usual order of things. If the peasants rebelled occa-

sionally, it was rather in protest against specific grievances than in favor of abstract rights or class equality, and their rebellions effected little reform. The rate of social change, though increasing, was still so slow that rarely did one expect to do things differently from a preceding generation. Local custom determined how a man would farm his land, usually dictating a three-year rotation of wheat, grain or vegetable, and fallow, and (sometimes fortified by laws restricting certain employments to certain classes) indicated what trade he would follow—usually that of his father. A woman generally accepted the traditional pattern as daughter, sister, wife, housekeeper, and mother.

In the seventeenth century, only the higher circles of urban society experienced a great fermentation, and even among them it was likely to be intellectual or political rather than social or economic. It involved religious, artistic, and literary criteria and the problems of royal prerogative and aristocratic privilege. Rarely was lower-class participation in government suggested or a more equal distribution of property proposed, and when a few daring agitators like the English Levellers advocated equality, they were looked upon as extremists and won little following. Nevertheless, among the propertied—court, aristocracy, and bourgeoisie—the primarily political fermentation was in another century to lead to a great struggle for power, in which were to be involved grave social implications. A profounder and more leveling revolution in institutions, customs, and manners would have to await the technological changes and the perplexing maladjustments of a still later century.

FRANCE

UNDER LOUIS XIV

ON THE death of Mazarin in 1661, the concept of monarchy in France had come a long way since the days of King Louis XI. The royal family had rounded out its territorial holdings so that few enclaves, or independent territories, remained within the swelling boundaries of France. Foreign powers had been obliged by Henry IV, Richelieu, and Mazarin to recognize France's might on the battlefield and prestige at the conference table, and to surrender to France desirable pieces of disputed land. A huge overseas empire had been founded in North America. Protestants, Frondeurs, and ancient families had been taught to respect the royal prerogative and centralizing influence, while a middle class, growing increasingly rich and powerful, sought closer alliance with the throne. Even a less ambitious and convinced prince than Louis XIV might have felt impelled to continue this trend toward domestic control and international hegemony by the French royal family. Louis's inclinations and convictions allowed him no other choice.

*Louis XIV's accession
to a strong centralized state*

IN 1661, the twenty-three-year-old Louis XIV, who had been king in name since early childhood, as-

sumed personal control of the government of France. He quickly adopted a policy intended to make France unquestionably the leading state in Europe and his royal authority absolute within the realm. The successes of French arms and diplomacy during and after the Thirty Years' War and the corresponding diminution in the power and prestige of both the Spanish and the Austrians gave the Bourbons a clear ascendancy in the old rivalry between the Habsburgs and the dynasties of France; and no other rivals for international domination appeared worthy of major attention as yet. Inside France, Louis XIV was the beneficiary of the civil wars that had nearly blighted his childhood. The recent disturbances of the Fronde had made him resolve to reduce the haughtiest in his realm beyond the power of rebellion and, at the same time, they had augmented the sentiment in favor of order through monarchical absolutism, throwing into disrepute the turbulent nobles who had been responsible for the uprisings. Everything was favorable to the extension of Louis's prestige abroad and absolutism at home.

*Louis
and the divine right of kings*

FAVORABLE circumstances were matched by the personality of the new king. He had been schooled

in the achievements of his grandfather Henry IV, whose kingship had been held up to him as a model, and he had an exalted conception of the place of a king in the designs of Providence.

In this attitude Louis was admirably served by the current belief in the divine right of kings. From that belief he derived his own confidence in the peculiar fitness of kings: "Holding as it were the place of God, we seem to participate in his wisdom as in his authority."¹⁹ After he had been king of France for well over half a century, he said to his grandson, who was going to Madrid to become king of Spain, "Listen to and consult your council but make your own decisions. God, Who made you king, will give you the necessary insight as long as you have good intentions."²⁰

Louis made a serious business of being king. He was destined to reign longer than any other European ruler in modern times—seventy-two years—and to work assiduously all that time to make his name feared and respected throughout Europe. He devoted himself as unstintingly to matters of detail as to the formation of policies and kept his finger on developments in every field

¹⁹Louis XIV, *Mémoires* (in *Oeuvres de Louis XIV*, ed. P. A. Grouvelle, Paris: Tréuttel et Würtz, 1806), II, 283.

²⁰Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV* (*Oeuvres Complètes*, Paris: Garnier Frères, 1878), XIV,

of governmental endeavor. Though he was ably assisted by councils and officials, he ruled personally; tolerating no insubordination and recognizing no authority impinging on his own. His attention was concentrated, with rare consistency, on a single end—the glory of France, of which he consciously and deliberately made himself the living personification. As is frequently the case with autocrats, he found it hard to distinguish between his will and his responsibility for the welfare of his state. He did not actually say, *L'Etat c'est moi* ("I am the state"), but his manner was so much in keeping with such a statement as to lend credence to the legend that he did.

*Louis's centralization
of the government of France*

ONE OF Louis's earliest achievements was the strengthening of the administrative machinery in

order to achieve greater control by the central government. He was ably seconded by a number of lieutenants inherited from Richelieu and Mazarin, of whom the great general, Viscount de Turenne, and the great minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert, were the foremost. Under Louis's inspiration these men organized the diplomatic service, revised and renovated internal administration, reformed finances and put them on a sound basis, and reorganized and strengthened the army. These measures produced a political and economic absolutism matched in the Europe of his day only by the Turkish government.

*Louis's reforms
in political administration*

LOUIS'S political reforms were early directed against those institutions which conflicted with the

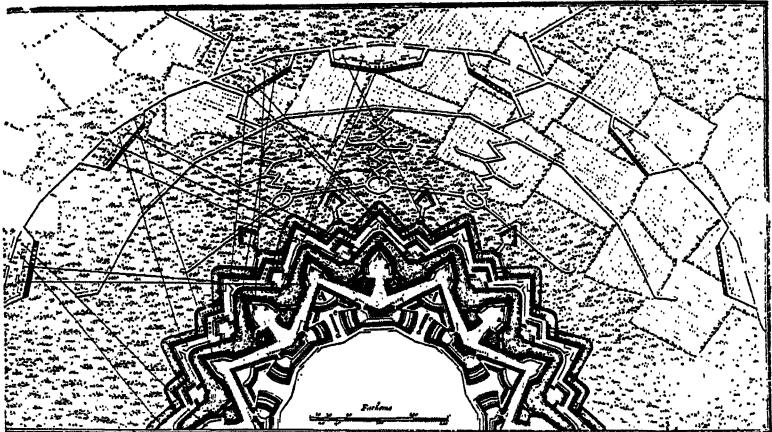
king's jurisdiction. In order to enfeeble the parlements, Louis imposed a royal system of law and justice. Simply by removing crucial cases from their jurisdiction he emasculated their power, becoming in the eyes of the people the source of justice and the highest authority for the redress of legal grievances. In order to enfeeble the nobles, the king pursued a double-edged policy. He attracted them to his court by offering them positions of great prestige and small influence, while at the same time undermining their provincial power by sending able royal agents into the provinces. These agents were the "intendants," an ancient body of officials further developed by Richelieu for a similar purpose. Louis gave the intendants increasing authority at the expense not only of nobles but of municipal councils and provincial estates; so that to a large degree they became responsible for the finances, agriculture, industry, municipal administration, and maintenance of order and justice in the provinces. The old institutions remained, but their power dwindled before the growth of the royal administration. Whenever a serious clash of authority arose between a royal intendant and a local authority such as the provincial estates or the provincial governor, Louis's personal intervention was usually enough to solve the issue on the side of royal authority.

*Military reorganization
and new methods of warfare*

THE REORGANIZATION of the army was carried out with especial thoroughness. The old system

whereby the formation of a regiment was often the private venture of an officer who was regarded as proprietor of the regiment was replaced by state recruitment and state control. Proprietary regiments continued to exist but largely as an honor to the proprietary colonel, who was now subordinated to the army's officials like any other colonel. Patterned after Cromwell's New Model Army, all regiments in the French army began to wear distinctive uniforms and to be carefully drilled. A rigid hierarchy of ranks was introduced; and, while commissions could still be bought, merit had also to be proved and promotions could be won without purchase. A system of supply by the state (logistics) was developed, so that French armies no longer had to "live off the land"—i.e., beg or demand food when and where they could—as had been the common military practice theretofore. Weapons were improved; the bayonet, affixed to the musket, replaced the pike, and hand grenades came into use. Crack regiments of musketeers and grenadiers were trained for especially arduous endeavors. Most of these innovations were the work of Louis's minister of war, the Marquis de Louvois.

During the numerous wars that Louis was to wage, the sciences of offensive siege and defensive fortification were brought to a new perfection. The engineering genius of Marshal de Vauban was responsible for remodeling old fortresses, building new ones, and teaching Louis's soldiers the method of attacking enemy fortifications by constructing and advancing over a succes-



364 *A plan of attack upon a fortification drawn by Marshal de Vauban, showing the use of parallel trenches for siege purposes. Zigzag trenches connect the main ones.*

sive series of parallel trenches. French fortresses became almost impregnable, and the defenses of other nations proved of little avail against the new French offensive technique. Vauban thus became largely responsible for converting strategy from extensive maneuvers of armies (warfare of movement) to siege operations (warfare of position). This development tended to limit the costliness, area, and intensity of war—at least for noncombatants.

Fiscal reorganization

and new methods of taxation

LOUIS'S ambitious designs at home and abroad required a plentiful royal revenue. This was the

assignment of Louis's able finance minister, Colbert. Out of a financial system close to chaos, Colbert coaxed a substantial income in the very first year of his administration. By a series of rigorous measures he provided his energetic employer with a ready income and, for a time, benefited the country as well. He was able to restore confidence in the royal credit and thus to reduce the rate of interest on government loans. He reassessed some of the direct taxes (i.e., taxes paid directly to the government) according to the taxpayer's ability to pay. France had also a system of indirect taxes which proved more difficult to amend. These indirect taxes were paid, not to government agents, but to private or semiprivate individuals who were known as "tax farmers." The financial and political power of these tax farmers was enormous. A selected group of men, they were permitted to pay a lump sum to the government for a "farm"—i.e., the privilege of selling certain government monopolies like salt and tobacco in a certain area for a certain period of time. They then operated the "farm" in such a way as to secure as great a profit as they could. Colbert permitted this system of indirect taxation to remain, but he drastically reduced corruption and abuse among the tax farmers and their agents. He also encouraged economy in administration by keeping close account of receipts and expenditures. And he tried to abolish some of the many provincial customs barriers. Especially in the provinces around Paris (known in this connection as the "Five Great Farms"), where royal payments were eliminated on goods moving across provincial or city boundaries, trade moved more speedily, cheaply, and abundantly than ever before.

Colbert

and his rigid economic system

ALTHOUGH Colbert's policies took as their starting point the increase of royal revenue, they widened

out to embrace the whole pattern of French economic life. His measures and influence went far beyond the royal exchequer, penetrating deep into the French political and economic structure. He adopted a new principle of increasing revenue. The old way had been to levy whatever taxes were easiest to collect, regardless of the effect on the taxpayer. Colbert revised this formula, making the effect on the taxpayer a significant concern. A sound fiscal structure, he believed, necessitated a healthy national economy. The

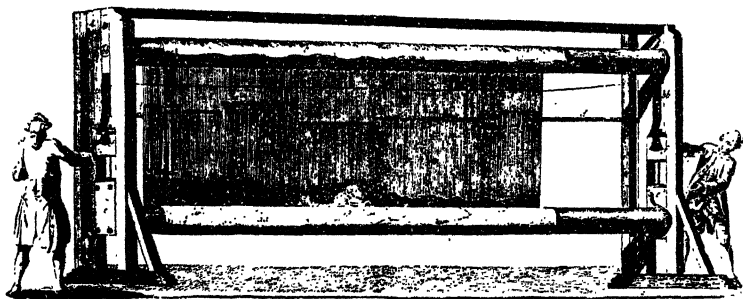
logical extension of this principle was the building-up of the taxpayer's ability to pay by a comprehensive system of governmental encouragement to all forms of economic activity. His motivation was not altruistic but business-like; he believed that this method would ultimately produce more income.

To that end Colbert encouraged native agriculture and industry and excluded as nearly as possible all foreign trade. His policy, which became known as "Colbertism," was a particularly systematic and rigorous form of mercantilism, which had long been practiced in varying degrees by enterprising monarchs. The motives behind Colbertism were to promote self-sufficiency in times of war and prosperity in times of peace. It was a corollary of the system of antagonistic sovereign states and of the prevailing persuasion that what was one country's gain in commerce was another country's loss. Colbert believed, as did most men in his day, that a nation should be independent economically as well as politically. Just as a strong state defended its political frontiers against foreign invasion, so it erected customs barriers against the invasion of its markets by foreign goods.

*Colbertism
in actual operation in France*

WITH THE active support of Colbert, with foreign competition excluded by high protective tariffs,

and with a carefully supervised taxation scheme, French industries and agriculture flourished conspicuously for a time. Shipbuilding was encouraged and new arsenals were built. Foreign specialists were called in to develop French luxury industries—among others, Flemish weavers to improve the texture of cloth and Venetian glassblowers to impart their secrets to the French glass industry. The old Gobelin tapestry factory was bought by Louis XIV, and one of the leading artists of France, Charles Le Brun, was installed as its director; its output includes some of the world's most famous tapestries,



366 This print of a loom from the famous Gobelin tapestry factory is taken from Diderot's *Encyclopédie* (pages 518-519). The tapestry rolled up below as the weavers finished.

fourteen of them commemorating the glorious military and domestic achievements of the Sun King. Minute regulations of quality and workmanship ensured a high degree of excellence in French export products. A commercial code made uniform throughout the realm the rules governing apprenticeship, contracts, and other business relations.

In the best tradition of his day Colbert applied himself to the fortunes of France overseas. New colonies were planted, emigration to overseas dominions was encouraged, East and West Indian commercial companies were chartered to compete with the English and the Dutch, and the navy was strengthened to protect French commerce on the seas. Colbert's encouragement to colonies and commerce, however, was to bring France only temporary wealth and prestige but the lasting enmity of her rivals.

To be sure, Colbert's aggressive regulation and control of economic enterprise tended to encourage undertakings that were destined ultimately to failure (his colonial ventures being a striking example), created an irritating inflexibility at variance with the natural conditions of supply and demand, and annoyed other nations whose products were shut out by his high tariff barriers. At the same time, some of his measures immediately invigorated the national economic life and proved, in the short run at least, of great advantage to France. Among these was his program of public works, whose benefits—improvements in old roads and palaces and the building of new ones, the reclaiming of marshes, and the digging of canals—long outlasted Colbert's system itself. The Languedoc Canal, connecting the Mediterranean with the Atlantic by means of the Rhone and Garonne Rivers, was to excite the admiration even of men who doubted the merit of Louis XIV's other achievements.

Louis XIV,

focus of court life at Versailles

TO POLITICAL absolutism Colbert
thus added economic absolutism;
to these two policies Louis added

a third, centered in the lavish court maintained at Versailles. By making court society the be-all and end-all of aristocratic ambition, Louis preserved a delicate equilibrium of social classes and bound them to him with a personal allegiance compounded of social prestige, caste, and reflected glory. Louis built a magnificent palace at Versailles, which, abandoning his several palaces in Paris, he made the capital of France. It was built by Jules Hardouin Mansard, probably the greatest architect of the day. Its gardens and lengthy vistas were the triumph of André Lenôtre. Palace and gardens became not only the envy and model of every petty European prince who tried to ape French court manners, but also a symbol of Louis's social predominance inside of France. Here he skillfully rendered the nobles politically docile. To be one of the king's gentlemen, to be permitted to attend a "levée" (as the

morning ceremony associated with his beginning the day was called), to receive a favor or a word of approval from him became the goals of the highest nobles. This domestication of a hitherto independent species went to the point where some of the prouder nobility became resentful. The Duc de St. Simon, who left a set of memoirs which has become a classic of that type of literature, reveals how embittered an unbending aristocrat could become when his peers acted in a fashion which he regarded as fawning.

*The bourgeoisie
and lower classes under Louis XIV*

SOME OF the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, were rewarded for loyalty and services with patents

of nobility. Since the time of Henry IV certain magistracies, particularly in the parlements, had been venal. That is, they could be made hereditary by the payment of a fixed sum of money. Such hereditary offices carried a kind of lower nobility with them. Their holders became known as the *noblesse de la robe* (gown nobility). This system bound them in devotion to the king and at the same time decreased the influence of the older nobility of the sword (the *noblesse de l'épée*) by increasing the total number of the nobility. As intermarriage among all ranks of the nobility was frequent and was not unknown even between nobles and rich bourgeois girls, the blood of some ancient families sometimes was a pale blue indeed. As for the lower classes, they at first benefited from Colbert's administrative and tax reforms, and, until his costly wars alienated them, they were grateful for the order and stability provided by the absolutism of their ruler.

*Louis
as head of the French nation*

NO ELEMENT of society offered serious challenge to the king's will. National pride found a focal

point in the resplendent monarch who epitomized the glory of France. During the early part of the reign, while Colbert was Louis's chief minister and before Louis's numerous military ventures had made a system of exorbitant taxes necessary, the country was almost unanimous in adulation of its divinely appointed king. This sentiment amounted to a cult worshipping Louis XIV, who was commonly referred to as "the Sun King" and "the Grand Monarch." "The French are the only European nation which idolizes its sovereign," a contemporary commented.

Louis's position as head of the French church added an element of Christian devotion to the popular idolatry. The country shared Louis's belief in his divine appointment; any doubt of his absolute authority was likely to be regarded not only as treason but as heresy. As temporal head of the church he wielded some of the power and influence over his people that in an earlier age had been torn from the pope. He was God's lieutenant; he therefore could do no wrong; and he received the homage and reverence demanded by his commission from God.

*Bossuet's exposition
of the divine-right theory*

THE MOST elaborate exposition
of the divine right of kings was
the work of the French theologian

Bossuet, who, as tutor to the dauphin, was an influential figure at Louis XIV's court. In his *Politics According to the Words of the Holy Scripture* (*Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'Écriture Sainte*) he likened the France of Louis XIV to the Israel of David and Solomon. By reference sometimes to the same passages in the Bible, like the story of Samuel, that Milton had used to show that kings were an evil, Bishop Bossuet argued that they were sacred. He sought to prove by the weight of Biblical authority, with occasional appeal to classical examples, that the deity exercised his rule on earth through hereditary kings. These chosen representatives must be paternalistic, but they commanded implicit obedience from their subjects. The French government and constitution appeared perfect in Bossuet's eyes because of their divine inspiration; change or question was unpatriotic and a defiance of God Himself.

*Absolutism
challenged by religious differences*

LOUIS'S authority as head of the
French church was not so com-
plete as an all-inclusive absolutism

would demand. Nor did that uniformity of belief prevail which in the seventeenth century was generally considered essential to peace, order, and national unity. The pope still retained a few rights and privileges that laid Louis's claims to complete authority open to question, and the Huguenots, though politically loyal to the king, still remained a Protestant minority in a Catholic state. Even within the apparently uniform Gallican Church, new sects like Jansenism and Quietism, heretical offshoots of orthodox Catholicism, created complications. Accordingly, Louis undertook to rid his realm of these imperfections in his system of absolutism.

*Louis's quarrels
with the pope over the régale*

THE QUARREL with the pope arose
over the relatively minor issue of
the right of the king to enjoy the

revenues from vacant benefices. This royal privilege was called the *régale*. Louis asserted, and the pope denied, that the *régale* applied uniformly throughout France. The papal denial raised the constitutional issue of the pope's right to interfere with the government of the French church. Thus the old quarrel centering around the question whether the pope or a council of bishops was the highest ecclesiastical authority became acute once more. The movement was still strong within France to make the Gallican bishops independent of the papacy in all but name; some indeed wanted open schism and the establishment of a wholly national church like that of England. Louis therefore did not lack support for his claims even among the clergy. In a declaration (1682) composed by Bishop Bossuet, an assembly of French clergy declared (1) the independence of the king from the pope in temporal affairs, (2) the

supremacy over the pope of a general (ecumenical) council of the church, (3) the nullity of any papal decision contrary to the practices of the Gallican Church, and (4) the need for clerical approval of papal decrees. These declarations were tantamount to the rejection of the papal claims to infallibility. Known as "the Liberties of the Gallican Church," they temporarily became the law of the land.

Thus matters stood for ten years. Louis, however, became increasingly devout in his later years and was then involved in a costly war against most of Europe. He preferred to make his peace with the pope, repudiating the Gallican Liberties, in return for which the pope recognized the extension of the *régale* throughout the land. The Gallican movement gained little in the end. Louis did not succeed in establishing a check upon papal authority within France through the Gallican bishops whom he controlled. But Louis's position as head of the French church was not questioned by his subjects, and matters stood much as before.

Persecution

and emigration of the Huguenots

IN HIS search for religious uniformity Louis was more successful, though at disastrous cost to

the nation. Even before the Declaration of Gallican Liberties he began a two-fold policy of relentless persecution of stubborn Huguenots, on the one hand, and, on the other, of liberal rewards in offices and pensions to those who renounced the Protestant faith. While he made some conversions in this fashion, many Huguenots remained obstinate, even in the face of "dragonnades"—the quartering of unfriendly soldiers in Huguenot homes to press conversion—and the forced separation of parents and children in order that the children might be brought up as Catholics. In 1685 he crowned his efforts to achieve religious uniformity by revoking the Edict of Nantes, under which for almost a century, despite modifications by Richelieu, the Huguenots had enjoyed freedom of worship and belief.

Thus, in the interests of royal absolutism, the religious toleration ended by which the Huguenots had become a loyal and industrious minority contributing conspicuously to the national well-being. In spite of stringent measures against emigration, Huguenots stole away by the thousands to England, Holland, Brandenburg, and America, taking with them industrial skills and technical knowledge that represented a great loss to France and a commensurate benefit to her neighbors. A thrifty and enterprising middle-class people, the Huguenots initiated new industrial developments in Brandenburg, imparted French methods of discipline and training to the English and Dutch armies, and enriched the economic life of France's rivals with methods and techniques developed in the best days of Colbertism. One is sharply reminded of the efforts at uniformity of the Nazi regime in Germany that led to a similar loss for Germany and enrichment of Germany's enemies.

*Rise of the Jansenists
within the Catholic Church*

OF THE groups that disturbed religious uniformity within the realm of Catholicism itself the largest was known as the "Jansenists." They were followers of Cornelius Jansen, a Flemish theologian of the early seventeenth century. Jansen had arrived at a doctrine of grace similar to that of the Calvinists by studying the works of St. Augustine as Calvin had done. This doctrine came into conflict with the Jesuit doctrine of the freedom of the will. The Jesuits held that salvation was not necessarily predetermined but could be achieved partly by freewill actions and beliefs and under the guidance of a confessor. Furthermore, the Jansenists' austere insistence upon the unadorned fundamentals and the strict morality of early Christianity was strikingly reminiscent of the heresies associated with Puritanism. Like the Puritans, too, they thought of thrift and the responsibilities of men of substance as having religious significance. They thus appealed to the middle class but, at the same time, made it easier for the Jesuits to attack them.

*Pascal
and the Jansenist controversy*

THE MOST conspicuous of the Jansenists was the scientist and philosopher Blaise Pascal. Pascal already had made significant contributions to the theory of probabilities, to the understanding of atmospheric pressure, and to other mathematical and scientific questions when he entered the field of religious controversy. In his *Provincial Letters* (1656) he made a direct and perhaps hypercritical counter-attack upon Jesuit casuistry. His diatribe did not aid the Jansenist cause. The Jesuits were strong in France; and Jansenism was already tainted with rebellion because some of its outstanding adherents had taken part in the recent Fronde. Therefore, the pope took measures against the group, forcing its members to repudiate many of their beliefs and breaking up their pious communities and their excellent schools at Port Royal (near Versailles) and elsewhere. Late in his reign, Louis, now more devout, united with the pope against the Jansenists. The result was the papal bull *Unigenitus* (1713), which condemned all Jansenist beliefs. Though the Jansenists had great difficulty in surviving and continued to be a center of controversy during the ensuing reign of Louis xv, the Jesuits did not gain in popularity by their quarrel with the Jansenists.

*The suppression
of the Quietists by Louis*

ANOTHER sect that tried unsuccessfully to stay within the Catholic fold was known as the "Quietists." They were very different in character from the Jansenists. Whereas the Jansenists distrusted emotionalism, the Quietists were mystics who believed that love of God rather than concern with salvation was the essence of religion, and sought union with God through contemplation and

serene acceptance of things as they are. Louis tolerated this movement no more than the Jansenists and quashed it by attacking its leaders. Madame Guyon, its principal proponent, was compelled to recant her more extreme beliefs, and Bishop Fénelon, her apologist, was relieved of his position as tutor to Louis's grandson. The development of new religions in France was an expression of the dissatisfaction with the old ones that was still rife elsewhere in Europe as well as in France (pages 386-388). But Louis would have none of it.

*Louis
as arbiter of French culture*

NEARLY absolute in almost every sphere of French life, Louis XIV was also the arbiter of taste and

culture—from the minutely elaborate etiquette of his court to the prevailing forms and fashions in art and literature. New codes of *courtoisie* (correct behavior at court) were based upon precedents established at Versailles. A set of ordinances known as the “Code Louis” regulated civil law just as Colbert’s ordinances regulated commercial practice and the “Code Noir” (Negro Code) regulated slavery and the slave trade. The elegant, the ostentatious, and the formal dominated all cultural expression and reflected the character of the court, on whose patronage art and letters depended. Academies of the fine arts and of literature espoused rigid canons of style and form. The massive, elaborate, and regular palace of Versailles, with its vast and ordered lawns and gardens, dominated the pattern of French architecture—indeed, the architecture of all Europe—for over a century. The tapestries and canvases of Le Brun reflected the grandeur and elegance of manners and taste. The polished dramas of Corneille, Molière, and Racine, classic in form and style, flourished under the patronage of Louis; and the triumvirate was obliged sometimes to bow to the dictates of the Académie Française, although they also helped to establish the academy’s rules.

The salons of the nobility felt impelled also to encourage letters, and the heads of great aristocratic families sought a vicarious glory by cultivating men of wit and learning. On the other hand, the educational influence of the church declined. Scholarship and schooling were no longer the monopoly of clergymen. Colleges and academies preparing the nobility and bourgeoisie for society included in their curriculum such subjects as recent literature and history, horsemanship and fencing. The universities, however, still held rigorously to the formal discipline inherited from medieval times, and the higher schools were still largely run by clergymen.

*The spread
of French culture over Europe*

LOUIS XIV’s choice of the sun as his emblem was apt, for the culture and institutions of his realm

spread their rays throughout Europe. Petty princes from the Germanies came to his court to study French ways and returned home to set up petty

despotisms on the French model. In Brandenburg and Russia, where absolute governments were attempting to overcome the backwardness of the economic system, Colbertism, especially the encouragement of native industries, was assiduously imitated. French etiquette was aped at almost every court in Europe, and French fashions in furniture, ornament, and dress became the universal mode. The French language began to replace Latin as the language of letters and diplomacy, and aristocrats everywhere spoke French as a matter of course. French ideas and literary forms dominated European culture as Italian influences had a century earlier. Paris became the queen of cities, the mecca of the élite, "the café of Europe." No young English nobleman's education was considered complete without a "grand tour" of Europe in which France was beginning to share a place with Italy as a center of contemporary civilization, and he was likely to encounter in France the noblemen of other countries on the same mission. In many cities of Europe, academies and schools on the French model sprang up. French architecture was imitated for a century or more, and all over Europe little Versailles housed little pseudo-French courts. Louis XIV's France commanded the admiration and envy of the whole continent.

*Louis XIV
and the aggrandizement of France*

ALTHOUGH French cultural leadership was accepted by the rest of Europe, French political ascendancy was feared. With the strongest armies in Europe (thanks largely to Turenne, Vauban, and Louvois), with an apparently healthy exchequer (thanks largely to Colbert), and with no one nation capable of resisting a French onslaught (thanks largely to the diplomacy of Richelieu and Mazarin), Louis XIV had every temptation to pursue the glory of France by force of arms. In the 1660's, the Holy Roman Empire was disunited; Spain was weak and embroiled in the Portuguese war of independence; England and Holland were absorbed in commercial rivalry; and the newly restored English king was inclined to be pro-French. The moment was auspicious for French aggrandizement, and motives and pretexts were not lacking.

*The temptations
of neighboring weakness*

HISTORIANS were afterwards to state that Louis followed a policy of "natural frontiers" that was to have a great appeal in more than one nation in later centuries, but, more accurately, his policy was one of aggrandizement wherever feasible. France's natural frontiers might be considered to be the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees, the historic boundaries of ancient Gaul, but Louis did not stop at these. Nevertheless, he did reach out for them first.

France's least "natural" frontiers were in the east and the north. They fell far short of the Rhine and bordered on the Spanish Netherlands (Belgium) and the Empire, both territories within the jurisdiction of the Habsburgs, the

traditional enemies of France. No current threat of invasion, however, came from these areas. On the contrary, their very weakness was a temptation to French expansion. It brought into play a prominent motif in the political relations of European states in the seventeenth century—the partition of weak states among the strong. Spanish territories seemed especially attractive to rulers who were ready to become involved in secret treaties of partition, for the weakness of Spain's rulers was by now notorious. Various nations during Louis's reign proved eager to partition Spain's possessions among them, until their eagerness culminated in a classic war of partition over the succession to the Spanish throne (pages 411-415).

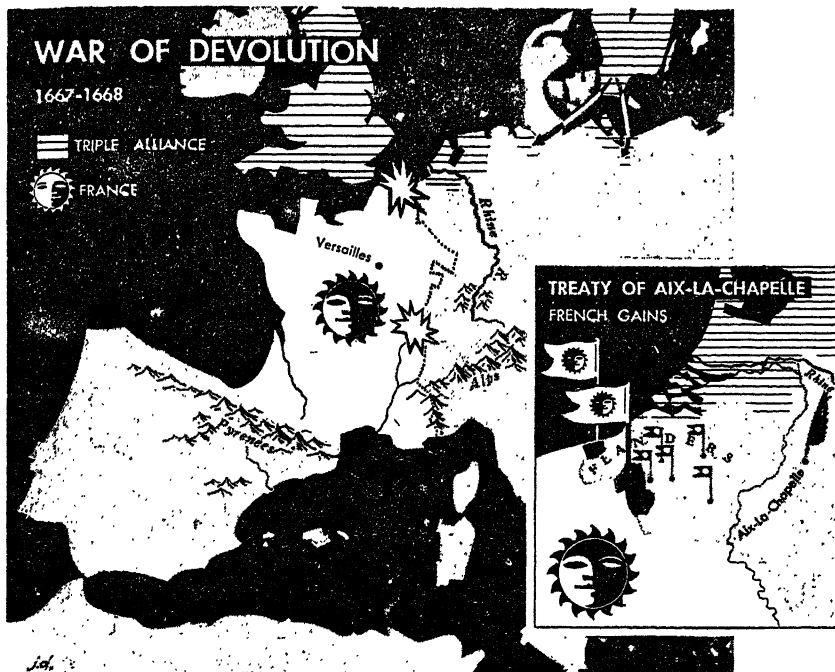
*The balance of power
disturbed by the War of Devolution*

LOUIS's first attempt to extend his frontier was directed at the Spanish Netherlands. These territories, he claimed, by an old provincial law "devolved" on him as an inheritance of his wife, Maria Theresa of Spain. The claim was regarded by Spain as invalid, but Spain alone was no match for the well-drilled and well-led armies of France. Louis chose his moment shrewdly. Two other powers that might have resented his annexation of Belgium were the United Provinces and England. But they were now at war with each other in the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665-1667) over possessions in America and prestige in the North Sea. Doing what he could to keep them embroiled, Louis launched his attack upon the disputed territory. In the ensuing War of Devolution (1667-1668), the French armies threatened to seize the whole of the Spanish Netherlands.

The other states of Europe, however, did not long remain indifferent to Louis's design for aggrandizement. The French ascendancy in Europe was now feared almost as much as the Habsburg preponderance had been a generation earlier, and just as the other states of Europe had then combined against the Habsburgs, they now joined forces against Louis. The Dutch formally surrendered New Netherland to the English, and brought the Second Anglo-Dutch War to a close. A Triple Alliance of England, Holland, and Sweden was then formed to thwart French ambitions and restore the balance of power. Louis, anxious to avoid war on a big scale, decided to make peace before the armies of the alliance took the field. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle he was permitted to retain possession of a string of fortresses that he had captured along the frontier of the Spanish Netherlands. The gradual French penetration of Belgian territories thus began.

*Louis's plans
to acquire Spanish territory*

THIS TREATY of peace provided a truce that was but an interval in Louis's plan of aggrandizement at Spain's expense. Even before he signed it, he had tried to come to an understanding with the Holy Roman emperor, Leopold I, for dividing the Spanish



The policy of the Sun King was to extend the boundaries of France as far as he could. By his first major military venture, as we see here, Louis XIV padded out the north-eastern frontier in the direction of the Rhine. This was one of a series of French conquests in Flanders. The two larger pieces of territory indicated in the inset as French gains are the areas around Dunkirk (which was itself bought from the English in 1662) and around Lille.

territories between them on the death of the Spanish king, who was childless and almost imbecile. After the treaty, by a series of clever and intricate diplomatic maneuvers, he persuaded some of the states of Europe, including Brandenburg and several other German principalities, to assist him in the event of further war. He also succeeded in breaking up the Triple Alliance. The most famous of his arrangements was the Secret Treaty of Dover, by which Charles II of England broke away from the Triple Alliance. The English were in a dilemma. For the most part they were openly hostile to French aggrandizement, but they also felt threatened by Dutch maritime and colonial success. Counting on the division of opinion among his subjects and persuaded by his desire to have an independent source of income, Charles II became Louis's pensioner, promising him English military aid in return. Louis likewise won Sweden over.

*Friction with Holland
and the outbreak of the Dutch War*

LOUIS had never liked the Dutch. They were bourgeois Protestant republicans (the "Reds" of their day), governed by "businessmen and cheese merchants," and it was beneath his dignity to treat with them. Their national history dated from a rebellion against royal authority, which no divine-right monarch could look upon in a kindly spirit. Furthermore, considerable friction had been generated between the two countries not only by the Dutch initiative in creating the Triple Alliance but also by continuous tariff conflicts, rival chartered companies, and the general superiority of the Dutch over the French in commercial and colonial enterprise. These points of friction set the pattern for Louis's next move. He recognized that the astonishing vigor of the Netherlands must first be reduced by arms before they would permit him to annex the Spanish territories that lay as a buffer between them and France. The causes of the war were thus both political and economic. In the same loose sense that the Thirty Years' War was "the last of the religious wars," the Dutch War (1672-1679) was the "first of the tariff wars."

*The temporary defeat
of the Dutch republicans*

LOUIS's campaign against the United Provinces was launched in 1672 after elaborate preparations. Its success depended on defeating the Dutch before they could secure allies. Louis's initial victories were marked. They meant a severe blow to Dutch republicanism and the beginning of Holland's decline as a great power. The French invasion led to popular panic. William of Orange, despite recent laws forbidding it, was elected both captain-general and stadholder. Jan de Witt, who, as grand pensionary, had been largely credited with Holland's recent successes and was now held responsible for its catastrophes, was forced to resign, and shortly afterwards he and his brother Cornelius were lynched. William of Orange became the unquestioned leader of the Dutch, who seemed well on the way toward deserting their wavering republican principles.

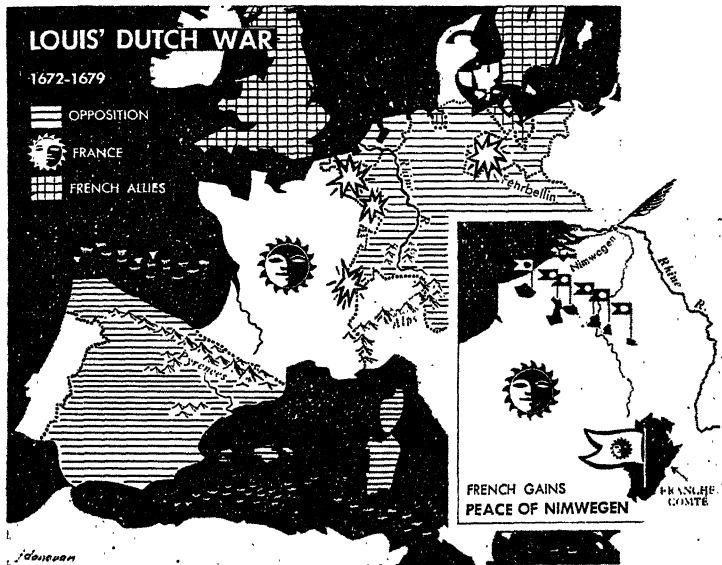
*The rebuilding
of the European balance of power*

AFTER a series of brilliant victories, the French armies paused, thus giving the Dutch time enough to open the dikes that kept the ocean from their lands. The country was soon largely under water. This costly sacrifice afforded William a breathing space in which to cast about for support. The elaborate set of agreements and alliances by which Louis had contrived to keep others out of his war of conquest now collapsed. Fearful that Louis would be all too successful in making himself master of Europe, the other powers came to Holland's rescue. More concerned over Louis's Swedish ally than over Louis himself, the Great Elector of Brandenburg now deserted him and, in the hope of ousting the Swedish from Pomerania, made an alliance with the Dutch. The new allies

were soon joined by Spain, the Emperor Leopold, the Empire, and some of the princelings of the Empire. Finally the English king, under pressure from a frightened Parliament, also deserted his French paymaster. By the year 1674, Louis, supported by Sweden alone, faced a large combination of European powers intent upon preventing him from becoming too successful in his conquests.

*Louis's acquisitions
by the Peace of Nimwegen*

THE SKILL of French armies, led by the celebrated generals Turenne and Condé, prolonged the war until 1678. France's ally Sweden was less successful, being decisively defeated at Fehrbellin (1675) by the Great Elector of Brandenburg-Prussia. Nevertheless, the cleverness of Louis's strategy and diplomacy succeeded in adding substantially to his territories, chiefly at the expense of Spain. A series of treaties at Nimwegen in 1678-1679 gave to France, among other concessions, the province of Franche Comté and a new series of towns and fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands; and by the Treaty of St. Germain (1679), the Great Elector was obliged to return to Louis's ally Sweden nearly all his con-



Louis's English ally withdrew in 1674 and Brandenburg joined the forces opposed to him. By the treaties of Nimwegen (1678-1679) France gained from Holland's Spanish ally several more towns in the Spanish Netherlands and the province of Franche Comté. No attempt has been made above to indicate the conflicting and changing policies of the individual principalities of the Empire or Denmark's separate war against Sweden.

quests in Pomerania. If Louis had been checked in his larger purpose, it had taken most of Europe combined to do so, and he stood, as before, preëminent in war and peace. The Dutch, on the other hand, torn by civil strife, foreign war, and the undiked sea, had conspicuously lost power and prestige, even if their territory remained intact.

*Territorial acquisitions
by the "Courts of Reunion"*

THE NEW balance of power curtailed Louis's ambitions only momentarily. He turned now from

force of arms to subtler methods of aggrandizement. The districts and towns acquired by France in the Treaty of Westphalia had subsequently been ceded "with their dependencies." Maps and treaty boundaries were not so precise then as they have since become, and genuine doubt was possible regarding the exact frontiers of Louis's acquisitions. Louis now set up four judicial courts called "Courts of Reunion" to determine what his "dependencies" were. These courts, as was intended, decided in favor of Louis wherever they found the slightest justification. Their decisions were backed by show of force, including the invasions of Luxemburg and the Spanish Netherlands, and might have plunged Europe again into another general war, had not an advance of the Turks toward Vienna diverted the coalition which was forming against Louis. Some historians count this as a third "war" of Louis xiv, but it is usually not dignified in that fashion. The most important "dependency" gained through the Courts of Reunion was the disputed fortress city of Strassburg, thereafter the key city of the French Rhine province of Alsace. Louis also claimed Luxemburg and other Rhine cities.

*The Sun King
at the zenith of his power*

THIS WAS the high point of French military power. It coincides with the domestic prosperity that

blessed France before the death of Colbert and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. French frontiers were now more inclusive than at any time since Charlemagne, and French military prestige was undimmed. The Dutch War had been costly and had caused the death of the brilliant Turenne; yet it had also brought land and international eminence, and had revealed the ineffectiveness of Holland, England, Prussia, and Sweden. France was generally conceded to be the leading country of Europe by force of arms as well as by cultural eminence.

But the years 1683-1685 were a turning point in Louis xiv's career. Colbert died in 1683, and his constructive policies, already seriously undermined by Louis's expensive wars, virtually died with him, while in 1685 the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes deprived France of one of the best elements in her population. In addition, the royal treasury was depleted to a point where new taxes would have to be devised. Thus in Louis's triumphs lay the seeds of France's imminent decline. Curses followed Colbert's body to the grave.

SCIENCE

IN THE NEWTONIAN AGE

GLORIOUS though Louis XIV's France was, it did not have that exclusive monopoly of culture and learning that some Frenchmen believed or pretended to believe it had. In England, Milton lived well into the Sun King's reign, and England's greatest scientist, Isaac Newton, was to outlive Louis XIV. Another English writer, John Locke, had few peers at that or any other time. And outside of England and France great philosophers like Leibnitz and Spinoza flourished. In fact, so brilliant were the scientists and philosophers elsewhere than France (which, however, could boast Pascal) that one wonders whether national uniformity under Louis XIV might not have discouraged experiment and speculation, and hence science and philosophy.

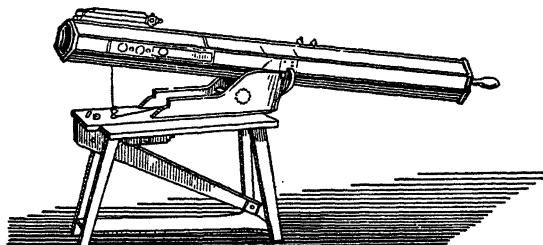
*The quest for a principle
underlying the physical universe*

WHILE the armies of the European states were quarreling over frontiers, in the realm of science,

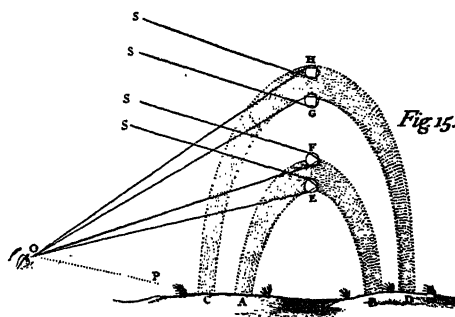
which transcended national boundaries, the search for a master principle governing the universe reached a high point in the work of Sir Isaac Newton. In the year that Louis XIV launched his first war of aggression (1667), Newton formulated the mathematical law of gravitation. Twenty years later Newton, after extended research, published his thesis and its proof in a treatise entitled *The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy*.

Newton put the finishing touches on a scientific revolution that Copernicus had begun. In the century and a half during which that revolution was brought to fruition, so much had the achievements of Bacon, Galileo, Kepler, Descartes, and a host of other scientists changed the attitudes of the learned that, whereas Copernicus' theories had met with widespread and vehement opposition, Newton's hypothesis received immediate and almost universal acclaim. The learned had not wanted to believe Copernicus; by Newton's time they had long been looking for what he gave them—a mathematical and mechanical principle of order in the universe.

Newton's improved telescope eliminated the deviations due to the unequal refraction of different colors by using a reflecting concave mirror in place of a convex lens.



NEWTON'S TELESCOPE 379



In his analysis of the rainbow Newton established the theory that light, when divided into its separate particles, appears as color. This diagram illustrating his theory appeared in his *Optics*, 1704.

*The calculus:
measurement of variables*

THAT NEWTON was able to understand what had baffled such brilliant men as Galileo and

Kepler was due in part to the development of the mathematical method known as "the calculus." This was a method of reducing to algebraic formulas the relations between variables. We have seen that Descartes's analytic geometry had made possible the expression of three-dimensional spatial relationships in algebraic terms. The calculus, building upon this method, made possible the construction of formulas expressing the relationships between moving bodies. Thus it provided the mathematical key to the laws of movement demonstrated experimentally by Kepler and Galileo. The calculus was invented almost at the same time by Newton and a German philosopher-scientist, Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibnitz. Their simultaneous and independent discovery is a striking illustration that invention is the product of cultural background as well as of individual genius. Both the need for the calculus and the preliminary knowledge for its development now existed, so that two equally informed men working independently were able to achieve comparable results.

*Newton's formulation
of the law of gravitation*

NEWTON's central thesis was that "all bodies whatsoever are endowed with a principle of mutual

gravitation," attracting or repelling each other with a mathematically ascertainable force. Such a measurable attraction held true for cosmic bodies as well as for earthly ones; and this "law of gravitation" was as correct an interpretation of Kepler's laws of planetary movement as of Galileo's law of falling bodies. Newton had found in the explanation underlying these laws a single principle governing the motion of every particle of matter in the universe, and thereby provided a synthesis of the hitherto unrelated discoveries of his predecessors. He was able in his *Optics* to deal with even so insubstantial a

thing as light and to present a theory regarding its composition, reflection, and refraction. Moreover, his theories were devised by "natural philosophy," that is, by "reasoning from mechanical principles." Although he believed that God "by existing always and everywhere constitutes duration and space," Newton did not call upon divine intervention to explain physical phenomena.

Newton's formulation of the "law of gravitation" was, like his discovery of calculus, attributable not only to his own extraordinary genius but also to the work of his predecessors, who had accumulated the knowledge necessary for his solution. The law of gravity may have, as the legend has it, burst upon Newton in a flash of inspiration as he saw an apple fall from a tree. Nevertheless, it was the culmination of rigorous training in mathematics and science at the University of Cambridge, of study of earlier achievements, and of contemporary mathematical innovations. Modifications of Newton's theory came with improvements in scientific measurements.

The popularization

and influence of Newtonian thought

THE IMPACT of Newton upon subsequent thought was enormous, even though some of his

theories of light and motion have been superseded. His influence was felt not only in the field of the natural sciences but also in fields more or less remote from them. With the same alacrity with which the popular mind was to seize upon the scientific theories of Darwin and Einstein in later eras to help explain or to explain away the ills of society, it now seized upon Newton's scientific theories. Newton's *Principia* ran through seventeen editions, while a whole literature of popularizations grew up, adapting the Newtonian system for the layman (sometimes with an elasticity that did more credit to the zeal of the popularizer than to his scientific understanding) and extending the mathematical method and the concept of an ordered universe to apply to politics, economics, religion, and philosophy. The idea of mathematical perfection in every phase of reality—in human behavior and in society, as well as in inanimate nature—became universally popular.

There was a tremendous appeal, too, in the notions that a regular and immutable order ruled the universe, that knowledge of that universal order was attainable by the exercise of human reason, that one had only to start from an axiom and proceed step by step by reasoned step to ultimate truths. In this respect, Newton seemingly had demonstrated by physical data and with a new scientific emphasis what Descartes had posited by logic half a century earlier. Rationalism seemed justified, and many were confirmed in their faith in the capabilities of the human mind to solve human problems. In the intellectual climate of the succeeding century, confidence in man's reason became the premise, the method, and the conclusion of writings both literary and philosophical, and a weapon against revelation, tradition, and authority.

*Newton's influence
upon scientific method*

REASON and experiment, hypothesis and empirical proof, had been combined happily in Newton's scientific method. How essential he considered the element of empirical verification is evident from his withholding publication of his hypothesis regarding the motion of the moon until he had found conclusive corroboration of it in his own observations. His imitators in some fields, however, were apt to be easily persuaded of the rational coherence of their religious, social, or economic systems and, if the observable facts were more debatable or abstract, to elide the element of corroborative experience. In natural science, however, Newton's method was more directly influential. He had not been the first to combine rational deduction with experiment, but that method was thenceforth brilliantly distinguished by his prestige. The followers of Francis Bacon, who had heavily emphasized the virtues of the experimental method, and the followers of Descartes, who had laid their emphasis heavily on the powers of reason, yielded to the followers of Newton, who combined the two.

*Practical uses
for scientific knowledge*

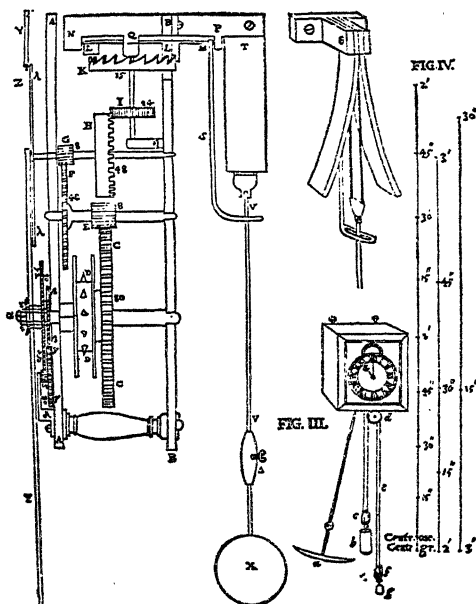
NEWTON's striking achievements overshadowed other scientific advances, nevertheless important in their own right. The formulation of mathematical laws of pressure on liquids and gases by Pascal and Boyle had provided working principles for the construction of machines for raising water. By the end of the seventeenth century knowledge of the mechanics of steam pressure was utilized in a rudimentary steam engine, introducing a new source of power that was eventually to revolutionize industrial methods. Mathematics was also applied in further study of the composition and speed of light, and the new knowledge was applied to improve optical instruments such as the telescope and microscope. Man was not only increasing his knowledge of nature; he was utilizing that knowl-



382 Numerous instruments, pictured above by a contemporary artist, made possible the brilliant scientific discoveries of the seventeenth century.

An early diagram of Huygens' pendular clock, which made possible greater accuracy in the measurement of time.

edge to harness the forces of nature to serve practical ends. The Dutch scientist, Christian Huygens (1629-1695), not only propounded a wave theory of light that avoided some of the difficulties encountered by Newton's corpuscular theory but also improved the telescope, invented the pendular clock, and made some significant astronomical discoveries.



The collection of data in the natural sciences

THE GROWING importance assigned to the natural sciences was reflected in the increased attention to the careful collection of verified data. New observations of geological phenomena, the more serious consideration of fossils, and the systematizing of the study of plants and animals attest this growing interest. The improved telescope and microscope made possible numerous new astronomical and biological discoveries. Several illustrious museums of science and botanical gardens date from the seventeenth century. In the collection of systematic data, the new academies of science sometimes played the patron, initiating and financing expeditions to far-off lands in search of exotic specimens.

Scientists, scientific academies, and society

THESE academies of science, often sponsored by monarchs anxious to prove their zeal in promoting culture, were often a stimulus not only to experimentation and the collection of scientific data but also to the interchange of ideas between leading scientists of the day. The academies were also the meeting ground of scientists and the socially élite. Unfortunately, the scientists' association with the wealthy and the highborn set them doubly apart from the average man, adding a social distinction to the gulf that normally separates the educated from the ignorant.

It is possible that this gulf was now even greater than before by virtue of the greater intricacies and refinements of specialized scientific knowledge, which were made no simpler by the continued practice of writing scientific works in Latin.

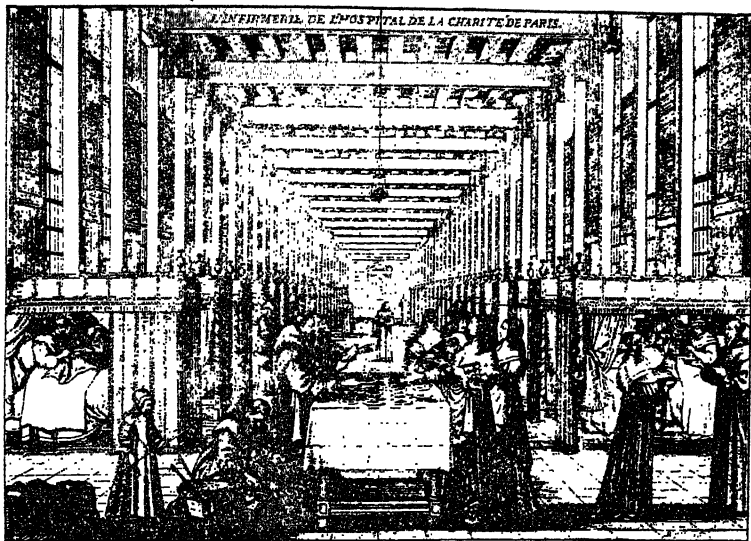
RATIONALISTS AND MYSTICS

THE AGE of Louis XIV was also the age of Newton, an age in which an extraordinary ruler in France sought for power at the same time that an extraordinary mind in England sought for knowledge and understanding. Many men, however, found that neither the natural frontiers and the balance of power nor the frontiers of science and cosmic gravitation furnished the answers to the questions that concerned them the most. They wanted to know more about the nature of God and of his relations to man. The old answers were for some no longer satisfactory.

*Science
and its effect on religious beliefs*

THE BREACH between the lower classes and the aristocracy of birth, wealth, and learning was somewhat widened by the scientific revolution. Science had a subtle effect upon religious doctrines. While the lower classes generally continued to adhere to the various fundamentalisms, both Catholic and Protestant, or to develop new ones like Jansenism and Pictism, and to retain old superstitions and beliefs in the miraculous and the occult, intellectuals strove to bring religious concepts into line with a more scientific view of the universe. This was not a new movement. Francis Bacon, for example, had been among the thinkers disturbed by the discrepancies between the old theology and the findings of science. He was enough of a traditionalist, however, to hold to the old ideas. His explanation of apparent discrepancies was to state flatly that there were two kinds of truth and that their contradictions must simply be accepted unexplained: "The more absurd and incredible any divine mystery is, the greater honour we do to God in believing it; and so much the more noble the victory of faith."²¹

But in Bacon's time, which was also the time when Galileo was tried by the Inquisition for his scientific beliefs, theology was supreme and science an upstart. By the second half of the seventeenth century, when science had posited a mathematical order governing the universe, when Descartes had fortified theology with reason, when well-aired doctrinal quarrels among the various sects had cast doubt upon the validity of any one set of beliefs, new scientific findings gained a more sympathetic audience. Learned men more



This etching by Abraham Bosse (1602-1676) shows the infirmary of the Charity Hospital at Paris. This was one of the better hospitals, run by a monastic order. Despite the increase in the knowledge of medicine, hospitals were still largely unsanitary, disorganized, and used only by the poor.

often were critical of traditional theology and more ready to reject those parts of it which seemed irreconcilable with "natural philosophy."

*A new attitude
toward the miraculous*

A FAVORITE target of the rising skepticism was the belief in miracles. Miraculous intervention in

the affairs of man continued to be regarded in devout circles as not only having once been possible but as being likely to occur again. Belief in magic and witchcraft, in angels and devils, in the ability of saintly men to cure the sick or to raise the dead was as commonly accepted as were the miracles of the Bible, the sacraments, or the efficacy of prayer to alter the course of nature. Yet even before Kepler and Galileo had announced their findings, one of Shakespeare's characters regretfully announced on the Elizabethan stage: "They say miracles are past; and we have our philosophical persons, to make modern and familiar things supernatural and causeless." For better or for worse, in the seventeenth century, the view of a universe that operated according to unvarying mathematical laws was slowly becoming "modern and familiar," and for "philosophical persons" was gradually replacing "supernatural and causeless" miracles.

This view gained added weight when in 1682 Edmund Halley, a friend of Newton, used Newton's formulas to calculate the orbit of a comet, ever since known as "Halley's Comet," and to predict its reappearance in seventy-seven years. This extension of mathematical law "to make modern and familiar" a phenomenon hitherto believed to have no natural cause and to be a portent of catastrophe captured the imagination of society and seemed additional proof of the impossibility of miracles. The great French scholar Pierre Bayle (1647-1706) revealed in his *Various Thoughts on the Comet of 1680* that comets had made an intellectual impact upon many others than astronomers alone. His subsequent *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1697), one of the earliest efforts to present knowledge in encyclopedic form, was an even more influential effort to popularize the new scientific attitudes. The growing suspicion of the supernatural was observable in the gradual dying out of witch hunts and persecutions for sorcery and black magic. In France the last witch was not to be burned until 1718, and the English laws against sorcery were to remain in effect until 1736. Nevertheless, all over Europe, the trend away from legal countenance of such superstitions was marked.

*The principles
of natural or rational religion*

TOWARD the end of the seventeenth century a movement grew up among intellectuals to reduce

religion to a natural theology by the application of human reason to the evidence at hand, the method by which scientific knowledge was obtained. This movement was not organized; it was merely a common quest for a philosophical and socially useful system of religious belief. The basic principles of rational or natural religion were three: the existence of God, the existence of a natural world law emanating from God, and the certainty of a life hereafter in which God would reward the followers of his moral law and punish the transgressors.

*Deists
versus supernatural rationalists*

TWO OPPOSED schools of thought arose over the question whether a rational religion could be re-

duced to these three basic principles. The "orthodox" or "supernatural" rationalists maintained that revelation, as contained in the holy writings, was compatible with reason and necessary as an additional incentive to morality. They maintained that revelation was evidence given by God of things that the unaided reason could not grasp. The philosopher John Locke was one of the leaders of the movement in England. "The existence of one God," he declared, "is according to reason; the existence of more than one God, contrary to reason; resurrection of the dead, above reason."²² Locke believed, along with others of the less skeptical rationalists, in such miracles as were com-

patible with reason and consistent with God's purpose. But "the miracles are to be judged by the doctrine and not the doctrine by the miracles." That which was contrary to reason was superstition, but it did not follow that all things that the reason could not grasp were contrary to reason. Locke would have agreed with his Jansenist contemporary Pascal that "the heart has reasons which the reason can not know," and so left room for a mystical faith and revelation. Nevertheless, Locke was an articulate advocate of religious tolerance, arguing that since man's understanding is necessarily limited, he has no right to dictate his neighbor's religious beliefs, provided these are founded on "reasonable" evidence.

The radical rationalists, who called themselves "deists," denied both the possibility of miracles and the necessity of revelation. They contended that God had endowed human reason with all that was necessary for arriving at His truth and that as the creator of the Newtonian universe He acted always by universal laws, never through miracles, which were violations of those laws. Adhering only to the basic premises of rational religion, the deists tended to brand miracles, prophecies, theological subtleties, and rituals as mere superstition. Among the early seventeenth-century English deists was Lord Herbert of Cherbury. But his ideas did not find wide circulation for two generations. Later deists, like John Toland and Viscount Bolingbroke, aided by the growing search for a rational universal order, had a more marked effect upon English thought. Meanwhile, a new kind of Biblical interpretation appeared, according to which miracles were interpreted as allegories or folklore. One of the most profound thinkers of the period, the Dutch Jew Baruch Spinoza, interpreted the miracles of the Old Testament as manifestations of natural law by using evidence contained within the Scripture itself.

Religious mysticism

and the evangelical movement

THE COLD religion of the rationalists had little appeal for the common man. In so far as the

lower classes responded to the growing secularism of the day, their response was generally expressed either by an outward conformity without inward conviction or by religious indifference. But popular reaction mounted against both religious rationalism and the hairsplitting theology of the organized churches. Mystical movements appeared in many parts of Europe and within most of the established churches, wherever more ardent believers were not satisfied with the teachings of the theologians and the philosophers. In various parts of Europe an evangelical movement known as "Pietism" arose. In Germany it became particularly marked within the Lutheran Church under the leadership of Philipp Jakob Spener. In protest against the upper-class Lutheran emphasis on correctness of doctrine, the Pietists advocated greater emphasis on the Bible as in the early days of Lutheranism and a return to Christianity as a way of life rather than as a set of doctrines. Popular mainly

among the lower classes, it was a religion of the heart rather than of the intellect, of faith rather than of reason. In England a sect sprang up known as the "Baptists," from its view that baptism should take place by total immersion and should be performed only for believers after confession of sin. Hence they opposed infant baptism. Emphasis on easy conversion and the necessity for only a simple faith made Baptism similar to Pietism in its appeal to the common man. The belief of the Quakers, or Society of Friends, brought to America by William Penn, was still simpler. They believed in an "inner light" that would guide any believer toward divine truth without the aid of priest, sacrament, or ritual.

Movements like Jansenism and Quietism, which we have already encountered (pages 371-372), reflected the same protest against formalism within the Catholic fold. They flourished among the middle class and aristocracy not only of France but also of Belgium and Italy. They had a small following, however, since the church considered their individualism and mysticism dangerous. The Spanish theologian Miguel de Molinos was the leader of the Quietists in Italy. Among his disciples was the eccentric former queen of Sweden, Christina, who, having abdicated and having been converted to Catholicism, now lived in Italy. He was imprisoned for life by the Roman Inquisition about the same time that Louis XIV suppressed French Quietism and Jansenism.

Except for Quietism and Jansenism, both inside and outside the older churches religious enthusiasm appeared mainly among the poorer classes. The religious fermentation symbolized by rationalism and deism, on the one hand, and by Baptism, Jansenism, Pietism, Quakerism, and Quietism, on the other, was symptomatic of the general dissatisfaction with the conservative, aristocratically controlled, and politically minded established churches. The rationalists and the new fundamentalists were not allies, however. The Jansenists, for example, were no less hostile to the new deism than were their opponents, the Jesuits.

*The philosophers
and the Universal Order*

THE GROWTH of "natural religion" led to new developments in philosophy as well as in religion.

While scientists rapidly extended man's knowledge of the laws of the universe, philosophers speculated on what the universe really was. Most of the philosophers took Cartesianism—the philosophy of Descartes—as their starting point. That is to say, they believed that the true essence of the world could best be learned by the application of pure reason to the problem. Like Descartes, they constructed philosophical systems that they considered based upon logic alone and independent of theological premises and presuppositions.

*Spinoza's concept
of the unity of all reality*

ONE OF the most rigorous thinkers of the age was Baruch Spinoza, whose study of Old Testament

miracles we have already noted (page 387). He used the mathematical method of Descartes because he believed it a means of describing things objectively without regard to cause or purpose. "The truth might for ever have remained hid..." he said, "if mathematics, which looks not to the final cause of figures, but to their essential nature..., had not set another type of knowledge before [man]."²³ His starting point was the insistence upon a single substance in the universe, the *essentia Dei* (essence of God), from which he proposed to show that all phenomena derived just as all geometrical law derives from the concept of quantity. To Spinoza, God or Nature was the all-encompassing reality, and all finite phenomena were but "modes" or "attributes" of the divine, having no existence apart from God. Mind and matter, therefore, are both finite expressions of the infinite. As finite expressions they are separate and distinct from one another (as in Descartes's dualism), but as expressions of the infinite their duality is illusory, since each is an expression of a common substance—God or Nature. The laws of nature revealed by the scientists and the laws of reason and logic are alike manifestations of the one infinite God. The core of Spinoza's philosophical system is thus the unity of all reality, a unity derived from infinity. This singleness of substance in Spinoza's system, this identification of God with all that is, is what is meant when Spinoza is referred to as a "monist" or a "pantheist."

*Leibnitz' concept
of creative force as reality*

LEIBNITZ was a German contemporary of Spinoza. He was a man of many talents—government official,

philosopher, theologian, historian, philologist, and mathematician—and we have already noted his development of the calculus (page 380). Leibnitz, like Spinoza, sought an explanation of reality that would do away with the dualism of mind and matter, of the physical and the metaphysical. But his notion of reality was far removed from that of Spinoza. In place of the one unchanging substance of Spinoza, he posited a universe made up of an infinite number of "monads" whose essence was force or a capacity to do work. The monads "are the very atoms of nature—in a word, the elements of things." They exist at different levels, all subordinate to God, who is the highest monad, pure creative force. Each monad is a microcosm, the universe in miniature, but each represents the universe in its own individual way. All together they constitute the universe, and since each is a complete, although different, reflection of the universe, each monad is in accord with every other

²³Quoted in "Cartesianism," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th ed., V, 421 c.

monad, so that the universe is a harmonious, organic whole. The human soul is a superior kind of monad capable of self-conscious thought. Since force is the only reality, matter has no independent existence but exists merely as perceived by and through the monads. In our own day, when scientists have been splitting atoms and teaching that energy radiates in discontinuous units called *quanta* (the “quantum theory”), Leibnitz’ “monadology” may not seem so fantastic as it must have appeared to some of his contemporaries.

Leibnitz’ view of the universe showed the influence of Newtonian science in its concept of force as reality and in its dynamic view of the universe, as opposed to the mathematical view of Descartes and the static, unchanging unity of Spinoza. Leibnitz’ theory of monads led to a belief in a preëstablished harmony in the mind of God—“the best of all possible worlds,” a belief known as “Optimism.” The problems of God and evil in a world that scientists were gradually proving atomistic, regular, and indifferent to good and bad thus seemed resolved for those who felt persuaded to follow the Optimists.

*Locke’s theory
of the sources of knowledge*

LEIBNITZ, like Descartes, believed the source of knowledge to be inborn mental urges, or

“innate ideas,” extended by logic to apprehend the nature of reality. But an opposite view, already suggested by Hobbes and others, was elaborated by John Locke. There are no innate ideas, Locke contended in his *Essay on Human Understanding*. The mind at birth is a *tabula rasa*, a blank tablet. “White paper void of all characters, without any ideas: how comes it to be furnished? . . . To this I answer, in one word, from *experience*. In that all our knowledge is founded; and from that it ultimately derives itself.”²⁴ Ideas are derived through the senses and may be combined, through the operations of the mind—reflection—to produce more complex ideas. Sensation, and reflection working upon the simple ideas produced by sensation, are thus the only sources of knowledge.

Locke’s thesis—called “sensationalism” or “empiricism”—was opposed to the rationalism of the continental philosophers, who sought to attain universal truth by building upon innate ideas through the exercise of reason. In holding that the senses and experience are the source of all knowledge, Locke implied that human knowledge is limited by its sources and cannot hope to attain universal truth or knowledge of reality. That was why he maintained that certain things like resurrection were “beyond reason” (page 386). The concept of limitations upon human knowledge proved one of the most fruitful of Locke’s hypotheses. While neither Spinoza’s nor Leibnitz’ philosophy had great contemporary acceptance beyond the learned world, Locke’s philosophy became universally influential. By tying knowledge firmly to sense

experience, Locke's philosophy encouraged men to focus upon that limited knowledge which was sensory and attainable. His idea of experience as the source of knowledge was to be developed by later writers into a science of human relations and society.

*The study
of politics and society stimulated*

CONTEMPORARY theories of politics and society likewise reflected the influence of rationalist and

empiricist speculation. The popularity of the mathematical method led Sir William Petty, in his *Political Arithmetic*, to reduce the study of society to "terms of number, weight, and measure," and to attempt one of the earliest collections and studies of statistics. But the study of society received a greater stimulus from Locke. Popularizers of his writings went beyond his own strict reasoning and speculated as follows: If the workings of the mind were a result of sensations derived from the physical environment, as Locke taught, and if the physical environment was part of a universal order, as Newton (and even Leibnitz and Spinoza) taught, then one's mind itself must be subject to a universal order, and one had only to understand the environment to understand the mind and the world of human affairs. There must be a universal order, then, for the institutions of man—a natural moral order corresponding to the natural physical order. If human beings are all products of their environment, they must all be mentally and spiritually equal at birth, and if men were but educated properly, they might be equally informed, just, and understanding. Therefore it followed that such inequalities of opportunity as existed were not in the nature of things and might be removed if man, his society, and his institutions were properly controlled. These were corollaries of Locke's system drawn not by Locke himself but by his popularizers.

*A new impetus
to the belief in natural law*

THE IDEA of a natural law prior to, higher than, and independent of human authority was thus given

a new formulation. It accorded with both the mechanistic conception of the universe and the sovereignty of God. For whatever in human relations seemed natural and reasonable might be merely a reflection of an orderly universe to some but would appear to others to partake of divine wisdom. Biblical admonitions of "liberty throughout all the land," "covenants," "brotherly love," "on earth peace, good will to men"—religious tenets that made all men brothers, free and equal as the children of God—were fortified for believers, and replaced for nonbelievers, by a "natural philosophy."

*New speculations
on the "social contract"*

TO DISCOVER the natural and reasonable, political theorists of the late seventeenth century

started, in the prevailing fashion, with what they considered to be the axioms from which the science of society was to be derived. Since anthropology, the

science which, among other things, studies primitive societies, was then in its infancy, these political theorists had first to make certain assumptions regarding the nature of man in a presocial state, his instincts, his needs, his ability to satisfy those needs, etc. From these assumptions they derived certain theories as to the reasons why men left their natural state to form civil societies, and as to the provisions of the contracts by which those societies were formed.

By the end of the seventeenth century the idea of social contract had undergone considerable re-interpretation. As we have seen, in discussing the writings of Hobbes (page 323), the social contract was not in his time a new idea. Whereas Hobbes visualized the state of nature as social chaos and the social contract as a means of ending the "war of all against all," later writers tended to idealize the state of nature and look upon the social contract as a means of preserving natural man's fundamental rights. Thus in an age when divine-right absolutism was reaching its height in the France of Louis XIV. ideas were being spread around, especially in England, that were to play a significant part in the eventual overthrow of that absolutism—ideas that seemed to dispense with all authority except that of reason and nature, and emphasized instead the freedom and the essential equality of man. Foremost among those to be convinced of the new doctrine of liberty was Locke himself. His theory of the social contract was to be set forth in his *Two Treatises on Civil Government* (1690), which was frankly an apology for the great English revolution of 1688.

THE AGE OF MILTON

AND RACINE

"THERE be too many books in the world," lamented one Englishman in the latter seventeenth century. Printing had become commonplace, and publishing was a flourishing industry as the reading public grew in numbers. Those who read do not necessarily think, but those who think are likely to read; and some of the new publications presented food for thought.

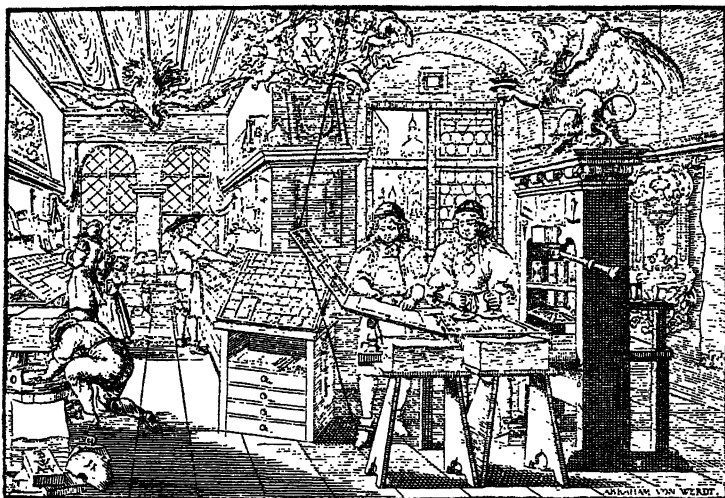
Publication

of newspapers and periodicals

IN ADDITION to books, newspapers and periodicals were becoming common. Joseph Addison, one of the most famous journalists of the new century, wrote, "There is no humor in my countrymen which I am more inclined to wonder at than their general thirst after news." The modern newspaper grew out of the manuscript news sheets, *gazettes*, and printed broadsides that had accompanied popular controversies since the fifteenth century. The successful publication of printed

periodicals began with the *Frankfurter Journal* in 1615, the Antwerp *Nieuwe Tijdingen* in 1616, the London *Weekly News* (1627), and the *Gazette de France* in 1631. The Civil War in England stimulated the activity of the newspaper press there in spite of censorship. The first real English newspaper (that is, a paper devoted almost entirely to news), the *Oxford* (later the *London*) *Gazette*, began in England in 1665. After censorship was removed under William III, in 1695, several more papers were to come into the field, although the first successful English daily, the *Daily Courant*, did not appear until 1703. These papers were nearly all partisan, and they were often paid for by the political interests they served.

Certain other periodicals of the age appealed to a wider set of interests. Some of them thrived on group prejudices, some on curiosity and credulity. The *Athenian Gazette* or *Causuistical Mercury* proposed to "resolve nice and curious questions proposed by the ingenious," among which was "Why rats, toads, ravens, and screech-owls, etc., are ominous, and how they come to foretell fatal events." More elevating, and of considerably more permanent literary importance, was the periodical called the *Mercure Galante* (later *Mercure de France*) established in 1672 with Thomas Corneille as subeditor.



This engraving of a seventeenth-century Dutch printing office shows that typesetting was still a slow process in spite of the use of the more efficient lever press. As a result, books and periodicals were relatively costly, and no "penny press" was possible.

*The classical influence
on literary style and form*

IN MORE formal literature, the trend toward clarity and simplicity of style, the beginnings of which we noted earlier (page 136), came into its own in the latter part of the seventeenth century. Though Latin persisted in scholarly writing, it was giving way to the vernacular. Partly because science and philosophy frowned upon elaboration, agreeing that "nature seemed to dictate simplicity," many writers tended to abandon the well-wrought metaphor, the grandiloquent period, and the flow of emotion, in favor of lucidity, precision, and reason. Poetry as well as prose was influenced by the new standards. Boileau, literary dean of France under Louis XIV, admonished the poets thus:

"In every subject, pleasant or sublime,
Let sound good sense be harnessed to your rhyme."

Poetry was supposed to achieve its poetic quality through perfection of form, polished diction, and neat turns of phrase.

*Drama and poetry
in Restoration England*

ENGLISH drama took its character from the licentious and frivolous Restoration society that constituted its audience. It was witty, bawdy, and unrestrained comedy, designed frankly for entertainment. Though frequently less dignified than Molière's masterpieces, English plays were influenced more by contemporary French comedy than by the native Elizabethan tradition. Among its most adept creators were John Dryden and, somewhat after the period under consideration, William Congreve. Dryden was also a prose writer of merit as well as a facile poet who followed the new poetic tendency.

The greatest literary productions in Restoration England grew out of old traditions and were almost untouched by the new fashion. Milton's *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, written toward the end of the great poet's life, were epics of the fall and redemption of man in the grand style of the baroque at its



This drawing of Christian on the road from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City appeared in an early edition of Pilgrim's Progress, published in London in 1683.

This illustration is taken from an early edition of Racine's first tragedy, La Thébaine, ou les Frères ennemis (1664). Centered around the legend of Antigone, it shows the classical influence on the dramatist.



best, and were expressive rather of the Renaissance and Puritan eras than of the Restoration period in which they were written. John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* was a book of the people, an allegory of the sins and temptations that beset its hero, Christian, on the road from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City. Its style is Biblical. In its day it was perhaps more widely read in England than any other single volume excepting the Bible itself.

*Achievements in French drama
by Corneille, Molière, and Racine*

IN FRANCE the great literature of the period was its drama. The illustrious triumvirate, Corneille, Molière, and Racine, made French drama unique. Corneille's and Racine's plays were classic in form and often in subject matter. Their characters were heroic figures on the Hebrew or Greco-Roman model, and their plots were frequently based on Biblical or classical history. The so-called "Aristotelian" unities of *time*, *place*, and *action* were strictly followed, becoming more stereotyped than ever under Corneille's influence. The action of the plays, in consequence, took place in a single place in a single day, and there was a single outstanding event in the plot to which all other events were subordinated. The characters, in spite of being idealized heroes who personified the contrast of noble virtues and vulgar passions, were very French, and dressed in the current court fashions. Corneille and Racine approached the usual theme of conflict between passion and will very differently, Corneille usually depicting the triumph of will, and Racine the inexorable slavery of will to romantic love.

Moliere, the gently satirical analyst of human character, peopled his dramas with familiar types and ridiculed them with consummate skill. His portraits of *les précieuses*, who polished their language to the point of absurdity, the bore, the slanderer, the misanthrope, the miser, the libertine, the bourgeois social climber, and the hypocrite who clothes his lust under the garb of religion, delighted court society, who saw in them their contemporaries. In much the same vein La Bruyere presented prose portraits of contemporary types in *Les Caracteres* (1688), which went into nine (revised and supplemented) editions in eight years, evidence that the social conscience was troubled and seeking articulation.

Aristocratic and royal patronage brought to Versailles and Paris a rarely surpassed cluster of lesser literary lights as well. La Fontaine's fables and tales, Madame de Sevigné's letters, La Rochefoucauld's maxims, Fontenelle's essays on science, Massillon's sermons, Boileau's literary criticism, Bossuet's history became each a classic within its own field of literary endeavor. Together with the work of the great dramatists, they were among the achievements that later induced Voltaire to rank the Age of Louis XIV with the finest "golden ages" of history. Contemporaries even began to wonder whether modern culture might not rise superior to classical culture; and the controversy between "the Ancients" and "the Moderns," with Boileau conspicuous on the one side and Fontenelle on the other, raged indecisively in and out of the Academy and, as the century closed, was reflected in England by Swift's *Battle of the Books* in defense of the classics.

Racine was to write perhaps his greatest play, *Athalie*, in 1690. By that time nearly all his great literary contemporaries in France enumerated above were either dead or past their prime, with the notable exception of Massillon.

THE PERIOD of less than three decades that began when the Sun King decided to be his own prime minister in 1661 was the heyday of absolute monarchy. Louis's unquestioned authority at home, his studied majesty of person, his military and diplomatic triumphs, the glamour of his Versailles, and the sparkling leadership of French letters and art under his patronage made his position seem dazzling and enviable. He was the model absolute monarch.

The model had its shortcomings, however. As he grew older he lost his best assistants. Colbert, Turenne, and Louvois were dead by 1691, and he could not find equally competent men to replace them. Vauban and Fénelon were soon to be disgraced because they dared to imply criticism of his beliefs or policies. Corneille and Molière had long been in their graves when Racine followed them in 1699. The proverbial weakness of autocrats—that they

tend to surround themselves with sycophants rather than with men of independent minds—was to affect Louis, too. Nor, for all his paternalism in the cultural pursuits, did he encourage science and philosophy. Pascal and Bayle, perhaps the greatest philosophic and scientific minds of this period in France, lived outside the pale of his approval, since they held religious views that were obnoxious to him. Despite the apparent prosperity of his realm, Colbertism and military glory could hardly have brought material advantages sufficient to compensate for the suppression of the Huguenots and the Jansenists. Nevertheless, before Louis embarked upon the two lengthy and costly wars that were to consume large portions of his and France's resources in the last quarter century of his reign, his glory appeared undiminished and France seemed unchallenged as the dominant political and cultural force in Europe.

Humbler men of the time were to achieve more lasting glory than the Sun King. Absolutism in the hands of Louis's successors was to become alloyed and within three generations was to disappear in France. The works of Pascal, Newton, Locke, Leibnitz, and Spinoza, of Milton, Corneille, Racine, and Molière were never to become tarnished or to crumble. On the contrary, some of these men helped to create a spirit that was to prove more powerful than absolutism—the spirit of inquiry, the demand that human institutions adjust to the known, if not the knowable, in the affairs of men. Some of them, along with Pietists, Baptists, Jansenists, and others, were to query whether men ever could know enough to rule themselves without the help of God. But the latter too were to help raise doubts that God had chosen to speak to man through absolute monarchs.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1606-1684 Corneille
- 1615 Beginning of the successful publication of printed periodicals with the *Frankfurter Journal*
- 1622-1673 Molière
- 1631-1700 John Dryden, English poet, dramatist, and critic
- 1635-1705 Philipp Jakob Spener, "Father of Pietism"
- 1639-1699 Racine
- 1646-1716 Leibnitz, German philosopher and mathematician
- 1656 Pascal's *Provincial Letters*
- 1661-1715 Personal rule of Louis XIV following the death of Mazarin
- 1662-1683 Colbert's career as Louis's minister of finance
- 1664 Establishment of the East and West Indian trading companies by Colbert
- 1665 Appearance of the first real English newspaper as the *Oxford Gazette*
- 1665-1667 The Second Anglo-Dutch War
- 1666-1691 Reform and reorganization of the French army under the Marquis de Louvois, minister of war
- 1667 Publication of Milton's *Paradise Lost*
- 1667-1668 The War of Devolution, settled by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle
- 1668 The Triple Alliance concluded by England, Holland, and Sweden
- 1672-1679 The Dutch War, "first of the tariff wars"
- 1677 Posthumous publication of Spinoza's *Ethics*, *Political Treatise*, and *Treatise on the Improvement of Understanding*
- 1678 John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*
- 1680-1683 The French "Courts of Reunion"
- 1682 Use of Newtonian formulas by Edmund Halley to calculate the orbit of a comet and to predict the time of its reappearance
- 1682-1693 Louis's unsuccessful dispute with the papacy over the Declaration of the Liberties of the Gallican Church
- 1682 Bayle's *Various Thoughts on the Comet of 1680*
- 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes
- 1687 Publication of Newton's *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* (*Principia*)
- 1690 Locke's *Two Treatises on Civil Government* and *Essay on Human Understanding*
- 1691 Sir William Petty's *Political Arithmetic*
- 1697 Bayle's *Historical and Critical Dictionary*
- 1703 Publication of the first successful English daily, the *Daily Courant*
- 1713 Publication of the papal bull *Unigenitus*



The decline of Louis XIV and the new balance of power

THE HISTORY of the Bourbons had been one of steadily increasing power. Their contemporaries on the throne of England were less favored. While in Louis's childhood his regent had been able to suppress the Fronde, permitting the French monarchy to emerge stronger than ever from the test of civil war, the Stuarts had been forced to live in exile. Upon their restoration to the English throne, they were limited not only by the tactful desire not to renew the struggle unnecessarily but also by a specific and formal declaration of the conditions upon which they had been permitted to return. Whereas in England a balance of power thus was established between king and Parliament, in France no power balanced Louis's absolutism.

Balances of political power within a state may sometimes be no less delicate than balances of power among states. We have seen how Louis XIV, his eye fixed on the international situation, was able, from time to time, to buy off Charles II of England, who was most concerned with his domestic complications. Although Charles, as we shall now see, was too discreet a person to drive his subjects into open rebellion, his brother and successor, James II, was more unyielding. The result of James' impolitic behavior was that he went forth into humiliating exile again and a still more limited concept of royal prerogative was accepted in England.

Louis XIV, we shall find, liked neither the English concept of monarchy nor the shift of England to the fore among the governments that were trying to counterbalance his aggressive policies. Each of these developments was a consequence of the bloodless revolution that expelled James II from England and brought in William of Orange. Therefore Louis XIV's desire to undo the English Revolution of 1688 and his quest for wider boundaries and

greater prestige became inextricably interlaced in his program. They were among the major reasons for the lengthy wars we are now to study. Before they were over, Louis appeared less dazzling and France less dominant than an earlier generation had believed, and the decline of the French empire in America had begun.

The complications created in western Europe by Louis's policies were reflected indirectly in other parts of the Continent. By a series of skillful maneuvers the electors of Brandenburg-Prussia were to emerge as powerful kings in the Baltic and north German areas; but for their Baltic blessings they had Louis to thank less than his equally restless contemporary, Charles XII of Sweden. When Charles finally was laid to rest, a few years after Louis XIV, the Baltic picture was to look quite different from that of Gustavus Adolphus' time. Sweden, though still large on the map, had been humiliated and reduced in territory and influence; Poland was even less influential than before; and two new powers, Prussia and Russia, had appeared to challenge them on the Baltic.

Sweden was a traditional ally of France, and her reduction was a blow to French international prestige. The Swedish decline on the Baltic was to be matched by the Turkish decline in the Black Sea area, which both Sweden and France had reason to deplore, and Austria and Russia to welcome. When Louis XV replaced his great-grandfather in the palace at Versailles, France had been effectively counterbalanced by a combination of power largely marshaled by England. Moreover, from England were going forth unsettling ideas about religion and politics that were eventually to find a receptive audience among French intellectuals. The Age of Louis XV was not to be so glamorous for France as that of Louis XIV had been.

REVOLUTION

AND THE RIGHTS OF MAN

THE GLORIOUS Revolution of 1688 forced King James II to flee from England and replaced him on the thrones of England and Scotland by his daughter Mary and her husband William. By this daring coup, a single hereditary male ruler was dispossessed in favor of a female and a foreigner as joint rulers. The factors that brought about this astounding change without the firing of a shot began to operate even before Charles II was crowned with the ancestral crown of England. In 1660 while still at Breda, Holland, Charles issued a declaration pardoning those who had rebelled against his father in so far as Parliament also pardoned them, and conceding to Parliament other decisions of several vexing problems inherited from the Civil War and the Protectorate, including that of "liberty to tender consciences"

in religious matters. Parliament thus won an explicit royal sanction from the very start of the Stuart Restoration, and the old clash between royal prerogative and parliamentary power remained, for a time at least, in abeyance.

Balance

between king and Parliament

THE RESTORATION of the Stuart monarchy to the thrones of England and Scotland seemed tempo-

rarily to discredit the more radical ideas that the preceding revolution had embodied. Samuel Pepys in his famous diary described the popular rejoicing with some astonishment: "At night more bonfires than ever, and ringing of bells, and drinking of the King's health upon their knees in the streets."

Still, the restored monarchy of Charles II was no absolute monarchy. The new king was a constitutional sovereign, welcomed by his people largely because they expected him to observe the conditions announced in his Declaration of Breda. Vengeance upon those who had resisted royalty and restrictions of worship was subject to parliamentary approval. If complete toleration did not follow, it was because Parliament rather than the king determined otherwise. The royal prerogative of former days was substantially reduced at the outset of Charles II's reign. Parliament retained its control over taxation and increased its share in fixing the policies of the government. Charles might call himself a divine-right monarch, but many were alive who could recall that God had not interceded to save his father's head.

Laxity and frivolity

during the reign of Charles II

THE FIRST years of Charles' reign witnessed a reaction to the Puritan interlude. "Blue laws" gave

way to an era of comparative frivolity and licentiousness under the "Merry Monarch," who had sojourned long at the court of Louis XIV and brought with him to England the foibles and fashions of French society. A gay court society found the witty, bawdy, and sometimes satirical comedies of Dryden and, in a later reign, of William Congreve, far more amusing than the graver works of Milton and Bunyan. Courtiers studied Versailles's manners and aped Paris fashions. Charles II, an able, witty, and easy-going man, readily took the role of master of ceremonies and, caring more for mistresses, comfort, and popularity than for power, at first gave way to Parliament whenever any serious issue arose. He meant, he once said, "never to set out on his travels again," no matter what happened.

Politically, the reaction seemed in some ways a return to the standard of pre-Puritan days. The "Convention" Parliament that had called Charles back, not being bound by the Declaration of Breda, was in some respects more royalist and vindictive than the king himself. It started out by punishing some of those responsible for the execution of Charles I. Ten of the regicides were themselves executed, and Cromwell's body was dug up, hanged, and beheaded, along with those of two of his collaborators. Parlia-

ment also enacted a law punishing the assumption of arms against the sovereign, thus condemning the recent Civil War and outlawing all future armed rebellions. Furthermore, an Act of Uniformity was passed that made the use of the Anglican Prayer Book obligatory and thereby sanctioned only the Anglican Church among all the denominations that had grown up since the break with Rome. Puritans and others who refused to conform to this measure were ejected from the authorized fold. "Nonconformists" could no longer hope for reform within the church. The best they could expect was toleration. Even that hope seemed doomed, however, by Parliament's passage of other repressive measures during the years 1661-1665. A Corporation Act in effect disbarred Nonconformists from municipal offices; a Conventicle Act practically forbade non-Anglican religious meetings; and a Five-Mile Act required dissenting ministers to live at least five miles outside of their former parishes. This series of laws became known, after the prime minister, as "the Clarendon Code," although Clarendon himself did not favor all of them.

*Religious uniformity
versus royal Catholicism*

PARLIAMENT'S policy of religious uniformity was directed as much against Catholicism as

against Protestant dissenters, and as much against Charles and his entourage as against the Puritan revolutionaries. For along with French manners and fashions Charles had brought from France leanings toward Catholicism. Moreover, the Secret Treaty of Dover, by which Charles promised the French king aid against the Dutch (page 375), contained also the stipulation that Charles was to avow Catholicism openly. Thus, religious disagreements, which had complicated the struggle between king and Parliament earlier in the century, seemed bound once again to become a source of friction and to revive the old controversy regarding the extent of the royal prerogative.

*The outcome
of the Third Anglo-Dutch War*

CHARLES' alliance with Louis against Holland was not entirely contrary to national policy. Crom-

well, as we know (page 310), had fought the Dutch over commercial and colonial questions. And shortly after Charles' restoration, England had fought a second war (1665-1667) against the Dutch for similar reasons (page 374). When, therefore, Charles went to war against the Dutch as the ally of Louis XIV in 1672, the alliance was not at first unpopular in England. But gradually it became clear that Charles' motives were religious and anti-parliamentary as well as colonial and commercial, and meanwhile the evident weakness and impending collapse of the Dutch increased the danger of French mastery of the Continent. Therefore, when the Dutch in desperation proffered peace to the English, Parliament brought pressure to bear upon Charles to respond favorably. A treaty in 1674 confirmed the status quo ante. A marriage of Charles' niece Mary, daughter of his brother James, to

William of Orange was also discussed, and actually took place in 1677. Charles, partly in order to court favor with Parliament and partly to force more money from Louis, now gave support to the Dutch without actually going to war with France. The unfortunate outcome of the war for Holland left England the only potentially strong opponent of France on the North Sea and the Channel; and England presumably had much less than a third of the population of France (which at this time was at most around twenty million) and certainly had much less prestige than France.

*Renewal of the struggle
between king and Parliament*

IN 1672 the constitutional issue was joined when Charles published a Declaration of Indulgence that suspended the parliamentary measures against Catholic and Protestant dissenters. Parliament, aroused by this arbitrary exercise of royal power, used its control of funds to force Charles II to withdraw the declaration. In addition, they retaliated by imposing the Test Act, requiring all officeholders to receive communion according to the Church of England. A series of rumors soon spread abroad that Catholic elements were conspiring to seize the throne and to begin some wholesale Protestant persecutions. This so-called "Popish Plot" kept the country in a state of suspicion and alarm. During the panic numerous instances of arbitrary arrest occurred and induced Parliament to pass the Habeas Corpus Act (1679), whereby any prisoner could demand a hearing before a court within a specified time. Rational reaction to an irrational terror thus led to another important victory for English freedom. So matters stood, precariously balanced between panic and good judgment, when Charles died in 1685, leaving the throne of England and Scotland to his brother James, an avowed Catholic. James had already married a Catholic princess despite the prayer of Parliament and had been obliged by the Test Act to give up his command in the royal navy.

*The rise
of political parties in England*

A LASTING by-product of the religious and constitutional issues of Charles' reign had been the rise of two factions within Parliament having something like a definite organization and a consistent program. A party known as the "Whigs," opposed to the succession of the Catholic James, drew its support mainly from Puritans and other dissenters to whom Catholicism was anathema. The "Tory" party, on the other hand, while staunchly Anglican, believed that the hereditary principle, even though the crown might fall to a Catholic, was the best means of preventing renewal of civil war and preserving the status quo. The Whigs and the Tories were the first British political parties to have more than an ephemeral factional existence. Out of these grew the modern two-party system, which has become a conspicuous element in the functioning of responsible parliamentary government in England.

*The reign of James II
and the "Glorious Revolution"*

IN A short reign of three years
(1685-1688), the new king,
James II, succeeded in fanning

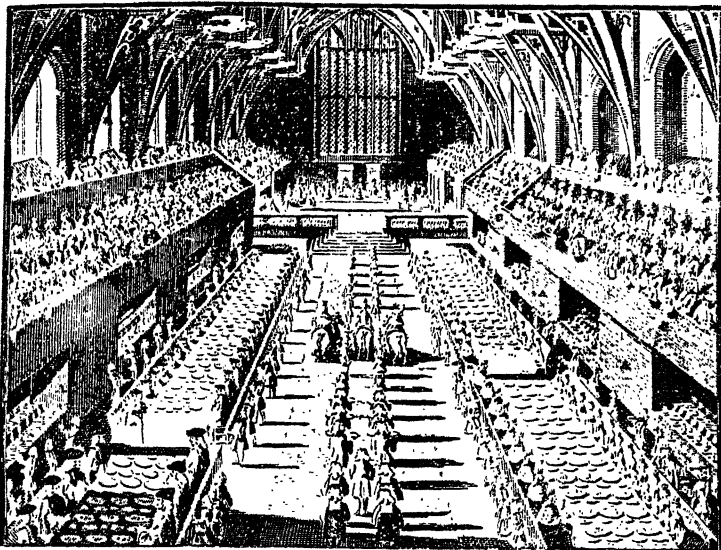
into a hot blaze the issues that had smoldered during his brother's reign. His determination to return England to the Catholic fold, by despotic means if necessary, quickly alienated even the Tories, who had supported his succession. His attempts to create a royal Catholic army, his Declaration of Indulgence suspending all anti-Catholic laws, his policy of filling important offices with Catholics, and his fierce persecution (known as the "Bloody Assize") of Protestants who had supported a rival claimant to the throne, increased the opposition. Patience prevailed as long as there was reason to believe that James' daughter Mary, wife of William of Orange, would succeed to the Stuart throne. For Mary had been brought up by her mother, James' first wife, as a Protestant. But in 1688 a son was born to James who would normally inherit the throne if he lived long enough and who could be expected to be a Catholic nurtured on his father's intolerance and despotism. Whigs and Tories joined ranks and invited William, who was by that time practically the ruler of Holland, and his wife Mary jointly to assume the crown of England. As William landed, James, deserted by his own officers, fled to France, and the "Glorious Revolution" was an accomplished fact.

*Accession of William and Mary
and passage of the Bill of Rights*

THE SIGNIFICANCE of this non-violent revolution was embodied in the transaction by which Eng-

land acquired her new joint rulers. The crown was offered to them by Parliament on condition that they accept, along with the throne, the parliamentary design for English government. This condition was embodied in a Declaration of Rights, which formally became law in 1689 as the Bill of Rights. It stated in effect that the law and Parliament were above the king. Two long-standing issues—the right of the king to levy unauthorized taxes and the royal privilege of suspending certain laws—were settled specifically in the negative and hence in favor of Parliament. So was the more recent controversy regarding the authority of the king to maintain a standing army without the consent of Parliament. In addition, the Declaration solemnly reconfirmed certain rights that Englishmen had long thought they had but which had recently been abused. Among them were the freedom of petition, the right to bear arms, freedom of speech, free elections, frequent parliaments, and trial by jury (with limitations upon cruel, excessive, or unusual punishments). The revolution begun under James I was thus completed upon the deposition of James II, and the English king became simply an executive, bound by explicit limitations, in a parliamentary government.

The exclusion of Catholics from the throne of England and the passage
404 of an Act of Toleration for Protestants (except Unitarians) completed the



The coronation banquet of William and Mary in Westminster Hall. At center, the king's champion, supported by the high constable and the earl marshal, offers to do combat with any who deny the new king's rightful claim.

revolutionary settlement. The Tory doctrine of religious uniformity thus gave way to the legal recognition of a variety of religious creeds and organizations (except for Catholics, Jews, Socinians, and freethinkers). It was the first such formal toleration of dissenting sects in any state of Europe, though more liberal practices had been adopted in America decades earlier.

Justification

of the revolution by John Locke

TO JOHN LOCKE, champion of tolerance, fell the role of apologist for the revolution. The intellectual antecedents of his *Two Treatises of Civil Government* (1690) have already been discussed (page 392). In tune with the naturalistic philosophy of the day, it posited a prepolitical condition—a state of nature. This was “a state of perfect freedom [for men] to order their actions, and dispose of their persons and possessions as they think fit, within the bounds of the law of nature...a state also of equality, wherein all the power and jurisdiction is reciprocal, no one having more than another.” This state of nature was not for Locke, as it had been for Hobbes, a state of anarchy and chaos. “The state of Nature has a law of Nature to govern it, which obliges everyone, and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health,

liberty, or possession."²⁵ Civil government arises when men in a state of nature combine through a social contract and, appointing some authority to enforce what natural law and reason dictate, assure to all men the full exercise of their natural rights. Beyond this function governmental authority should not extend.

From this major premise, Locke concluded that if any government should fail in preserving men's natural rights or should infringe upon those rights, a revolution is justified. Contrary to Hobbes, who had sought to justify the Stuarts and had only reluctantly admitted the justification of anything resembling a popular uprising, Locke considered the government at least as strictly bound by the contract as were the people. Sovereignty for him resided in the people, not in a ruler above and beyond the contract. "The community perpetually retains a supreme power of saving themselves from the attempts and designs of anybody, even of their legislators, whenever they shall be so foolish or so wicked as to lay and carry on designs against the liberties and properties of the subject."²⁶ Thus the uncereemonious ousting of James became by Locke's hands a moral act justified by his violation of the social contract and based upon a higher law than that of mere men—the law of nature.

The right to vote

based on property qualifications

NEITHER the English Revolution nor Locke's justification of it was intended to introduce thoroughly

democratic institutions into England. The Whigs, made up largely of the landed aristocracy and the great bourgeois merchants and industrialists, and the Tories, made up largely of the gentry, the yeomanry, and the country clergy, both represented small minorities having property or position. The right to vote in England was based on the ownership of property, the most common qualification in the rural districts being a freehold that would produce at least forty shillings a year in rent. As previously indicated, it is hard to estimate the value of forty shillings in current American money. Prices were much lower then than now. Eggs in 1679 were less than a halfpenny apiece. Beer was three pence a gallon in 1640 and bacon three pence per pound in 1691. Butter was around six pence a pound in 1700 and candles around five pence a dozen, while a carpenter received around twelve shillings a week and a plumber around fourteen. A shilling would thus buy much more than it would today in the United States—often at least eight times as much; and if comparative wages for skilled labor are taken as the standard, a shilling of that day was equivalent to a great deal more. Forty shillings might thus represent a purchasing power of, roughly, \$100—certainly a low annual rental. No matter how low, however, the free property requirement restricted the

²⁵John Locke, *Second Treatise on Civil Government*, Ch. II.

²⁶*Ibid.*

county franchise to the landed gentry, since yeomen now seldom held freeholds. Neither political theory nor political practice paid great deference to the numerous but unorganized and unpropertied farm laborers and workers in the factories and small shops.

*The English bourgeoisie
as a model for the rest of Europe*

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION meant a triumph for the propertied classes. This political fact is re-

flected in Locke's enumeration of the natural rights of man that governments are instituted to preserve. Foremost among them he placed the preservation of private property: "The great and chief end...of men uniting into commonwealths, and putting themselves under government, is the preservation of their property."²⁷ For a long time to come, England was to be governed by an oligarchy of aristocrats and businessmen.

The English Revolution and the theories of Locke were to have a wide influence in countries where a strong bourgeois class was beginning to view with alarm the restrictions imposed upon it by a system of absolutism. Though William of Orange represented in the United Provinces a reactionary tendency—i.e., opposition to the bourgeois republican ideas of the Holland merchants, he stood for a revolutionary tendency in England—i.e., limitation by popular action and Parliament of hereditary, divine-right absolutism. In the next century, both France and the American colonies were to draw upon English precedents for ideas of revolution and the rights of man, and the English representative system of government was to become a working model for bourgeois aspirations abroad.

*English prosperity
under the later Stuarts*

ENGLAND prospered conspicuously during the reigns of the last Stuarts who replaced James II. By

1714 she led all Europe in mining and metallurgical industries; her overseas commerce was steadily increasing; and she had become a first-rate colonial power. Furthermore, in a country whose bourgeoisie helped to make decisions, the old controls of government over industry gradually relaxed and English foreign policy was increasingly shaped by the desire to secure commercial advantage. All these things the bourgeoisie elsewhere looked upon with envy. Thus England was to provide not only a philosophy of revolution but a good example of bourgeois activity in politics.

The apparently greater prosperity in England seemed to point a moral to liberal observers in absolutist countries. They were prone to conclude that there was a necessary connection between England's prosperity and her system of government. That conclusion is doubtful, since recent investigation leads to the conclusion that industrial progress in England and France

²⁷*Ibid.*, Ch. IX.

contrasted more vividly before the English Civil War, when both countries had been governed by largely similar systems, than afterwards. England's industrial superiority in the eighteenth century may therefore be attributable to causes other than the difference in governmental structure. Only in part was it to be due to political factors, and those only indirectly associated with the type of government. Among them were the advantages derived, as we shall soon see, from successfully resisting French domination of Europe, and doing so largely by fighting abroad, at the same time that France was being exhausted by the ambitions of Louis XIV.

England

as the major rival of France

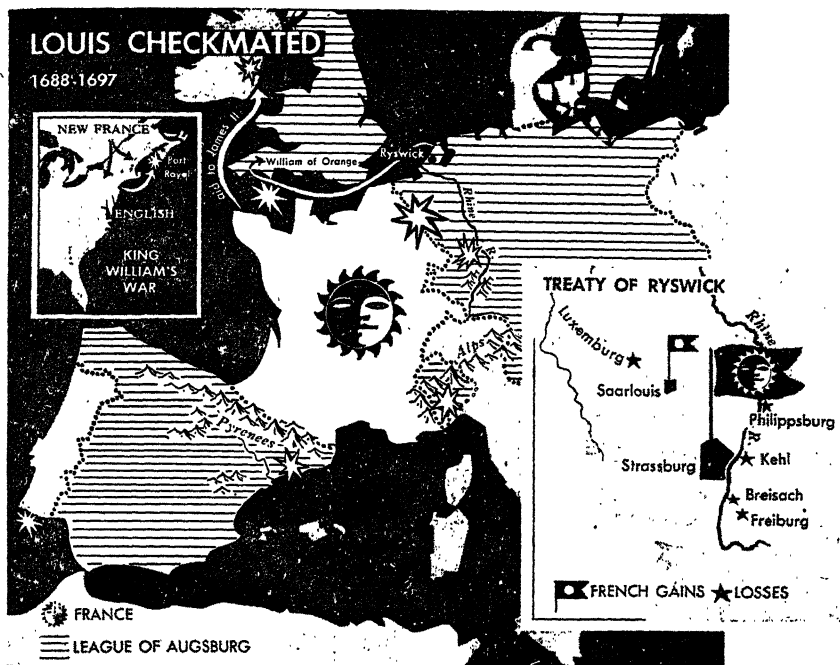
THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION introduced a new element into the dynastic rivalries of Europe.

Through the reign of the early Stuarts, England had remained on the periphery of European politics, absorbed in her own civil conflicts. Though she intervened from time to time in major crises, fought three wars against the Dutch, and was not above interfering in the internal affairs of other nations, she was no leader in continental conflicts as she had been in the days of Elizabeth. With the proclamation of William and Mary as the rulers of England, the island kingdom became almost overnight the foremost actor (Austria alone perhaps excepted) in the movement to counterbalance French predominance. In fact, William's interest in accepting the English crown was considerably enhanced by the prospect of throwing the weight of English power to the support of Holland. From the Glorious Revolution on, as the power of Spain and Holland declined, rivalry between France and England became more and more the dominant theme of European politics, a rivalry stretching far beyond the shores of Europe to India in the East and the Mississippi Valley in the West. It resulted in a series of world-wide wars—fought on all the known seas and continents—sometimes named “the Second Hundred Years’ War.” These wars were not to be settled conclusively until 1805, when the Battle of Trafalgar was finally to determine that English maritime and overseas ascendancy would be safe from French competition.

COUNTERBALANCING

“FRENCH AGGRANDIZEMENT”

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION did not long remain an exclusively domestic affair in England. As just pointed out, it soon became mixed up with the problem of the balance of power. James II fled to France, where Louis XIV, continuing to regard him as the rightful ruler of England, turned the Palace of St. Germain over to him and his followers. Louis looked upon James not only as a victim of rebellious subjects but also as a Catholic and a potential ally per-



Alarmed by Louis's aggressions, his continental neighbors formed the League of Augsburg to hold him in check. William of Orange made the decisive checkmating move when, in 1688, he ascended the English throne, adding the might of England to the League. A French counter-move to Ireland in support of the deposed James II ended in defeat at the Battle of the Boyne. Louis's acquisition of Strassburg enabled him to consolidate his position in Alsace, but at the cost of "reunions" on the other side of the Rhine. The American phase of the struggle, known as "King William's War," was indecisive. The British captured Port Royal from the French but returned it by the Treaty of Ryswick. The large map does not indicate the scattered possessions of France since 1648 in Alsace. These were consolidated by Louis's definitive acquisition of Strassburg by the Treaty of Ryswick, as shown in the inset.

secuted by mutual enemies. Louis was already involved in a new aggression, intended to expand his holdings in the Rhineland. He had hoped to win his way by a localized war, but William's ruling position in two hostile countries now seemed likely to frustrate that hope. France could ill afford the series of big-scale wars that ensued when Louis made James' cause his own.

The War

of the League of Augsburg

AS EARLY as 1686, because of Louis's "reunions," a coalition known as "the League of Augsburg" had been formed. It soon included Spain, the Empire, Sweden, Bavaria, Saxony, the Palatinate, and Savoy. To offset this formidable coalition

Louis had no allies at all. Confident of his own strength, however, he invaded the Palatinate on a debatable claim to some of its territory and a trumped-up charge of impending Habsburg aggression. He had already laid it waste when James II, ex-king of England, sought refuge at his door. Louis promptly decided to support James' efforts to regain the English throne, and he supported an expedition under James to Ireland, where they hoped to find enough support to bring about the resubjugation of England.

William of Orange, we have seen, had been prompted to accept the invitation of James' rebellious subjects and to become, with his wife, a ruler of England largely because he wished to unite Holland and England in the effort to check Louis XIV's aggressions. By May 1789 he had converted the League of Augsburg into a Grand Alliance by leading both of his countries into the coalition. The ensuing war was fought in America, in Ireland, and on the high seas as well as on the Continent. In America it was known as "King William's War." European wars were now becoming world-wide wars.

Hostilities lasted for nine years. William decisively defeated James at the Battle of the Boyne (1690) and forced him to flee once more to France. On the other hand, on the Continent, Louvois and the Marshal de Luxembourg proved able to win victories for Louis against William III and his allies, and on the seas the French fleet gave a good account of itself. But maritime supremacy eventually passed to the English and Dutch. Louvois and Luxembourg both died in the course of the war; and the Austrians found a great general in the French-born Prince Eugene of Savoy. In 1697, the Treaty of Ryswick restored peace. For the first time Louis gained nothing from his war. On the contrary, he lost the fortress of Luxembourg and several other "reunited" places to Spain and the Empire, though he was permitted to keep Strassburg, other "reunions" in Alsace, and a number of lesser "reunions" elsewhere. Louis also agreed to recognize William as the legitimate king of England and to permit the Dutch to maintain a chain of "barrier fortresses" in the Spanish Netherlands. France had once more poured its resources into an aggressive war, and this time got no more than international consent to the annexation of territories already acquired, and then only at the expense of surrendering others. It was an apparent victory, but in a very real sense it was also a defeat. While the war led in England to the creation of the Bank of England and the systematization of the national debt, in France it squeezed the royal treasury hard and brought forth murmurs against absolutism.

*The problem
of succession to the Spanish throne*

IN THE last years of the century the question of succession to the sickly and almost imbecile Span-

ish king, Charles II, became again a sore point for all of Europe. As before, Louis laid his covetous eyes upon the Spanish possessions. Both he and the

Emperor Leopold had practically equal claim by birth and marriage to the throne of the childless Spanish monarch. The rival claimants and their respective partisans tried at first to settle their claims by peaceful agreement. All the interested powers accepted a seven-year-old Bavarian prince as a compromise candidate for the Spanish throne; but the boy died before Charles II of Spain did, and a second treaty became necessary. France, England, and Holland, the maritime powers that were party to these treaties, were concerned, firstly, with securing for themselves some share of the commerce and colonies that had been Spain's boast for so long; secondly, with preserving the balance of power in the division of the spoils; and, thirdly, with preventing the entire Spanish empire from passing to the Austrian Habsburgs along with Charles' crown. They were able to agree that the Archduke Charles, the emperor's younger son, should get Spain and the Spanish colonies, and that Louis should be compensated by placing certain relatives of his on the thrones of Spain's lands in Italy.

Despite his commitment to the partition treaties, Louis had fostered a pro-French party at the Spanish court. Spanish clerics and patriots, now roused by the callous public division of the lands of His Most Catholic Majesty, induced the feeble Charles II to make a will naming Louis's grandson Philip of Anjou his successor; and fearful that, if divided, some of his dominions might fall to Protestant nations, Charles bequeathed them intact to the Bourbon prince. The pro-French party in Spain hoped that the strength of France and the unlikelihood of Anjou's succession to the French throne would induce the other interested powers to respect Charles' will.

*The War
of the Spanish Succession*

WITH THE publication of Charles' will on his death in 1700, the delicately manipulated partition

treaties collapsed. It required no great mind to foretell that if Anjou were in fact to reign at Madrid, Spain would become Bourbon instead of Habsburg, and the European equilibrium would be thoroughly upset. Without waiting to find out what the reaction of the other powers would be, Louis installed Philip on the Spanish throne and began to act as if Spain and France were one country. "The Pyrenees no longer exist," the Spanish ambassador in Paris was reputed to have announced, and Louis's troops, violating his earlier treaties, took possession of the "barrier fortresses" in the Spanish Netherlands. The war began in 1701 by Austria's invasion of Italy in the hope of depriving Philip of at least the Spanish holdings there. It soon became clear that Europe and especially the commercial and colonial powers, England and Holland, would not passively sanction a union of France, the strongest state in Europe, with Spain, metropolis of the largest empire in the world. The Grand Alliance was reconstituted, with some minor changes, and it declared war. For a fourth time other nations of Europe combined to preserve the balance of



The size of the prize at stake in Europe is indicated by diagonal hatching: Spain and all her strategically located possessions. (The small horizontally hatched areas south and east of the United Provinces are Cleves and Mark, the western outposts of the growing Brandenburg realm.) Several states of the Empire joined the Grand Alliance, but only those states that were most active have been indicated by horizontal hatching.

power in spite of Louis XIV's efforts to destroy it. In 1703 Portugal made an alliance with England that brought her into war.

The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1714) was fought in many parts of western Europe, on the seas, and in North and South America. To the English colonists in North America it was known as "Queen Anne's War" (King William having died at the outbreak of the war and having been succeeded by his sister-in-law Anne, James II's younger daughter). French armies, successful at first, suffered a series of crushing defeats at the hands of the allies, ably led by the English Duke of Marlborough, the Austrian Prince Eugene of Savoy, and the Grand Pensionary Anton Heinsius of Holland. Some battles (Blenheim, Ramillies, Turin, Oudenarde, Malplaquet) involved bigger armies than ever before—having from thirty thousand to ninety thousand men on each side. Casualties—sometimes as high

as twenty thousand or thirty thousand for both sides—mounted because of improved and more deadly weapons. The musket was now fired directly from the shoulder without the aid of a rest, and the ring bayonet was more regularly fixed to it. The modern fusilier was a much more efficient killer than the old-fashioned musketeer had been. Yet this still was “limited” warfare, less intense than the “total” warfare of the Thirty Years’ War. The hardship for noncombatants was diminished, since standing armies, sieges, and entrenched lines meant campaigns largely limited both in time (to the warmer months) and in space (to fortified places).

After a decade of war, frequent defeats demoralized the French army and exhausted the country. Furthermore, the Huguenots had risen in revolt and a civil war had been fought in the south of France. The allies invaded France itself and threatened even to march on Paris. But at this juncture the French rallied under the Marshals de Vendôme and de Villars. A group favoring peace meanwhile came to power in England and deprived Marlborough of his command. In 1711, Joseph, Leopold’s successor as emperor, died, and Archduke Charles, the Alliance’s candidate for the Spanish throne, became emperor. Thus England and Holland were faced with the possibility, in the event of their own victory, of reuniting the two sections of the Habsburg empire, Spain and Austria, as in the days of Charles v. Such harmony as had existed between them and Austria dwindled rapidly at this



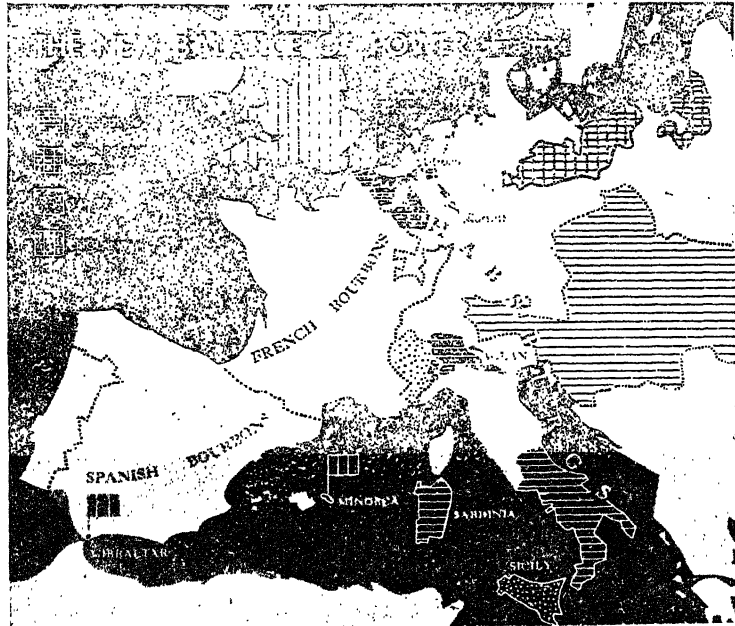
A contemporary's conception of Marlborough leading his army against the French at Oudenarde. In the foreground can be seen the fallen French standard as well as a variety of the weapons used in battle.

prospect, and in 1713 they offered to treat with Louis over the head of the emperor. Deserted, Charles VI too came to terms with France in the following year, and the War of the Spanish Succession came to an end.

*Partition of Spain
by the Treaty of Utrecht*

BY THE Treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastatt (1714) the big powers in the Grand Alliance won

the greatest advantages. The Spanish throne and the Spanish colonies were conceded to Louis's grandson Philip only on condition that the thrones of Spain and France remain forever separate. Thus the Bourbons got no more than would have been granted the Habsburgs by the second prewar treaty of partition. The emperor was compensated by the acquisition of Milan, Naples, and Sardinia in Italy and of the Spanish Netherlands (now to be known as "the Austrian Netherlands"). Thus the Habsburg ruler got more territory, and got it more directly, than was assigned to Louis XIV by the prewar arrangements. On the other hand, both Bourbon rulers suffered some loss of territory. England received Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Hudson



Breaking up the Spanish holdings in Europe furnished the basis for a new equilibrium. Spain now looked toward Paris and not toward Vienna for international leadership. At the same time, the victories of Austria over the Ottoman Empire caused the Habsburgs to turn eastward.

Bay Territory in America from France, and the rock of Gibraltar and the island of Minorca from Spain. By a separate treaty, England was also granted the *Asiento*, a special and highly remunerative contract permitting English merchants to supply the Spanish colonies with goods and 4800 Negro slaves a year.

The lesser allies of England and Austria also received their rewards. The former dukes of Savoy were now permitted, by international agreement, to take the title of "king"; and, having been awarded the island of Sicily at Spain's expense, the reigning duke took the title of "king of Sicily." A few years later he was able to arrange with Austria an exchange of Sicily for Sardinia, and thereby became "king of Sardinia." The king of Sardinia thus became one of the most prominent Italian figures, and was marked for a leading role in Italian political developments. Holland's remuneration for her losses in the war was a confirmation of the barrier fortresses along the border between Belgium and France. Since Belgium was now "the Austrian Netherlands" and the Dutch were permitted to garrison the barrier fortresses, Holland seemed well provided for against further French aggression. Other territorial adjustments benefited Portugal in South America and Brandenburg-Prussia in the Rhine Valley. In addition, the elector of Brandenburg-Prussia, in return for his support of the Grand Alliance, had been allowed to take the title of "king in Prussia." Most of the territorial changes by the treaties of peace were at Spanish expense. Thus was the once-proud Spanish empire humbled. Her outlying possessions in Europe were lost, and the English in Gibraltar and Minorca occupied Spanish soil. Spain still, however, controlled a vast empire in the New World, Africa, and the Philippines.

Restoration

of the European balance of power

THE TREATIES of Utrecht and

Rastatt created a new international order, supplementing the

Treaty of Westphalia in fixing the European balance of power. The threat of Habsburg domination was definitely ended with the partition of the Spanish dominions. In its place arose the threat of Bourbon domination, which, however, the treaties tried to meet. By obliging Philip of Anjou (now Philip v of Spain) to renounce all claims to the French throne, the treaties attempted to forestall a future union of the two Bourbon houses under one crown. French overseas power was clipped by the cession of important colonial areas to England, which thus embarked upon the course of ousting the French from North America. Both Spain and France lost out in the centuries-old struggle for control of Italy, which temporarily passed to the Austrian Habsburgs; and in the race for the Belgian Netherlands, Austria was likewise temporarily recognized as the victor. Austria was thus able to act as a counterpoise to France and Spain on the Continent, and England served similarly on the seas and overseas.

*The emergence
of England as a world power*

THE TREATIES also signaled the growth of England as a world power, though one more interested

in commerce and colonies than in continental possessions. Commercial advantage dictated the acquisition of Gibraltar and Minorca in the Mediterranean, and colonial rivalry dictated the acquisitions in America. The air-tight navigation system of the Spanish empire in America was impaired by two important commercial concessions to England. The *Asiento* (1) permitted English merchants to export forty-eight thousand slaves a year to Spanish America, giving them a temporary monopoly of the Spanish slave market, and (2) grudgingly conceded that each year one English vessel of five hundred tons' displacement might anchor in the harbor of Porto Bello, Panama, presenting them with a legal wedge by which to widen the opportunities for smuggling. The war combined with mutual commercial interests to effect a closer rapprochement between England and Portugal, expressed in the Methuen Treaty (1703), named after the English ambassador at Lisbon. The Methuen Treaty is one of the oldest unbroken reciprocity treaties still in force. By making Portugal dependent on England as a market for her wines and as a source for her textiles, the Methuen Treaty initiated the growing influence of England over Portuguese affairs. The association thus begun accounts for the Portuguese dependence upon English wool and for the English taste for port.

*The decline
of Holland as a world power*

HOLLAND, originally the moving force in the alliances against Louis XIV, fared indifferently in the peace

settlements. Except for her losses to England on the North American continent, her possessions had not actually diminished during the seventeenth century, but she was now eclipsed by larger, more populous, and stronger powers. In a three-cornered fight with England and France, she had had to choose one of her competitors as an ally against the other, and the fortunes of William of Orange had resulted in her choosing England. As British might grew in the eighteenth century, England appeared more and more like a protector of the Dutch royalists than an ally of the Dutch nation.

*The growing importance
of Brandenburg-Prussia and Savoy*

THE ACQUISITIONS of two smaller states, Brandenburg and Savoy, brought into prominence two new

continental seekers of power. Because of the skillful part played by the Hohenzollern rulers in the wars of Louis XIV and Charles XII (pages 431-432), Brandenburg-Prussia was becoming a significant factor in the European equilibrium, a leader among the German states, and a potential threat to Polish safety in the east and to Austrian preponderance in the Empire. Savoy was growing conspicuous among the Italian states. Each was destined in

the nineteenth century to play a stellar role in making unified and powerful nations out of separate and disorganized states. In the Rhine Valley, the Hohenzollern possessions became a direct neighbor of Holland, and in the course of time Prussia was to share France's and England's concern with Dutch internal affairs. The treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt thus had effects upon world politics that were decisive long after the Age of Louis XIV.

PROTEST,

SATIRE, AND CRITICISM (1688-1720)

THE GROWING misery of France, as the cost of war in distress, taxes, and life mounted, could not be entirely concealed even by an effective censorship. Several prominent men of affairs proved willing to run the risk of royal displeasure by calling attention to the suffering that Louis's quest for lands, glory, and power had brought to France. In England, practically untouched at home by the war, the hardships were less felt and protest was less vehement, but opinion was more free, and voices were raised in criticism of governmental policies and social abuses. Everywhere, as the carnage mounted, a desire for peace arose.

*The continued development
of the press in England and France*

A REVEALING instance of the differences in English and French political development is the contrast produced by the free press in England and the licensed press in France.

While newspapers and periodicals of every description flourished in England after 1695, in France all political papers except the official *Gazette de France* and a few provincial papers were suppressed, and in 1700 there were only three periodicals, devoted to literature, science, the theater, and other popu-



This political cartoon illustrates the diversity of opinions in the English press. Although this particular drawing did not appear until 1762, English papers began publishing partisan views as early as 1695.

lar but nonpolitical topics. As a result, a large French contraband trade in books grew up. Printed or alleged to have been printed abroad, books and periodicals purveying political information and opinion were smuggled into France and sold by "bootlegging" methods. Writers got into the habit also of circulating their writings in manuscript clandestinely, readers making copies if sufficiently interested, so that several copies of some clandestine manuscripts became available and are still to be found, some of them yet unpublished, in French libraries. Manuscript, or "hand," newspapers—*nouvelles à la main*—circulated in the same fashion. As might be expected, a native political press flourished also in Holland, and was strictly forbidden in Spain.

*The growth
of satire and criticism in England*

IN ENGLAND, Addison and Steele, the satirist Jonathan Swift, whose *Gulliver's Travels* (page 491) is

still widely read, and the narrator and pamphleteer Daniel Defoe, whose *Robinson Crusoe* (page 491) is a lasting children's classic, all excelled in the new, easy-to-read prose style. Although some of Swift's best work was to come only after the wars of Louis XIV, before 1715 he published his *Battle of the Books* (1704), which showed that the quarrel of the Ancients and the Moderns then raging in France also involved English men of letters, with Swift on the side of the Ancients; and his *Tale of a Tub* (1704) poked fun at religious formalism and casuistical learning. Defoe at this time was perhaps most distinguished for his *Essay on Projects* (1698) and *Shortest Way with Dissenters* (1702), in which he advocated a wide program of reforms and reduced intolerance to an absurdity.

The *Review* (edited by Daniel Defoe), the *Tatler* (edited by Richard Steele), and the *Spectator* (edited by Steele and Joseph Addison) were all founded at the beginning of the eighteenth century. They were periodical essays rather than magazines, but were forerunners of the modern journal of opinion. Each issue of the *Spectator* and the *Tatler* contained a short essay on a literary or social topic, or a gentle satire on contemporary manners or persons. Their popularity was immense in England, and they were widely read and imitated in other countries. The literary review underwent some of its early developments during this period.

*La Bruyere
as a critic of French society*

JEAN DE LA BRUYÈRE'S *Les Caractères* (1688) is sometimes said to be the first effective appeal to

the lay social conscience in France. His book held up various types of his day to ridicule. Prominent among them were the aristocratic sycophant and the fortune hunter. Some of his most vehement words express his resentment of the hardships of the poor: "One sees in the countryside wild animals, males and females, dark, livid, all burnt up by the sun, crouching on the ground,

A contemporary caricature of Louis XIV as "The Dreamer," enveloped in a cloak patterned with the heads of "dangerous animals," his influential mistresses Mme. de Montespan and Mme. de Maintenon.



which they dig and stir with invincible obstinacy; they have something like an articulate voice, and when they rise to their feet, they reveal a human face; and in fact, they are men. They retire at night into their lairs, where they live on black bread, water and roots."²⁸ This picture of the French peasant by La Bruyère was written about the middle of Louis XIV's reign, when to the normal hazards of

poverty and famine had been added the unbearable taxes levied in support of a lavish court and costly military ventures, the burden of quartering soldiers in private homes, and forced labor on roads that were used increasingly for military purposes. A large part of the peasantry had never been well off. They lived close to the margin of subsistence, too poor and too tired to be anything but ignorant, too inarticulate to express their dissatisfactions except in sporadic and unorganized rebellion. La Bruyère was one of the first French men of letters to speak for them.

Vauban
as a critic of the government

AMID THE general adulation of Louis XIV, other critical voices were raised and began to be heard.

They came not from the peasantry or the middle class, however, but from aristocrats who resented the new absolutism and longed for the old days when the aristocracy had had a fuller share in the government and had acted (so they thought) as a buffer between royal power and the people. Among them was the great military engineer Vauban, who had observed the state of the countryside while constructing fortresses along the frontiers of France. Although he believed in absolutism, he was deeply concerned with the welfare of the masses, whose labor he regarded as the foundation of national wealth. In his *Projet d'une dîme royale* (*Proposal of a Royal Tithe*), written

²⁸Jean de La Bruyère, "De l'homme," *Les Caractères*, Ch. XI.



Portrait of Madame de Maintenon, showing the elegant dress of the aristocracy at the court of Louis XIV. The skirt of royal ermine perhaps indicates that the portrait was made after her private marriage to the king (c. 1685).

in 1698 but not published until 1707, he protested against the unjust distribution of taxes and, in particular, the exemptions and privileges of the upper classes. "Nearly one-tenth of the people," he estimated, "is reduced to beggary and, in fact, actually does beg; of the remaining nine-tenths, five are in no position to help them because they are themselves very little removed from the same unfortunate condition; of the remaining four-tenths, three are greatly distressed and embarrassed by debts and lawsuits and in the [last] tenth there are fewer than a hundred thousand families, and I believe it is true that there are not ten thousand families, large or small, that can be

said to be really well off; and if you excluded businessmen, . . . those whom the king supports by grants, a few merchants, etc., I am certain that the rest would be a small number." He advocated the abolition of most existing taxes and the substitution of a *dîme royale*, or royal tithe, a tax of 10 per cent on all incomes, peasant, aristocrat, and merchant alike. His book was suppressed by Louis as too critical of the existing regime, and has greater value as a historical document than it had as a contemporary influence. Vauban died in disgrace and—it was said—of a broken heart.

*The political philosophy
advanced by Archbishop Fénelon*

BUT MOST of the critics, who were aristocrats, wanted innovation less than a restoration of old institutions—a renewal of aristocratic power through the revival of the Estates General. One such critic was Archbishop Fénelon. An aristocrat by birth and sentiment, and a believer in divine right, he nevertheless felt that certain things were lacking in Louis's government. He believed that a paternalistic king should share with the aristocracy in solicitous concern for the people.

Margrave Louis of Baden, general in the Austrian army. The elaborate costume of the day was carried even to the battlefield, where a commander might appear in richly plumed hat, short braided coat, and high heels.



"Never forget that kings rule, not for their own glory, but for the good of the people,"²⁹ was his admonition to the young hero, Telemachus, of his romance *Télémaque* (1699). The book, probably designed to instruct his pupil, the dauphin of France, in the art and ethics of governing, contained much oblique criticism of Louis XIV's reign. Louis's wars were heavily scored: "The evils of war are even more horrible than you think. War wears out a state and always endangers its very existence, even when the greatest victories are won."³⁰ He contrasts the grandeur of Versailles with the condition of the country at large: "Which is more praiseworthy, a beautiful city

of marble, gold and silver, with a neglected and barren countryside, or a cultivated and fertile countryside with a modest city of simple manners?"³¹ Louis's strict mercantilist policies also were attacked by Vauban and Fénelon, as well as by other writers, including the rising school of economists known as the "Physiocrats" (page 515).

*The renewed quest
for international peace and order*

WHEN THE Treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt finally restored peace to Europe after one of its most

costly wars, the desire for concerted action to prevent future wars was widespread. Once more, as in the Treaty of Westphalia, the map of Europe had been redrawn on lines intended to be permanent. Once more sovereigns and subjects turned to the tasks and the hopes of peace. The desire for a universal system of law had not died since Grotius' day. Samuel Pufendorf, who was

²⁹Fénelon, *Les Aventures de Télémaque*, Livre XVIII.

³⁰*Ibid.*, Livre XIII.

³¹*Ibid.*, Livre XVII.



A view (c. 1750) of the chateau at Fontainebleau by the French artist, Jean Rigaud (1700-1754). Under Louis XIV the landscaping of the chateau had been redone in the grand style of LeNôtre.

to become royal historiographer in both Stockholm and Berlin, had, in 1661, published in Latin his *Elements of a Universal Jurisprudence*. Eleven years later came *On the Law of Nature and of Nations*, in which Pufendorf argued that reason demanded cooperation among rulers to promote the welfare of their peoples. He thus continued the efforts of Grotius to propound a system of international law.

In debilitated France, the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, who had been a secretary at the peace conference at Utrecht, published in 1713 his *Plan of an Everlasting Peace*. Like Crucé and Sully, Saint-Pierre suggested a confederation of princes as a framework for preventing war. His confederation, composed of deputies of the Christian rulers of Europe, was to be in continuous session, to enforce both domestic and international peace, and to preserve the status quo by force of arms. War was to be renounced as an instrument of national policy. In advance of his time, Saint-Pierre also wanted to "make commerce between Christian nations perfectly secure, free, and constant." Anticipating the free-trade doctrines that later grew up in England, he declared, in the face of contemporary opinion, that lasting commercial relations could not be beneficial to one nation at the expense of another, but must be of mutual benefit to all concerned. Saint-Pierre, like Cruce, seemed a visionary in his own time. His book reflected the yearnings of a war-ridden generation for permanent peace, but had little practical effect. In the early eighteenth century, despite the aggressions of Louis XIV, the need for collective action for peace did not seem so compelling as it was to become when warfare became more nearly "total," as in our own day.

THE RISE

OF PRUSSIA AND RUSSIA

CONCURRENTLY with the War of the Spanish Succession, a significant struggle was going on in the Baltic area (1700-1721). The major protagonists were the once great Sweden, the newly powerful Prussia, and the growingly self-conscious Russia. The ultimate eclipse of Sweden as a world power by this struggle was in part the cause and in part the result of the looming shadows cast by two newcomers in Europe's world politics, Prussia and Russia.

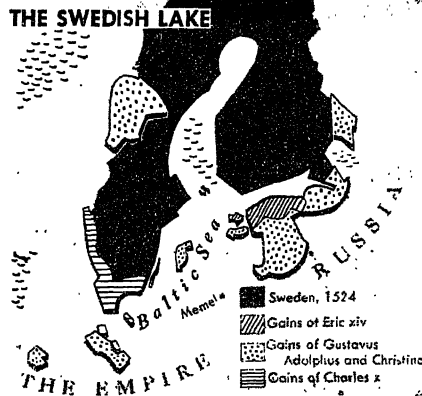
Predominance of Sweden in the Baltic Sea

BY THE treaties of Westphalia and Oliva (pages 304 and 310), the Baltic had become practically a

Swedish lake. Much of the Baltic commerce was in Sweden's hands. She was recognized as a leader of Protestantism in Europe. Her military strength and skill were widely acknowledged, and she was allied periodically with France when French power was at its height. For half a century she ranked not only as the leading power in the Baltic but as a great power in Europe.

Sweden's leadership was based in large measure on her military might. No common patriotism united the Swedes, Danes, Finns, Letts, Germans, and Slavs in the realm. Sweden's widely scattered dominions were military conquests, and were garrisoned by Swedish forces rather than absorbed into a single national system. Sweden's own resources in wealth and population were unequal to the task of governing this disunited empire. The Swedish peasantry were poor, the population was sparse, and the national economy suffered from the people's poverty and the royal preoccupation with war.

As in France, heavy taxation for military purposes tended to stifle economic life and arouse resentment. A discontented aristocracy added to domestic unrest. But Swedish weaknesses were obscured to other nations by her military strength



Sweden's encirclement of the Baltic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was an outcome of the energy of the House of Vasa, but Sweden lacked the resources to hold her "lake" against the rising power of Russia and Prussia in the eighteenth century.

and the continued successes of her rulers. Her apparent power and her trade advantages engendered many enmities that were to prove disastrous for her among the powers competing with her for commercial and territorial aggrandizement.

*Brandenburg-Prussia
under Frederick William*

BRANDENBURG, as we have seen (pages 305-308), had become a potentially important German

power by the end of the Thirty Years' War. The Great Elector, Frederick William, who ruled Brandenburg at the time of the Treaty of Westphalia, was a man capable of grasping his opportunities, even at the sacrifice of moral principles. Like his contemporary, Louis XIV of France, he set out to make his power absolute within his realm; like Colbert, he based his absolutism on the prevailing concepts of a healthy national economy. In many ways he had more to overcome than Colbert and Louis XIV had. His territories were not contiguous, and some had their own estates or diets, their own administration and army, and their own traditions. Commerce and industry in Brandenburg were less well developed than in France. Religious antagonisms were marked. Frederick William himself was a Calvinist, and his subjects were predominantly Lutheran. But from the diverse and sometimes antagonistic elements of his dominions Frederick William built a strong state and gave it a unity centered in his own person as absolute monarch.

Like the French kings, the Great Elector reduced the powers of the provincial diets and undertook to rule all his territories directly. He replaced the separate administrations with a single system emanating from the royal



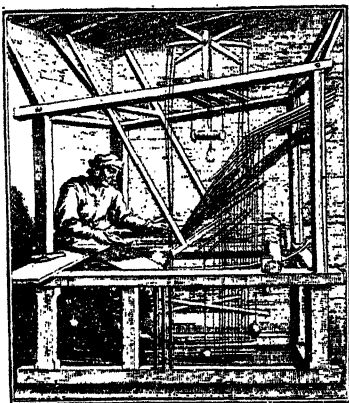
424 The above are illustrations of German craftsmanship after the Thirty Years' War. A clock maker (left) and a craftsman skilled in making musical instruments (right).

council in Berlin and staffed with a loyal civil service. Thereby he initiated the Prussian bureaucracy, whose unquestioning efficiency was to remain a striking characteristic of German institutions in the future. He assumed control of finances himself. He made a single national army from the several local military establishments. In short, he created an organic dynastic state from the separate feudal entities that he had either inherited or annexed.

Like other contemporary paternalistic monarchs, Frederick William regarded every aspect of national life as his own personal concern. He fostered commerce and industry, built roads and dug canals, and encouraged immigrants from other countries in order to import industrial skills and foster home manufactures. Among these immigrants were large numbers of Huguenots who fled from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and whose industrial knowledge and craftsmanship materially strengthened the Prussian economy. In one respect the Great Elector departed from the normal standard of absolutism. He followed a policy of religious tolerance, allowing freedom of belief and activity not only to the various Protestant sects but to Jews and Roman Catholics as well. It was a fruitful policy, and it left him free to devote his energies to more positive achievements than the suppression of religious dissent.

*Brandenburg-Prussia
in European diplomacy*

WE HAVE already had occasion to note the skillful role played by Frederick William in contemporary diplomacy (pages 303-305 and 376-378). His alliance with the Dutch against France brought about a clash with Sweden. Although the combined



Developments in the arts of peace and of war. Left: A weaver works at an improved hand loom. Right: Bombardiers prepare to aim and fire a mortar.

diplomatic efforts of France and Sweden kept him from making any territorial gains, his armies gained in efficiency and glory by their exercise, and dealt Swedish military prestige a severe blow. When the relatively untried forces of Brandenburg-Prussia resoundingly defeated the proud army of Swedish veterans at Fehrbellin in 1675, they won for their ruler the title of "The Great Elector" and inaugurated a military tradition that was to become an enduring influence in Prussian culture. The Great Elector was bitterly disappointed when only a small territorial advantage came to him from his victorious war because of Louis XIV's loyal defense of Sweden's interests at the peace negotiations, and he expressed the hope that an avenger would someday arise from his bones. The hope was to be realized in recent times, perhaps more thoroughly than he dreamed.

Frederick William's successor, Frederick, added but one outstanding achievement to those of his father. In return for his adherence to the imperial cause in the War of the Spanish Succession, the emperor granted him the right to use the title of "king in Prussia," and at the end of the war that title was recognized by the other great powers. Since he owned only the eastern part of Prussia, though he was sovereign in that part, he took the title of "Frederick I, king *in* Prussia," rather than "king *of* Brandenburg." By adding some Rhenish lands to his holdings at the close of the war, Frederick preserved the family tradition that each Hohenzollern ruler enlarge the state. On his death, Prussia was a potential rival to the Swedish on the Baltic, to the Dutch on the Rhine, and to the Austrians in northern Germany.

*The problem
of autocracy in Russia*

OF THE other powers for which
Swedish supremacy in the Baltic
was a constant menace, Russia

was eventually to be the most important. Until the end of the seventeenth century, Russia had been a sort of semi-Asiatic hinterland of Europe. It was forced and cajoled at last into the European orbit by an energetic Romanov ruler, Peter the Great. Peter's policy of "westernization" was based on several motives. For one thing, he admired western industrial techniques and political organizations, and sought to bring western methods and institutions to Russia. Simultaneously he developed Russia's interests in eastern Siberia and the Far East—a sort of Russian overland mirroring of western overseas expansion. He also determined to push Russia's frontiers toward the Baltic, seeking "a window to the west." Another motive was his desire to make himself absolute at home, an aim that fitted neatly into his policy of westernization, since absolutism was the prevailing form of government in the west.

Peter's father, Czar Alexis, and Peter's half-sister, Sophia, who had been regent of Russia during his minority, had prepared the way for Peter. They had made clear the problems that the rulers of Russia would have to solve if they were to become absolute. Both had taken Russia into the wars

of the west, but had won only enough prestige and territory to whet the Romanov appetite for more. Both had sought support from certain factions of boyars (very powerful, hereditary magnates) against other boyars and had grown dependent upon the *streltsi* (privileged musketeers of the Moscow garrison) for domination. Both had had trouble with the Cossacks (frontier pioneers); Alexis had been obliged to suppress the Cossack hero of song and story, Stenka Razin, with particular ruthlessness. Both had encountered opposition from the "Old Believers," or fundamentalists, of the Russian Orthodox Church in their efforts to bring even moderate western notions into Russia. In various quarters a rift appeared between those who advocated retention of the old traditions and were to become known as "Slavophiles" and those who wished to imitate the Germans, French, and other nations to the west and were to become known as "Westerners." The regimes of Alexis and Sophia had demonstrated that, if Russia was to become a power in European diplomacy, her rulers would have to dominate the boyars, the *streltsi*, the people, and the church more effectively than in the past.

*Westernization
of Russia by Peter the Great*

PETER'S activities in that direction were prefaced by a move that few western European monarchs would have dreamed of making.

Persuaded that not only the government but also the culture of Russia must be "westernized," for two years (1697-1698) he journeyed incognito with a group of his own officers through Prussia, Holland, England, and Austria. He examined at first hand the western ways of doing things. In Holland he hired himself out as a ship's carpenter in order to learn Dutch methods of shipbuilding. He attended scientific lectures, visited factories and printing establishments, studied western systems of government, observed the Prussian military machine, and absorbed as much as possible of western life and culture, even the contemporary European interest in the Far East. Then he returned to Russia with hundreds of experts and technicians to remake his native land on the western model.

*Peter the Great
and reform of the Russian army*

PETER began with the army. On his return home he found that a revolt of the *streltsi* had just

been suppressed by loyal troops. With a relentless brutality that was a deliberate declaration of war against the decentralizing forces in Russian government, he tortured and executed large numbers of the mutineers, personally beheading some of them and completely abolishing their organization. The disruption of the *streltsi* gave him a starting point for a new army on the western model, its personnel enlisted from the Russian common folk, its officers frequently imported from western countries and dependent entirely on Peter. The army became Peter's principal weapon of reform as well as the prop of his autocratic power.

*Peter's measures
of socio-political reform*

THE TRADITIONAL government of Russia was entirely revamped, partly under the inspiration of

the French system. The *duma*, a medieval assembly of boyars, was simply never reconvened. To take its place, Peter created a council of royal appointees with advisory powers only. The boyars were not attacked directly, but they were made to conform more fully to the western model of aristocracy. Their individual weight in social and political affairs was greatly reduced by a vast increase in their numbers. Peter followed the deliberate policy of making nobles of those who had rendered him some service. In that way he not only diminished the prestige of the old boyars but also assured himself of loyalty among the newly ennobled. The new aristocracy outnumbered the old by something like thirty to one. In order further to assure himself of the loyalty of the new aristocrats, Peter sacrificed the peasantry to them, setting a social pattern that prevailed in Russia until the great revolution of 1917. The aristocracy were given ownership of most of the land, on which the peasants were uniformly depressed into a serf status little better than outright slavery. Old institutions of local government were swept away, and the country was arbitrarily divided into provinces administered by army officers, whose principal duty was to wrest money from the people to finance Peter's many projects.

*Union
of church and state in Russia*

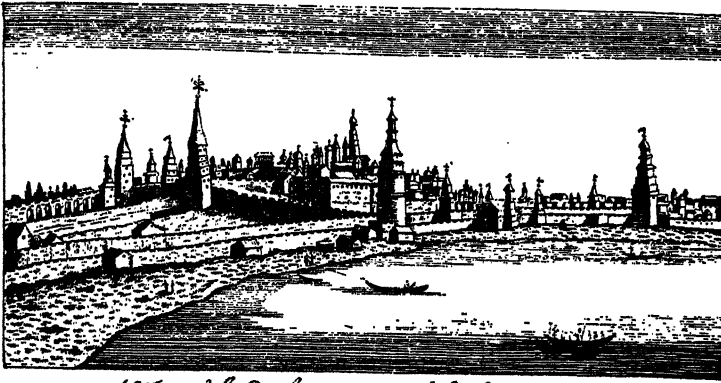
PETER placed himself at the head of the church, like the western divine-right monarchs. On the

death of the patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, he refused to appoint a new one, replacing him instead with an all-powerful Holy Governing Synod, whose members were appointed by the czar and subservient to his will. He made no changes in religious doctrines or traditions, but, on the contrary, professing his own religious enthusiasm, persecuted Russian heretics with characteristic violence, and he encouraged missionary enterprises to the east. His personal union of church with state was eminently successful, and the clergy grew to be among the strongest supporters of the new regime.

*Peter's efforts
toward economic reform*

BOTH AS a measure of westernization and as an extension of autocratic power, Peter attempted to

stimulate the backward economic life of Russia. He prompted foreign workmen to come to Russia to work and to teach western commercial and industrial skills. He established some royally owned industries and borrowed serfs from the gentry to man the new establishments. He attempted to encourage agriculture and to promote the rise of a prosperous middle class through the stimulation of internal and foreign trade. But his economic policies



A View of the Castle and Part of the City of Moscow:

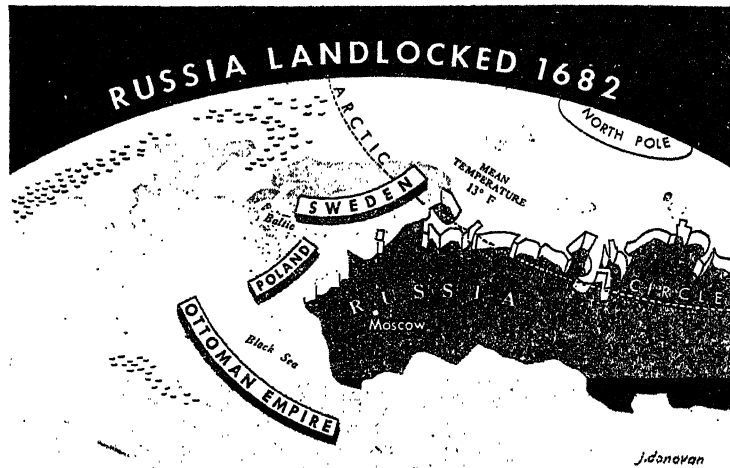
An early eighteenth-century view of Moscow showing the walled Kremlin, famous center of political and religious life in Russia for several centuries.

suffered from the attention given to military matters and the suppression of the peasantry. Russia remained an industrially backward country with weak laboring and middle classes until the end of the nineteenth century. The later revolutionary efforts of the Bolshevik regime would be required to industrialize it effectively.

*Westernization
of Russian habits and customs*

PETER'S revolution extended even to more superficial aspects of Russian life—habits and customs,

manners and apparel. He simplified the Russian alphabet somewhat. Men were forced to cut off their beards and to discard frocks for breeches or to pay fines. The oriental costumes of women were forbidden, their segregation was discouraged, and both sexes were directed to appear together at court. Western etiquette, the western New Year's Day, and tobacco smoking were likewise studiously cultivated. These changes took root only partly, however, and only in aristocratic circles; the peasantry lived and dressed as before. But Peter's even partial success shows how heavy was the hand of the autocrat, who did not hesitate to bring men to change their personal habits and their national idiosyncrasies even if he had to cut off heads or knock out teeth with his own hands in the process. When his son and heir Alexis became the unwilling tool and figurehead of opposition to Peter's reforms, the czar did not hesitate again to institute a reign of terror, impaling or otherwise executing Alexis' accomplices and causing Alexis himself to be whipped to death despite earlier promises ("before God and the judgment seat") of safety and paternal forgiveness.



Russia in 1682, at the accession of Peter the Great and his co-ruler and half-brother, Ivan, was effectively landlocked. Arctic waters to the north, Chinese resistance to the east, Turkish straddling of the Black Sea area, and Swedish encirclement of the Baltic all combined to shut Russia off most of the year from the open sea. Growing Russian strength encouraged Peter to seek a warm water port.

Beginning of the quest for an ice-free port

TO PETER's plans for the westernization of the Russian economy, seaports for funneling Russian trade into western Europe were indispensable. Russia was landlocked. To the northwest she was barricaded from the Baltic by Sweden. To the south she was hemmed in by the Turks. Her best Arctic port was frozen more than half the year. And in the Far East her expansion south of the Amur River was limited by Chinese opposition to a precarious commercial penetration. The two most profitable outlets, if they could be reached, were obviously the Baltic and the Black Sea. Accordingly, Peter took steps to reach these outlets, and thus inaugurated Baltic and Black Sea policies that have ever since been cardinal points of Russian national interest.

THE BALANCE OF POWER IN NORTH AND EAST

THE GROWING PAINS of Prussia and of Russia were bound to hurt Sweden, which was one of the nearest potential victims to be squeezed by their expansion. The resulting struggle was one for *Lebensraum*, room for vigorous

young powers to grow—if necessary, at the cost of older powers. Sweden, though largely the victim of aggression rather than the aggressor in this struggle, was nevertheless the threat against which the other powers felt impelled to combine. Sweden was to save from the wreckage of her King Charles XII's ambitions considerably less prestige than did France from the frustration of Louis XIV. Turkey too became involved in this northern struggle, and for a time benefited from the concentration of the Christian powers upon each other. But in the end her efforts to expand were likewise to be frustrated, to the advantage of Austria.

*Charles XII
and the Great Northern War*

IN THE year 1700, the Swedish king, Charles XII, was an untried youth of eighteen. It seemed an

auspicious time for a coalition of Baltic powers to wrest from Sweden the territories she had taken from them. Accordingly Russia, Denmark, Poland, and Saxony (Brandenburg was preoccupied with the forthcoming War of the Spanish Succession) prepared to take the field. But Charles, who revealed an unsuspected military genius, was too quick for them. A swift attack on Denmark compelled the Danish king to a separate truce, and shortly thereafter Charles signally defeated Peter's troops at Narva. He then turned to Poland, and, not satisfied with the mere defeat of the Polish troops, he drove the Polish king, Augustus II, who was also duke of Saxony, out of the land. Afterwards he proceeded to crush Saxony, where Augustus had sought refuge. For six years, Charles occupied Poland and Saxony, placing his own puppet king, Stanislaus Leszczynski, on the Polish throne.

Charles' Polish venture gave Peter a breathing space. The czar reorganized his army after the Swedish model, and, avoiding a major combat, awaited his chance. He gradually edged his way to the Baltic coast, and there in 1703 he founded St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). Charles finally advanced from Poland to meet the renewed Russian menace, determining to strike at its heart by marching on Moscow. In 1707 he undertook an invasion of Russia, a maneuver which has generally proved the undoing of those who have attempted it—Charles himself in the eighteenth century, Napoleon in the nineteenth, and the armies of Hitler in the twentieth. The Russians adopted the strategy of deliberate retreat, obliging Charles to lengthen his lines of communication. The rigors of the Russian winter deprived him of food and equipment and slowly thinned his ranks. When Peter's rejuvenated forces, outnumbering the Swedish by more than two to one, met Charles' army at Poltava (1709), they practically wiped the invaders out. In the annals of the Russian army, Poltava meant what Fehrbellin had come to mean to the Prussians, and each name marked a victory over Sweden.

From the catastrophe at Poltava Charles escaped to Turkey with a few hundred troops. There he succeeded in fomenting a war between Peter and



In 1696 Peter drove the Turks from Azov, the fortress commanding the Sea of Azov and the entrance to the Black Sea. (It was to be lost again in 1711, rewon in 1739.) In 1721, Peter confirmed his footing on the Baltic, where Russia needed a port to become a power in Europe.

*The increased prestige
of Russia as a European power*

the Baltic and to Sweden's career as a great European power. Sweden received large sums of money for her cessions of territory, but perhaps not enough to compensate for her loss of prestige. Of her outlying possessions she retained only Finland and a small piece of Pomerania. Bremen and Verden were given to Hanover; most of western Pomerania was ceded to Brandenburg-Prussia; and the Saxon duke was again recognized as king of Poland. On the other hand, Peter's ambitions were crowned with success. He received Karelia, Ingria, Estonia, and Livonia, thereby making Russia Sweden's successor as master of the eastern shores of the Baltic. St. Petersburg, which Peter made his new capital, was a symbol of his success. Palatial buildings designed by Italian architects on the French model housed his westernized government. Russia was now in fact the easternmost country of Europe as well as the westernmost country of Asia. If she retained much of her unique culture and tradition, she had nevertheless become a factor to be reckoned with in occidental politics. In Baltic competition, Prussia and not Sweden was to be her future rival.

the sultan, whereby Peter lost some gains recently made at Turkish expense. Charles remained in Turkey for five years, until the sultan firmly invited him to leave. When in 1718 the wandering king returned, he found his country in a bad condition. Augustus had reconquered Poland, and Peter much of the Baltic coast. Hanover and Brandenburg-Prussia had joined his enemies, and, along with Denmark, they had annexed some of his German territories. In the same year Charles was killed in battle in Norway, and his people readily sued for peace.

THE TREATIES of Stockholm (1720) and Nystadt (1721) put an end to Swedish domination in

*Habsburg suppression
of Magyar liberties and privileges*

LARGELY as a result of the Thirty Years' War, the Habsburgs were in this period becoming less and

less interested in the Holy Roman Empire, and more and more identified with their domiciliary realms, Austria, Bohemia, and Hungary. The kingdom of Hungary in the mid-seventeenth century had been split into three parts: one part—royal Hungary—which was ruled directly by the Habsburgs, one part—Transylvania—which was an independent principality, and one part—Turkish Hungary—which was under the sultan's control. In Transylvania most of the people were Rumanians, and the feudal lords were Magyars (i.e., Hungarians), of an alien nationality and with strong national aspirations. Many of the Magyars, despite the success of the Jesuits in the region, were still Protestants. It was to the interest of the sultan to support the Transylvanian Magyars; and as long as he did so, they were able to maintain their independence of the Habsburgs.

The Habsburg ruler who faced these Magyar nobles was Leopold I. He was devoted to the Catholic cause and to the divine right of kings, and it was he whose ambition to secure the Spanish throne for his younger son was to lead to the War of the Spanish Succession. The repressive Bohemian policies of his predecessors seemed to him to be well adapted also to the situation in Habsburg Hungary. He persecuted the remaining Magyar Protestants in royal Hungary with the twofold motive of suppressing dissent from Catholicism and of bringing the Magyars into closer union with the Habsburg realm. He attacked Hungarian political liberties with equal severity. Magyar diets were reduced to impotence, and Magyars were generally excluded from commands in the Hungarian armies. Their traditional privileges were ignored and their petitions unanswered. The Transylvanian Magyars' response to Leopold's policy of repression was to enlist the aid of the Turks. It was a move that soon engulfed Europe in another general war.

*The "liberation"
of Hungary by the Habsburgs*

THE WAR of Turkey with Austria began in 1682. Trusting to Louis XIV to keep Austrian atten-

tion fixed on the west and counting on Hungarian aid, the Turks (page 210) launched an onslaught that drove rapidly to the gates of the Habsburg capital itself. Vienna was very nearly taken, and only the relief of the city by Polish armies prevented its falling into Turkish hands. In the following year the pope, who preached a veritable crusade against the infidel, succeeded in forming a Holy League to aid Emperor Leopold in driving the Turks from Europe. In addition to the relief provided by the Poles, Leopold now received aid from the pope, the doge of Venice, and Peter the Great (who, however, being a heretic, was not invited to join the Holy League).. 432

In the ensuing war, not only were the Turks beaten, but the whole of Hungary was absorbed into the Habsburg system. In 1687, the hitherto elective crown of Hungary was declared hereditary in the house of Habsburg by a diet that had no choice but to comply with the demands of the emperor. In the same year Transylvania surrendered its independence to the Habsburgs. The diversion of Austria's attention to the War of the League of Augsburg saved Turkey from further defeats for a while. After the fighting to the west was ended, however, Austria was able to force Turkey to accept the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699), by which the Turkish portion of Hungary was likewise annexed by the Habsburgs. In this way the three parts of Hungary, once more united and freed from infidel control, passed under the domination of the Habsburgs. Although the war with Turkey was renewed and continued until peace was made at Passarowitz in 1718, the fate of Hungary was sealed. The reigning Habsburg was thereafter regularly crowned with the Hungarian crown of St. Stephen until the twentieth century.

*Hungary's struggle
for privileges in Habsburg lands*

THE UNION of Hungary under the Habsburg crown was followed by a period of repression. A policy

of Germanizing the land by wholesale immigration was inaugurated, and hundreds of Magyar estates were transferred to the new immigrants, thus reducing the number of Protestants but creating a permanent German minority problem in Hungary. Defense of the Hungarian borders was placed in the hands of Croats, also Catholics, who were encouraged to settle in the border zones. Promises of religious liberty were broken. Leopold's policy aroused intense resentment among the Hungarians, and when Leopold entered the War of the Spanish Succession, they inaugurated an era of guerrilla warfare at home. Until 1711, under the leadership of a native prince, Francis Rakoczy, and with funds supplied by Louis XIV, they attempted to reacquire their independence. Leopold's second son, Charles VI, finally made peace with the rebels, granting them full religious liberty and promising to respect the ancient constitution and privileges of the Magyars. The Hungarian diet was allowed to retain some power, although executive authority was vested in officials responsible to the king alone. Thereafter the Magyars proudly insisted upon their local autonomy and national institutions, and the Habsburg who disregarded their national pride was likely to regret it.

As THE seventeenth century turned into the eighteenth, it was evident that popular aspirations could greatly inconvenience a ruling dynasty. The Czechs in Bohemia and the Magyars in Hungary had made complications for the Habsburg rulers who had failed to respect their local traditions; the English had driven out a king who believed that he could shape their institutions with-

out their consent. But as yet this popular resistance was linked with the anti-absolutist sentiments of the aristocracy, sometimes shared by the gentry and the middle class. It had not filtered down to the lower classes to become a fully self-conscious national solidarity. And in most of Europe, the trend of the times was against the aristocrats and in favor of absolute monarchy—especially in the great continental countries such as France, Prussia, Russia, and Austria.

The consent of the governed was seldom sought, but generally the governed would have been on the side of stronger hereditary monarchy. For the middle class wanted the centralization that dynastic control effected and that the struggle for international power and commercial advantage made desirable; and the peasantry looked upon the great lords, the enemies of the king, as their own oppressors. Even the advance of science and “natural philosophy” played into the hands of the absolute monarchs, for it more often raised doubts about the validity of the church’s claims to intellectual supremacy than about the king’s claims to sovereign power. If new and unrecognized religions arose, the king might resent them as departures from the creed of which he was the temporal head, but they might work to his advantage, since they split the clergy and diverted attention from social and political issues to religious issues.

So, even though England’s Revolution was regarded by many Englishmen as “glorious” and Louis XIV’s absolutism, at least in its later developments, was regarded by many Frenchmen as somewhat less than glorious (except perhaps in the realm of letters), it was the French model that was the more envied and emulated in Europe. Revolution in the name of the social contract was still, for the most part, a strange and offensive doctrine outside of Britain. The divine right of kings seemed a safer and more orderly principle of government at home and (though England had not fared badly) of victory abroad.

For victory abroad, the principle of balance of power had also somewhat justified itself. Sovereigns like those of France, Sweden, and Turkey had been stopped in their tracks, when they carried aggression too far, by coalitions among the less powerful sovereigns, and each of the aggressors had emerged from the conflict somewhat chastised. Unfortunately for the much-sought prospect of peace, the balance of power was attained only by strengthening some of the weak, and out of the coalitions themselves arose new potential aggressors—England, Prussia, and Russia, for example. The talons of some of the old powers—Holland, Spain, Sweden, and Turkey—were definitely trimmed by 1720, but France and Austria still retained enough sharpness and strength in theirs to keep them in the struggle for power. Together with England, Prussia, and Russia, they engaged in a sort of five-cornered struggle that became the major feature of world politics in the ensuing century. 435

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1660 The Declaration of Breda issued by Charles II
- 1661-1665 Passage of the Clarendon Code, consisting of the Corporation Act, the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act, and the Five-Mile Act
- 1672 Pufendorf's *On the Law of Nature and of Nations*
- 1672-1674 The Third Anglo-Dutch War, a phase of Louis XIV's Dutch War
- 1673 Passage of the Test Act in England
- 1675 The Battle of Fehrbellin
- 1678 The Popish Plot, led by Titus Oates
- 1679 Passage of the Habeas Corpus Act in England
- 1682-1699 War between Turkey and Austria, settled by the Treaty of Karlowitz
- 1686 Formation of the League of Augsburg
- 1688 La Bruyère's *Les Caractères*
- 1688 James II of England deposed in the Glorious Revolution
- 1688-1697 The War of the League of Augsburg, concluded by the Treaty of Ryswick
- 1689 The Act of Toleration for Protestant dissenters in England
- 1689 The Declaration of Rights, later incorporated into English law as the Bill of Rights
- 1690 The Battle of the Boyne
- 1693 Beginning of the national debt in England
- 1694 The Bank of England chartered
- 1699 Archbishop Fénelon's *Télémaque*
- 1699 Unification of Hungary under Habsburg domination
- 1700-1721 The Great Northern War, involving Sweden, Denmark, Russia, Poland, and Prussia, and concluded by the Treaty of Nystadt
- 1701-1714 The War of the Spanish Succession, known in America as Queen Anne's War, concluded by the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt
- 1704 Swift's *Battle of the Books* and *Tale of a Tub*
- 1704 First publication of Defoe's tri-weekly journal, *The Review*
- 1707 Publication of Vauban's *Proposal of a Royal Tithe*
- 1709 The Battle of Poltava, marking the emergence of Russia as the dominant power in the North
- 1709 Founding of Steele's *Tatler*
- 1711 First publication of Addison and Steele's *Spectator*
- 1713 Saint-Pierre's *Plan of an Everlasting Peace*
- 1721 The Holy Governing Synod substituted by Peter the Great for the patriarchate of the Russian Orthodox Church



*"A new nation
conceived in liberty"*

THE LAST wars of Louis XIV had been intercontinental wars. They had been fought in Africa, South America, and North America as well as in Europe and on the high seas. Hence their outcome helped to shape the destiny of non-European peoples. Some of those peoples, passing from hand to hand as spoils of war, changed rulers. Furthermore, their participation in the colonial phase of "The Second Hundred Years' War" taught them some military, diplomatic, and political lessons that forced them to a more rapid maturity. Perhaps most important to the overseas territories was the new pattern of European power that grew out of the treaties that ended the wars. In what was often contemporaneously called "Southern Europe," Spain, Portugal, and the Netherlands had lost standing, leaving France and England the major contestants for supremacy; and in what was contemporaneously called "Northern Europe," Sweden, Denmark, and Poland waned as Prussia and Russia waxed in prestige and strength. In the Americas, the new European balance of power meant important changes.

Several formerly significant colonial powers ceased, in the first part of the eighteenth century, to have direct influence upon the North American continent. Holland and Denmark retained areas only in the West Indies and South America; Sweden disappeared entirely from the American scene. England remained the only Protestant nation on North American soil. Spain, now also ruled by a Bourbon dynasty, had less reason than before to fear the French; and the two Bourbon, Catholic dynasties had a common enemy in England, which had grown formidable by her colonial victories at Dutch and French expense. Meanwhile, by virtue of having been involved in the Civil War and Revolution within the mother country, as well as in her international

conflicts, the Anglo-American colonies were developing a self-assurance and solidarity that was lacking in the carefully superintended colonies of Spain and France. What had once been a many-cornered struggle for dominion in North America thus was to become essentially a two-cornered one, with Protestant England on one side and Bourbon France, aided by Bourbon Spain, on the other. We are about to see how this struggle developed, ending eventually in the ousting of France by England from America north of the Rio Grande, and in the growth of a new spirit in English America.

THE NEW ECONOMY IN THE NEW WORLD

THE SUCCESS of England's thirteen colonies in America was promoted by the vigor of their economic life. It is true that some of the first settlers came in the hope of finding gold or treasure, but the overwhelming mass arrived in the knowledge that broad acreage and plenteous crops were the reward of broad backs and sturdy determination. About nine out of every ten in the colonial population were farmers, and the early settlers had had to cut their farms out of a wilderness.

The early effects of the frontier in America

THE SETTLERS found agriculture in America different from what it had been in Europe. In their old

homes, land had been scarce and labor plentiful. In their new homes, the reverse was the case. In Europe, the land was owned principally by a feudal aristocracy, so that the peasant or laboring class was held in a subordinate position both economically and socially; and ownership of land was regarded not only as a means but also as a measure of personal freedom. The frontier in the New World was dense with forests and often dangerous with lurking foes. It was a region lacking in civilized comforts, social amenities, and intellectual incentives; it demanded back-straining labor from the men and never ending, gnarly work from the women. But in most cases they were or hoped to become their own masters and they were imbued with the spirit to fight unyieldingly for their self-won independence. These pioneers conquered the frontier, only to be conquered in turn by the frontier. For the common struggle against nature and the Indians solidified the various folk on the frontier and, at the same time, weakened the ties of sentiment and allegiance to their former homes in Europe. The inescapable geographical facts of a three-thousand-mile-wide ocean, an unprecedented frontier, and an entirely different soil and climate all contributed to the shaping of a new economy, and a new society based upon that economy.

*The acculturation
of the Europeans in America*

seldom if ever acknowledged. They learned from the redman not only the best way to fight in the forest but also the best way to live there. The white man copied the Indian's methods in hunting, fishing, woodworking, and trapping. From the redman the settler also learned how to make maple syrup, how to dress skins, and how to cultivate the Indian's maize. He discovered which herbs were good for medicinal use; and he solved his transportation problems, after a fashion, by adopting the snowshoe and building the easily carried birch-bark canoe. This process of adjusting one's own culture to another is called "acculturation."

*Diversification
of the economy of New England*

NEW ENGLAND's relatively inhospitable soil made it less fit than either the middle or the southern colonies for big-scale agriculture. True enough, certain of its central and eastern sections possessed land adapted to profitable farming, but generally speaking, the New England farmer found himself pitted against rock-strewn earth, uneven and often mountainous terrain, unnavigable rivers, short summers, and long winters. These conditions had both economic and social implications of far-reaching importance. Obviously New England could support neither plantations nor the slave labor needed to work these plantations. Instead, it evolved naturally into a region of small, compact farms owned and tilled by a sturdy yeoman class.

If New England was not rich in agriculture, its resources offered rewards of other kinds. Its thick forests encouraged a lumber industry that grew rich from supplying wood for ships, houses, and the manufacture of barrels so much in demand by the tobacco planters of Virginia and the sugar planters and rum merchants of the West Indies. Shipbuilding became a lucrative industry also, and Yankee clippers were one day to be the unrivaled queens of all

THE EARLY settlers owed a large debt for their economic well-being to the Indians—a debt that they

NEW ENGLAND's relatively inhospitable soil made it less fit than either the middle or the southern



This picture reflects the interest of the North American colonists in the canoe, paddles, snowshoes, and other trappings of the Indians.

sailing ships. Fishing was yet another profitable industry, and New England exported large quantities of cod and whale oil to Europe and the West Indies. Thus, from an economic standpoint, New England was destined from the outset to have little use for slavery and small interest in the cultivation of staple crops but a large interest in building up and protecting both its diversified industry and its expanding foreign commerce.

*The economy
of the middle colonies*

IN THE middle colonies the soil was more level and fertile, so that it could produce crops similar to

those of New England but on a large enough scale to permit the export of surpluses. The Hudson and the Mohawk were rich valleys in New York, and the rivers of New Jersey and Pennsylvania also watered broad, rolling acres of good farm land. True enough, northeastern Pennsylvania had mountainous and unprofitable areas, and the marshes and sandy stretches of southeastern New Jersey were of little value. But these colonies—the “bread colonies”—were able to export large quantities of wheat, flour, and meat to Europe and the West Indies. The land system in these middle colonies was a mixture of a few great manorial estates and many small farms. It will be recalled that during Dutch days, Van Rensselaer had been granted a large semifeudal estate along the Hudson (page 268), and the lands of this family (and others of Dutch descent in the region) were tilled by tenants, not by freeholders. In parts of New Jersey and Pennsylvania could also be found large manorial estates, but by and large the division and ownership of land were similar to those in New England.

*The economy
of the southern colonies*

THE SOUTHERN colonies in the seventeenth century were not made up of large plantations.

While plantations containing more than five thousand acres were granted by Lord Baltimore prior to 1670, he soon found that such grants were unprofitable. The reason was the scarcity of labor. In the seventeenth century, Maryland and Virginia were populated principally by indentured white servants, who came over, not with the intention of spending their days working for somebody else, but rather of becoming freeholders themselves once they had paid off the price of their voyage by working the required length of time. It has been estimated that during the seventeenth century at least 100,000 indentured servants completed their terms and became freedmen—and small tracts belonging to these freedmen covered the colonies. More than half of these freeholders worked their modest farms without the aid of any slaves or servants. In the Carolinas and Georgia the land system was much the same, with the vast majority of the population living as small yeoman farmers.

Nevertheless, the staple products that the southern colonies were best able to cultivate—tobacco, rice, and indigo—could most efficiently be raised

Such notices of runaway slaves as this, which appeared in the Pennsylvania Journal, April 4, 1765, were relatively common front-page items in colonial newspapers.

on large plantations, if sufficient labor was available, since land was cheap and fertile. But free labor was not easily available, because workingmen were few and the work was hard. Moreover, to make the returns as profitable as possible, it was advantageous to procure a cheap and dependable labor supply, unlike that of indentured servants, who might become independent farmers just when their training had made them most valuable.

As a result, by the eighteenth century, the economy of the southern colonies was being radically altered by the importation of great numbers of Negro slaves, who made possible the increase in the number of large plantations. Slave labor might be less efficient than that of the white indentured servants, but the chance was good that it would cost, at most, only half as much. A white servant cost from £2 to £4 a year; a slave could be bought for from £18 to £30, which would average much less per year if he or she could be kept alive and working long enough. Besides, every child born to a slave mother meant one more slave and thus made the initial investment much more profitable.

Even in the seventeenth century, but still more in the eighteenth, the large plantation owners dominated the political and social life of the southern colonies. Just as the economic life of New England helped from the outset to mold that region's subsequent pattern of social and political action, so the economy of the southern colonies played its part in fashioning southern society and politics. A political and social philosophy developed that was insistent upon (1) the fostering and maintaining of slavery, (2) an agriculture centering upon the production of staple crops rather than diversified farming or industry, and (3) the easy exchange of these staple crops abroad for manufactured products and luxury articles. Thus, early in the history of the English colonies in America, marked differences in social, political, and

TO BE SOLD.
A hearty Strong, young
NEGRO WENCH,
Fit for country work For particulars enquire of the printer



Penn^s Journal April. 4. 1765
RUN away from Jacob Fowle,
Esq; the Twenty ninth ult.
a Negro Boy, about Eighteen Years
old, was born in Hopkinton, and
brought up by the Rev. Mr. Barrett;
his Name is Thomas, he has been
a soldier at the Lake, is thick sett, has thick Lips,
and goes limping by Reason of the great Toe of his
right Foot being froze and not quite well. He had
on when he went away, a striped Jacket, leather Bree-
ches, chequered woollen Shirt, blue under Jacket, light
coloured Stockings, brass Buckles in his Shoes, and
an old mill'd Cap. He is an artful Fellow, and is
supposed will endeavour to pass for a Soldier, as he
carried off with him a Firelock and Blanket,—Who-
ever shall take up the said Negro and bring him to his
Master, or confine him in any of his Majesty's Goals
so that his Master may have him again, shall have
FOUR DOLLARS Reward, and all Charges paid.
Marblehead, April 2. 1765. JACOB FOWLE.

economic systems were implanted north and south, potentially the seeds of a tragic conflict between them.

*Methods
of agriculture in English America*

IN ALL the colonies, the tools and methods of the colonial farmer were highly inefficient—as, for that matter, they still were in Europe. The most commonly used tool was the hoe, and in addition the farmer would probably possess spades, axes, rakes, forks, a scythe, a wooden cart or two, and a wooden plow with an iron plow-share. These tools were handmade and generally clumsy and heavy. The quality of the tools was matched by the primitive methods employed by the farmer. As in Europe, with few exceptions, little attention was paid to the breeding of better animals.

One essential difference between American and European agriculture was the abundance, cheapness, and general fertility of land in the New World. The American farmer would plant his fields without using fertilizer, and when the land would no longer yield a profitable return, he turned it into pasture to regain its fertility. Little or no attempt was made by the ordinary farmer to practice crop rotation. The early American farmer, whether he brought with him a thrifty or a wasteful agricultural tradition from Europe, was likely to indulge in "land butchery." In his defense it should be pointed out that he had little time or money with which to learn about better agricultural methods and he lived a more or less isolated existence. The frontier tended to emphasize the naïve and superstitious ideas which he had inherited from his European past. Custom and the moon and the stars were consulted for indications of the right time to plant and to cultivate crops in a day when barometers were practically unknown, almanacs were rare at first and always unreliable, and weather bureaus were scarcely conceivable. No appreciable general advance in agricultural techniques was made in the colonies until after 1750.

*The self-sufficiency
of the early colonial farm*

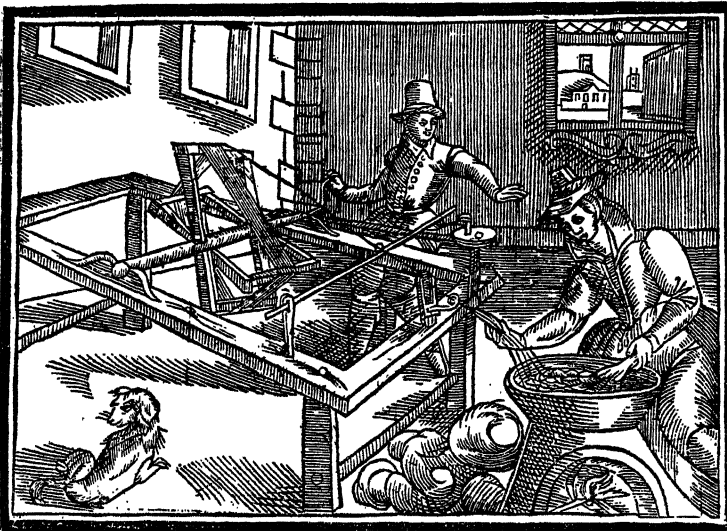
THE AMERICAN farmer's homemade tools and implements, however crude and clumsy, enabled

him to be self-sustaining. Domestic manufacturing did not cease with farm tools. Especially north of Maryland, where the farms were not given over to staples to be sold to English merchants in return for manufactured goods, the colonial farmer and his household had to make numerous commodities at home or go without them. These included wearing apparel, textile supplies, furniture, and household utensils.

The industry and ingenuity of the colonial family seem bewildering in the twentieth century when specialization of labor has deprived most individuals of skill in all but a few lines of endeavor. The colonial farmer had to shear his raw wool from sheep he had raised himself. He and his womenfolk

processed the raw wool into yarn by hand. If he wished to add color to it, he had to make the dyes himself from indigo, sumac, or the products of other plants that he had probably grown on his own farm. And he might even weave the yarn into cloth himself. The shears, spindles, looms, needles, and other tools and machines he used from the time he cut the wool off the sheep's back until he put it on his own as a garment were probably all made by himself or by local blacksmiths and carpenters. On the large farm or plantation, the making and the use of some of these tools might become the special occupations of single individuals, but in general the frontier, distant as it was from cities, tended to counteract specialization of labor such as was then developing in Europe, and to bring about an economy reminiscent of the medieval manor's self-sufficiency.

In addition to textiles, the colonists in their homes worked up leather into boots and shoes, and even aprons, coats, vests, breeches, and skirts. Members of the family had to make tables, chairs, benches, bedsteads, cradles, and stools, besides such utensils as brooms, bowls, platters, lamps, buckets, tubs, churns, baskets, and washboards. Many colonial households were proficient in copper work and pottery making. Naturally, the colonial housewife had to know how to spin and to sew, to dry fruits, and to make cheese and maple sugar, as well as cider, beer, and other beverages, all of



Above is pictured a silk-winding machine in use in Virginia in 1650. Hoping to compete with the Spanish and Portuguese luxury trade, the English tried to establish the silk industry in America.

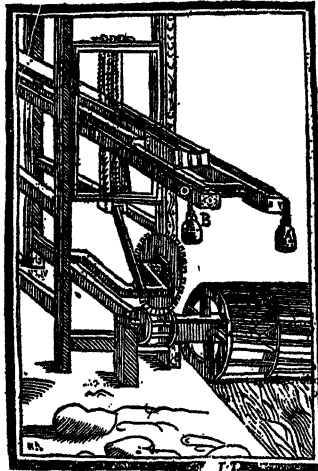
which were consumed in copious amounts. Candles were manufactured principally from tallow, and every farmer and his family were familiar with the processes of making potash, lye, and soap.

*The growth of
industry in the colonies*

ALTHOUGH the great majority of colonists wrested their living from the land, an ever-increasing minority turned their attention to such other pursuits as trapping, fishing and whaling, lumbering, shipbuilding, and manufacturing. Some of the very geographical conditions that hampered farming in New England stimulated a more diversified economy. Its rocky hills were covered with rich forests; its waterfalls, which hindered transportation, offered power for mills; and its deeply indented coastline, which cut up the farming areas, provided excellent harbors and an abundance of commercially valuable fish. As a result, New England soon developed the most varied economy of all the Atlantic seaboard regions. The middle colonies could also boast of good harbors, such as New York. Their waters abounded in oyster beds and fish, and the land was heavily timbered.

The southern colonies relied almost entirely upon a staple-crop economy, especially tobacco in Virginia and rice and indigo in South Carolina and Georgia. When Jamestown was first settled, the London Company had sent over Dutchmen and Poles to begin producing tar, pitch, turpentine, and potash. Later, iron works were set up on the James River, and Italians were imported to manufacture glassware. But to no avail. The imported craftsmen found life among alien English and hostile Indians too much for them. By the 1630's Virginia ceased to be considered as a potential industrial area and turned to the cultivation of tobacco.

Just as the agriculture of the northern colonies achieved a high degree of self-sufficiency, so their trade and industry became less and less dependent upon British commerce. In London, mercantilists and empire builders alike were to do their utmost to enforce a system that legally obliged the importation of finished products from England,



This is an early colonial sawmill. It was driven by water power, as was usual in Europe and the English colonies, where streams were common.

but the abundance of resources at hand, the aggressiveness and ingenuity of the colonists, and the time and money expended in long ocean transportation conspired with newer theories of trade to raise doubts regarding the mercantilist philosophy. Each infant industry as it grew increased the desire for economic and consequently for political emancipation from English dictation.

*The effect of the fur trade
on English and French ambitions*

A HIGHLY romantic and profitable industry in colonial days—and one that declined with the passing of

the first frontier—was the fur trade. The pelts and skins of beaver, otter, mink, and fox received high prices in European markets, and the first cargo that the Pilgrims sent back in 1621 to England was composed largely of pelts. Most of New England's furs were brought in by Indians, who exchanged them for beads, metal knives, hatchets, cloth, whiskey, and trinkets—and the white traders reaped rich rewards by the exchange. The Dutch West India Company had promoted the trade energetically in the Hudson Valley, and after the English conquest, the region continued to yield furs in abundance until the end of the seventeenth century. Nor was the trade confined to the north and middle colonies. Furs valued up to £30,000 used to leave the harbor at Charleston, South Carolina, year after year.

With the increase of population, and the accompanying decrease of fur-bearing animals, trappers and traders had to move westward in search of pelts. Pushing into the Mohawk Valley and into the Ohio, they were confronted by French muskets. Rival trapping, trade, and territorial ambitions had much to do with bringing on the battle for empire between France and England. Somewhat ironically, the trade that had so much to do with kindling the war was already declining as a colonial industry.

*The new source
of lumber for England*

BRITAIN was deficient in lumber, needed for numerous civilian purposes and even more for the

wooden ships of the proud royal navy. The English colonies abounded in timber of many varieties. The New England forests were dense with spruce, cedar, and white pine—the last so important in the fashioning of spars and masts that agents of the surveyor general would mark the largest trees with the “broad arrow” that signified their being reserved for use by the navy. The other colonies also had their forests of soft and hard woods—timber excellent for constructing houses, wagons, household utensils, furniture, staves, barrels, and many other things now made, at least in part, of other materials. From the forests, too, came tar, pitch, turpentine, and other “naval stores,” upon which shipbuilding was dependent. Sawmills sprang up along the banks of rivers, and it was not long before the colonists were turning out finished and semifinished lumber products for local, English, and West Indian markets.

*The development
of shipbuilding in New England*

BECAUSE of the abundance of lumber and naval stores, the colonies soon turned to the specialized industry of shipbuilding. New England took the lead. In 1631 her first seafaring vessel, Governor Winthrop's sixty-ton *Blessing of the Bay*, was launched, and within thirty years her coast was dotted with shipyards. The industry was aided by the abundance of materials at hand, the accompanying growth of the fishing industry with its demand for sturdy vessels, and the English Navigation Laws, which forbade colonial trade in any other than English and colonial ships. Colonial New England's heyday of shipbuilding was reached between 1700 and 1735, when her ships plied all the seas. She constructed twice as many vessels as the colonies in all the other sections combined. At the outbreak of the American Revolution, almost a third of the 7694 ships engaged in Britain's trade had been built in colonial shipyards.

*The importance of
New England's fishing industry*

WHEN CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH visited Newfoundland and New England, he made a profound observation: "Let not the meannesse of the word Fish distaste you, for it will afford as good gold as the Mines of *Guiana* and *Potassie* with lesse hazard and charge, and more certainty and facility."³² Decades before the settlement of

the colonies, English, French, and other fishermen had made rich catches of cod, haddock, and mackerel, in the fishing grounds extending from Long Island to the Grand Banks of Newfoundland. Dorchester was the first settlement to trade in the fish of Massachusetts Bay, but many other New England settlements swiftly followed the example, until fishing became an indispensable part of the colonists' economic life.



³²Captain John Smith, "The Present Estate of New-Plimoth, 1624," *Works*, ed. Edward Arber (Birmingham: 1884), II, 784.

The hardy little fleets brought back to port much greater quantities than could be consumed at home. As a result, a brisk export trade developed. Fish shipped to Spain were exchanged for fruits; fish that went to the West Indies paid for sugar and molasses. The profits from the fish and carrying trade were used in part for purchasing manufactures in England. The fishing industry was confined principally to New England; and it is estimated that in 1765 it was employing some 10,000 men, that its product was worth annually about \$2,000,000, and that 350 vessels were to be counted carrying the fish to Europe and the West Indies. The Puritan devotion to both "God" and "Cod" was to provide an easy rhyme for later cynics.

An allied industry was whaling, which the New Englanders also pushed to extraordinary lengths. The whalers of Nantucket and New Bedford pursued the sperm whale from Brazil to the Arctic, and by 1774 at least 360 ships could be found in the whaling trade. Whale oil and spermaceti were needed for soap, lamps, and candles.

*The growth
of the colonial iron industry*

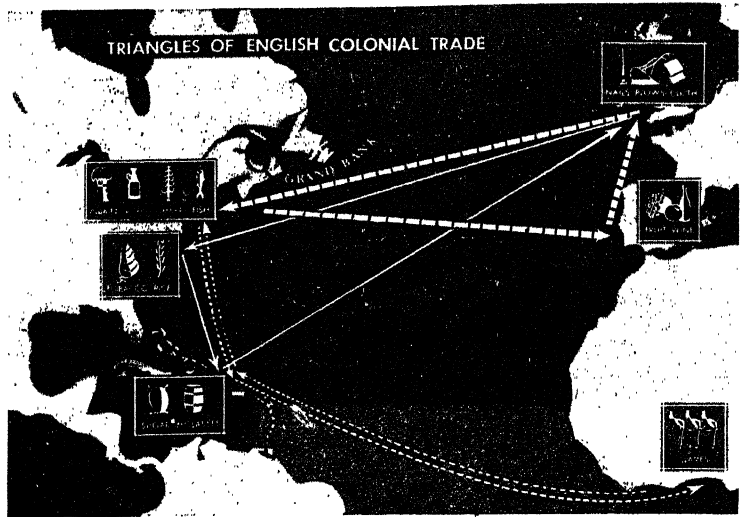
NEW ENGLAND'S ships, of course, required chains, anchors, spikes, and nails, while the farmers' ag-

ricultural implements also needed iron. Fortunately, almost every colony possessed iron ore and virtually unlimited charcoal resources. As a result, numerous iron works sprang up in New England, the middle colonies, and Virginia and Maryland. At first, the ironmasters turned out bar iron only for domestic purposes and shipped pig iron to English mills, but as time went by, rolling and slitting mills were established, and nails, guns, iron tools, and agricultural implements were turned out in increasing amounts. By 1750, the growth of the American iron industry worried English manufacturers to the point that Parliament was led to pass a statute encouraging colonial ironmasters to produce pig iron for British use but preventing them from manufacturing it at home into hardware, tools, and implements. Colonial manufactures continued, however, to increase in spite of restrictions.

*Commerce
between the colonies and Europe*

THIS EVER-INCREASING flow of commodities from farms, plantations, fisheries, mines, and forests

hastened the rise of colonial commerce. Opportunities abounded for enterprising merchants and shipowners to reap quick profits in coastwise and ocean commerce. The famous triangular routes of trade developed. The merchantmen of New England and the middle colonies might carry American raw materials such as grain, meat, lumber, and fish to southern Europe, where they would take on in return wine and fruit, which they then would transport to England and exchange for manufactured goods, which they then would bring back home and sell at a considerable profit. Or the American com-



The triangular patterns of England's trade with her North American colonies exemplify the mercantilist theory in operation: a direct or indirect exchange of raw products from the colonies for finished goods from the mother-country. Smuggling inevitably flourished.

modities might be shipped to the West Indies in exchange for sugar, molasses, and other tropical products, some of which would be reshipped to England in return for manufactured commodities. A brisk, if tragic, trade involved the shipment of rum to Africa in return for slaves, who were then sold at a handsome profit in the West Indies, where the ships would then put aboard sugar, molasses, and other West Indian products for sale in the colonies or England. In the direct transatlantic trade between America and Britain, the southern colonies had the lead. Their imports and exports were double those of all the other colonies because, on the one hand, the British demanded the staple products of the South and, on the other, the South lacked manufacturing facilities, with consequent dependence upon imports from Britain.

*Growing competition
between England and New England*

EXPORTS from the northern colonies such as fish, meats, and cereals were less welcome in Brit-

ain than southern tobacco, rice, and indigo, for the northern products competed with domestic products while the southern ones did not. Besides, the English shipowners bitterly resented the heavy inroads that New England vessels were making into their carrying-trade profits. And so there gradually developed an increasing economic friction between England and New England—largely because their climate, products, and pursuits were sufficiently

similar to make them highly competitive. Economic relations between England and the southern colonies, on the other hand, were much more cordial, for climate, products, and pursuits were dissimilar, and the commerce that developed between them proved large and mutually advantageous.

TOWARD

SELF-DETERMINATION

THE COLONISTS who came from England brought with them a deeply ingrained political tradition. For generations prior to the founding of English settlements in America, Englishmen of the upper classes had enjoyed certain liberties and had participated in enacting laws in Parliament. While the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were defying hunger, disease, winter, and the Indians to found a new community, their kinsmen in England risked neck and property in fighting the absolutism of the Stuarts and in preserving their hard-won constitutional prerogatives (pages 318-324 and 400-404). The victory for parliamentary government at home was to mean the preservation of the Englishman's political rights in the colonies as well.

*The place of the crown
in colonial political development*

AT NO time had the influence of the English government been absent from the founding and evolu-

tion of the American colonies. The crown had granted charters to trading companies and proprietors, and specified the territories that each might settle, as well as the division of lands and the type of government under which the settlers were to live. Furthermore, the royal navy maintained a clear passage across the ocean, while its armed forces successfully fought against such enemies as New Netherland and New France, and kept the Spaniards well to the south. Finally, the crown both protected and encouraged colonial commerce, and although its mercantilistic system was one day to prove too constricting and burdensome, it assisted the economic activities of the infant colonies at a time when assistance was most needed.

True enough, the Spanish and the French colonies in the New World were also the recipients of unceasing governmental attention. But New Spain and New France suffered from an absolutism that stifled initiative on the part of the colonists and enforced stultifying colonial policies such as the forbidding of non-Catholics to emigrate (page 370). The French and the Spanish colonists were not allowed to participate in making their own laws, levying their own taxes, or choosing their own governmental officials. Instead, their rulers chose royal governors, who carried out their mandate without brooking any interference from the colonists. Such paternalism not only proved

on occasion to be inefficient and corrupting; it was all too successful in stunting the growth of self-government and independence in New Spain and New France. On the other hand, American self-reliance was the logical outgrowth of political action taken by the English crown itself.

*The role of the people
in English colonial governments*

AT THE close of the seventeenth century, the political structures of the different Anglo-American

colonies differed as to details, but they possessed basic institutions in common. Each had a representative assembly, and this assembly was elected by property owners and taxpayers. To vote in Massachusetts, a man had to own real estate yielding forty shillings a year, or else (since landed property was regarded as a surer guarantee of interest in the commonwealth than other forms of wealth) he must possess other properties whose value amounted to at least £50. Furthermore, until 1684, he could not vote unless he was a member of the established Congregational Church. In Virginia, a farmer was eligible to vote only if he owned at least fifty acres of land, or else twenty-five acres on which stood a house twelve feet square (i.e., somewhat more than a rude log cabin). The vote in South Carolina was at first restricted to members of the Church of England possessing fifty acres or a personal estate of £10. And so it went in every colony. Furthermore, only free males, of course, could vote.

Admittedly these suffrage restrictions worked the greatest hardship upon the urban artisan class, who owned little or no property. In Philadelphia, for example, suffrage restrictions disfranchised about nine tenths of the male residents. In Massachusetts, on the other hand, the great number of small farms made some four fifths of the men eligible to vote. In actual practice, it is doubtful that more than one half of the adult men in Massachusetts ever voted—largely because great numbers of them came from classes in England or elsewhere that had never voted.

In addition, the colonies established still higher property qualifications for membership in the assemblies. In New Jersey a man had to own at least one thousand acres of land before he was eligible to sit in the assembly. Thus, through these various suffrage and office-holding restrictions, the pre-Revolution governments of the colonies were definitely controlled by the propertied.

*Types
of English colonial government*

TO OFFSET the growing power of locally elected legislatures, the crown had strengthened its position

by taking over colony after colony and making them royal provinces. Their executive power thus passed into the hands of governors appointed by the king. Virginia was the first colony to be so transformed, for it became

a royal province in 1624. By 1776, Georgia, the two Carolinas, New Jersey,

New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, in addition to Virginia, had become royal provinces. In Maryland, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, the proprietary system continued in effect until 1776, and their governors were not chosen by the assemblies but by the proprietors. Only Rhode Island and Connecticut retained the right to elect their own executives throughout the colonial period.³³ And so there evolved in British America three different governmental forces: (1) royal power expressing itself through governors appointed by the British crown; (2) proprietary interest mediating between the crown and the colonists; and (3) the principle of self-government championed by local assemblies. In England, the "imperialists," as those who favored the close supervision of the separate parts of the empire were sometimes called, looked with growing suspicion upon the growth of local autonomy, especially in Rhode Island and Connecticut.

*The role
of the governor in the colonies*

THE ROYAL governor was generally an English soldier, lawyer, or politician. Some governors

were competent; others were inadequate, greedy, or unscrupulous, and looked upon their appointments as a means to line their own pockets. Sir William Berkeley, during two periods as governor of Virginia that together lasted about thirty years and overlapped the Civil War into the Restoration, changed from a respected executive into a royalist tyrant. His harsh administration and overtaxation were prime factors in bringing about a rebellion in 1676, led by Nathaniel Bacon and other Virginia farmers, in an unsuccessful effort to obtain "fair play." Berkeley exacted such a bloody revenge that Charles II had to appoint another governor. Charles was credited with saying, "The old fool has hanged more men in that naked country than I have for the murder of my father."

The royal governor had sweeping powers, reflecting his position as the representative of the crown in the colony. He controlled the military forces, and was the head of the highest court in the colony. He could grant pardons and issue reprieves. He enforced both the English laws, as they affected the colony, and the laws passed by the colonial legislature. He summoned, adjourned, and dissolved the general assembly. In addition, except in the case of Massachusetts (where the council was chosen by the assembly) and Rhode Island (which had no council) the governor, whether chosen by king, proprietor, or people, appointed the members of the council. The council acted both as the upper house of the legislature and as an executive advisory body. As a rule, its members were recruited from wealthy and influential families, and could be relied upon, because of their social position and desire for political favor, to act as a brake upon the actions of the lower house.

³³C. A. and M. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1927), I, 112.

*The large degree
of local autonomy in the colonies*

THE REPRESENTATIVE assembly, however, was not without its measure of strength. For it con-

trolled the purse strings, and like the British Parliament, soon discovered that high-sounding royal threats had invariably to back down before the counterthreat of withholding funds. The assembly would demand that money grants be approved annually and that the treasurer responsible for their payment be appointed by the assembly itself. Thus money might not be forthcoming if certain previous conditions were not met. Just as the financial powers of the House of Commons eventually helped to make it completely dominant in the British government, so the money powers of the representative assemblies in the colonies aided in making them preëminent in domestic affairs. In this way, a large degree of local independence had actually been won by the American colonies before the American Revolution made it an acknowledged fact.

*The growth
of cooperation among the colonies*

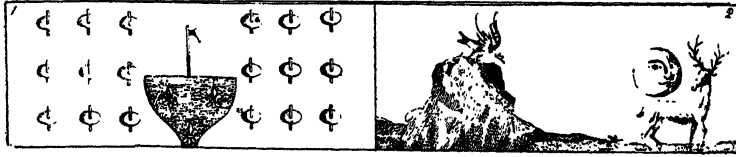
IN THE course of decades, as the thirteen colonies individually acquired knowledge in the tortuous

science of self-government, they also gradually came to appreciate clearly the wisdom of intercolonial planning and action. A lack of understanding of their common problems, local suspicions, and bad transportation and communications combined to keep the colonies isolated. We have already noted, for example, that New England and the South were more likely to trade separately with England than with each other. Common dangers did, however, serve the purpose of teaching the colonies the need of at least temporary cooperation. It was the need for defense against the Indians that made Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven form the New England Confederation as early as 1643. Delegates met from time to time until 1685 to discuss common problems, but the decline of the Indian menace brought in turn a decline, and eventually an abandonment, of the league. Indian attacks likewise on occasion induced Virginia militiamen to go to the aid of the Carolinas. Such experiences provided the colonies with valuable lessons on the wisdom of collective action for defense.

*The War of the
League of Augsburg in America*

A GREATER danger than the Indians to the thirteen colonies came from the territorial aims of

France in North America (pages 262-267). America has never been able to divorce herself from political and military events in Europe, whether in the eighteenth or the twentieth century. As we have already had occasion to note, the eighteenth-century struggle between Britain and France for control of North America was but part of a mighty "Second Hundred Years' War," which raged for decades on European battlefields and was even fought in



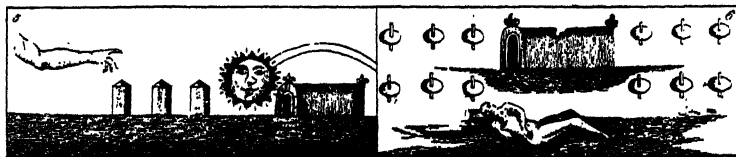
An Indian account of one of their expeditions. Above: 180 Indians took up the hatchet for the French, departing from Montreal (bird leaving the mountain) during the first quarter of the huckmoon. Below: They arrived near the enemies' camp at sunrise, and after lying in wait three days (three huts) surprised their enemies, who numbered 120.

distant India. In 1689, when England joined the coalition against the Grand Monarch in what was called "the War of the League of Augsburg" (1689-1697), the colonies of France and England in America were involved.

In America this war became known as "King William's War," after William III, who then sat on the English throne. The great French governor of New France, the Count de Frontenac, carried the struggle to the English colonies. Forming an alliance with neighboring Indian tribes, he struck suddenly against British colonial settlements in New York, Massachusetts, and Maine. In their turn, the English made an alliance with the Iroquois Confederation. The English managed to capture Port Royal in Acadia, but their expeditions against Quebec City and Montreal ended in failure. King William's War was inconclusive, and no changes of territory took place as a result of it. But it afforded some of the English colonies a chance to show their mettle not only in warfare but also in cooperative enterprise.

The War of the Spanish Succession in America

WHEN, a few years later, the War of the Spanish Succession commenced, it flared up in America as "Queen Anne's War" (1702-1713). Once more the French and the Indians formed alliances and combined in raids against the colonists. And once more the English sent expeditions against the French strongholds in America. New England militiamen were partly responsible for the capture again of Port Royal, which this time was not relinquished at the conclusion of hostilities. The Spaniards were allies of the French, and together they raided the Carolinas. Queen Anne's War was settled in 1713 by the Treaty of Utrecht, which enabled Britain to add substantially to her empire in



America. From Spain she acquired by the *Asiento* the exclusive right to supply slaves to Spain's American possessions for a period of thirty years. From France she obtained Acadia (renamed Nova Scotia), Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay area.

*The War of the
Austrian Succession in America*

LOUIS XIV thus lost a large part of the empire in North America that his ancestors for over a century

had been slowly building up. The losses were continued by his successor, Louis xv, and we shall anticipate our examination of that monarch's diplomatic defeats in order to tell the story of his dismal failure in America. The great conflict called in Europe "the War of the Austrian Succession" (1740-1748) was to be known in America as "King George's War," after George II of England. In a sense the English became involved in this struggle because of colonial rivalry, which had led, among less dramatic events, to the alleged slicing off of Captain Jenkins' ear when the Spanish coastguard searched his vessel for contraband. The war itself settled nothing decisively. Again, however, it served to help the British colonies in America to mature. An expedition from New England captured the great French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. This fortress had sheltered privateers that raided New England commerce, and when, at the end of hostilities, Louisbourg was returned to France, the colonists found a common bond in their mutual indignation.

*The first step
toward a colonial confederation*

THE ENGLISH colonists far outnumbered the colonists in Canada. But their numerical superiority

was offset by the fact that, whereas the French were strictly centralized and their actions coordinated, the English had made only rudimentary attempts at intercolonial cooperation. In an effort to derive fuller advantage from the friendliness of the Iroquois and to stop provincial bickerings and rivalries, the British suggested an intercolonial conference. This was held at Albany in 1754 with delegates attending from Maryland, Pennsylvania, New York, and all the New England colonies.

The indecisiveness of King George's War made clear that a new war was in the offing. One of the purposes of the conference was to bring the colonies under "articles of union and confederation with each other for mutual defense of his majesty's subjects and interests in North America in time of peace as well as war." The delegates agreed that a union was essential, and it was at this time that Benjamin Franklin brought forward a famous scheme to effect such a colonial union. It called for a president-general and a federal council, which would maintain an army, levy taxes, control public lands, and take charge of relations with the Indians. Although this "Albany Plan" was adopted unanimously by the Albany Congress, the

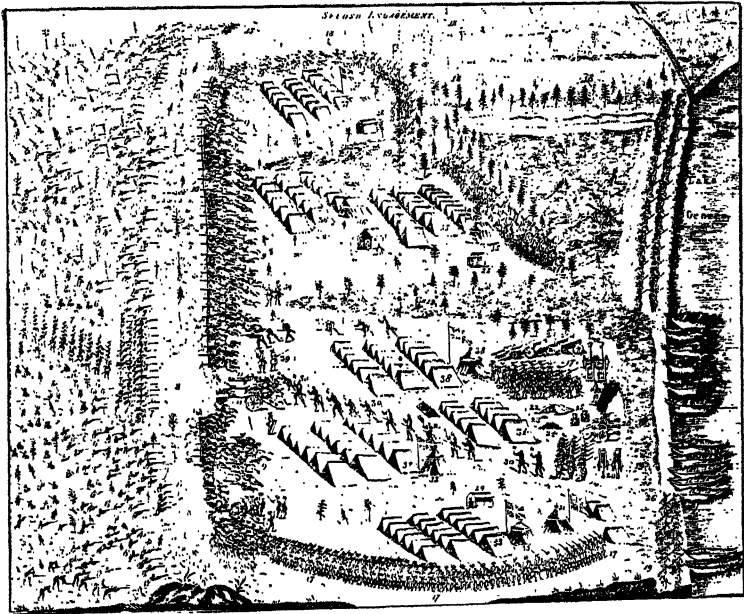
colonial governments were too jealous of their separate powers to accept it, while London was afraid that such a plan might have results prejudicial to the interests of the crown. Although rejected, Franklin's plan for union was nevertheless actively debated among the colonials, and this discussion was put to excellent use in later years.

*The American phase
of the Seven Years' War*

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756-1763) in Europe was to be touched off by bullets fired two years

earlier at the order of a young Virginian surveyor-soldier, George Washington, when he opened fire upon a French party in the wilderness of western Pennsylvania. Historians have ever since debated whether Washington, in so doing, committed a justifiable act of violence, but it is still more important that the act marked a change in world affairs. Whereas previous wars in America had been pale reflections of conflicts already begun in Europe, this war began in America and ultimately involved the European powers.

In America the Seven Years' War became known as "the French and Indian War" (1754-1763). It began over the erection by the French of a



In a battle in 1755, before the Seven Years' War began in Europe, the French and Indians, fighting from forest ambush, drove the British, mostly colonials, back to their camp at the head of Lake George in New York. This picture shows the British making their stand. After defeating the enemy, they built Fort William Henry.

series of forts in the Ohio Valley. The future expansion of all English colonies westward was placed in jeopardy by this strategic move, and they joined with British regulars in meeting the grave threat at their rear. The defeat in 1755 of General Edward Braddock and his British regulars, unaccustomed to Indian tactics in the forests, not only retarded English military fortunes but also gave the colonial militiamen opportunity to doubt the superiority of British regulars when fighting in the New World.

French successes mounted as their redoubtable leader, the Marquis de Montcalm, inflicted one setback after another upon the British. But the tide changed when the "Great Commoner" William Pitt took charge of affairs in London. Pitt saw the war between Britain and France as a gigantic struggle for empire on a world-wide scale, and he mobilized England's full resources to that end. His energetic spirit was infused into Britain's war effort. Leaving the European phases of the war to be fought by his ally Prussia, he concentrated upon the campaigns in America. Louisburg was captured, as were several forts in the Great Lakes region and the Ohio Valley. Then, in 1759, General Wolfe and 4500 soldiers scaled the cliffs above Quebec City. They joined battle with the forces of Montcalm on the field known as the Plains of Abraham. Both commanders fell, but the British won the day, and with this victory France's fortunes in America were foredoomed. Spain was induced to enter the war on the French side, but rendered no effective assistance and was obliged to suffer the capture of some of her leading colonies.

*The ousting of France
from the North American continent*

WHEN THE Treaty of Paris was signed in 1763, Britain obliged Spain to cede Florida, and France

to cede Canada and the territories east of the Mississippi except New Orleans. That city, together with all the rest of Louisiana, having already been ceded to Spain by France as an inducement to agree to peace, was regarded as compensation for Spain's loss of Florida. France retained in the Western Hemisphere only her West Indian islands, French Guiana, and two or three small islands off the coast of Newfoundland, but she lost her North American empire permanently (except for a few days under Napoleon Bonaparte). Britain, on the other hand, gained both Canada and a controlling interest in India (page 775) and emerged as the greatest colonial power in the world.

*The "Great Migration"
and the price of victory*

THIS BRITISH EMPIRE had been won only at a heavy cost in men and money. The public debt had

reached the figure of £140,000,000. That would be, at a rough estimate, the equivalent of a few billion dollars in pre-Second-World-War values, and there were probably no more than eight million people in all England, Scotland, and Wales to pay it. The need for new taxes seemed inescapable. The government in London felt that the struggle against French territorial threats

had been waged for the welfare of the American colonists as well as for London's interests. Besides, the colonies were no longer so poor or so sparsely settled as they once had been. Their population, black and white, had increased by 1763 to about 2,500,000. This striking growth was due largely to the development sometimes called "the Great Migration" of the eighteenth century. Many Germans, Scotch-Irish, Scots, Irish, Swiss, and other Europeans had gone to start a new life in America, enlarging the colonial cities and pushing back the colonial frontiers. The thirteen English colonies were obviously prosperous communities. The British government saw no reason why they should be excused from their share of the war debt.

But the colonists saw things differently. They had outfitted and maintained 25,000 men during the struggle, and they did not relish the prospect of assuming further burdens. To be sure, they had benefited greatly from the war, but the very benefits made them more reluctant to pay its costs—at least at England's behest. The colonies were now free of the menace of France and had less need to count upon England's protection than ever before, especially if it were now to be more costly. The "Great Migration" had brought in groups which not only were not English but in many instances felt that they had good grounds for resentment against England. And the "Great Awakening," the amazing revivalist movement of eighteenth-century America (which we shall soon examine in greater detail), had created a strong sense of solidarity among nonconformist sects that had reason to question the supremacy of Anglicanism and the Church of England. Events were shaping swiftly for a momentous struggle to determine who would pay for what, how much, and, still more important, upon whose decision. The struggle was to end only when the colonists won complete freedom of Great Britain.



This English cartoon depicts the refusal of New England's Episcopal Church to accept English-appointed bishops.

AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN
SOCIAL PATTERNS COMPARED

SOCIETY in the English colonies, despite the recent influx from other countries, was in its essential cultural forms still predominantly English. The majority of settlers were of English stock and had transplanted to their new home their language, laws, religious concepts, literature, and education. Their basic social class structure, and even their amusements, fashions, art, and furniture had first evolved in England. But these English institutions were modified in the colonies by new factors. A culture that was basically English in 1607, 1620, and 1630, evolved through gradual natural processes to where, in 1776, it had become distinctive and "American."

*The mobility
of the new American family*

A DOMINANT note in colonial society was its more fluid family relationships. In a vast majority

of cases, to be sure, a strong domestic tie resulted from a family's exploitation of their land in common, and such ties were reinforced by the English family system, with its common-law principle that the father was the head of the household legally and economically. The old-world family rigidity, however, was softened by new-world economic conditions. America offered cheap land and many new occupations to lure children away from their parents' roof. As a result, parental domination became less binding.

Furthermore, in a land brimming with economic opportunities, the class restrictions that had determined a family's status in England tended to disappear. An indentured servant might become a landlord. The son of a blacksmith might become an ironmaster. A penniless Franklin might become a man of means. A back-country farmer's boy like Jefferson might marry a wealthy man's daughter. In a new and rich country there was no need for a son to follow in the footsteps of his father or to be content with his family's station in life. For that matter there was no need for a family to stay where they did not prosper, since greener pastures beckoned elsewhere.

The average colonial family was large. Some diaries and family Bibles record names of from fifteen to even thirty children. The Reverend Samuel Willard, first minister of Groton, Massachusetts, was the father of twenty offspring, and was himself one of seventeen children. But if, like the old woman who lived in a shoe, the colonial mother had many children, generally she knew what to do. Everyone in the family worked on the New England farm, and children were an economic asset as workers and as a sort of insurance in old age. While father and the boys labored in the fields, the womenfolk prepared meals, worked at the cheese press, washed and mended clothes, and made soap. Everyone had his task on the farm, and the parents

considered work not only necessary from an economic standpoint but also the best mold of character for their children. In the South, where slaves did most of the hard work, more time was devoted to the social amenities among the leisure classes.

*Reasons
for the high colonial death rate*

THE HIGH birth rate was accompanied, unfortunately, by a high mortality among families. Many

women died at a tragically young age, the victims of frequent childbearing. The following inscription is illustrative of many seventeenth-century American tombstones: "Here lyeth the body of Elizabeth Haynic, daughter of Richard and Jane Bridger. Was born July 16th, 1665, married Richard Haynie Oct. 10th 1681, by whom she had 8 children and died his wife... 1697." In other words, Elizabeth Haynie, married at the age of sixteen, had a child about every other year, and died at the age of thirty-two. The first wife of the eminent divine, Cotton Mather, also married at the age of sixteen and died at thirty-two; and she bore ten children. Infant mortality may have averaged as high as 40 per cent. Only three of Judge Sewall's fourteen children outlived their father, while of the 808 children born to graduates of Harvard University between 1658 and 1690, 162 never reached maturity.

Infant mortality and the high death rate among adults in America, as in Europe, were largely due to existing superstition and an ignorance of hygiene and proper medical care. Even in cases of measles or smallpox the doctor might prescribe some remedy like Venice treacle. This extraordinary concoction included vipers, opium, white wine, licorice, St. John's wort, spices, red roses, and some twenty other ingredients. Even the highly intelligent William Penn set forth in his *Book of Physick* the following prescription to cure pains of the eye: "a white-shelled snail should be pricked and its liquid then dropped into the eye periodically. One bright spot in this gloom of medical ignorance was the campaign in favor of inoculation in Massachusetts under the leadership of Cotton Mather, who had read about the use of this process among the Turks. In 1721-1722, Dr. Zabdiel Boylston first introduced this innovation, and it was gradually adopted despite strong opposition. Boylston's contribution was important, for smallpox had previously taken a terrible toll in New England.

*Styles
of architecture in the colonies*

COLONIAL family life had its distinctly bright side. Although the first houses of the colonists were

crude, flimsy affairs capable of standing up but a few years, with the passing of the Indian menace and the increase of prosperity more spacious and comfortable homes were erected. In New England, the farmhouses were solidly constructed, with heavy oak timbers and a double sheathing of clapboards. In the middle colonies, the houses were generally built of stone and dupli-

cated European models. In the tobacco country, the typical house in the seventeenth century was a rectangular frame building with a shingled roof and a chimney at either end. As greater wealth was accumulated, planters and the richer city dwellers copied contemporary English architectural styles, and the popular Georgian mode (page 522) was incorporated into the colonial designs, often with excellent and attractive results.

An indispensable feature of the colonial home was the large fireplace. The American winter was more severe than the European. In an age devoid of furnaces and also of stoves (except among the Germans of Pennsylvania) and dependent upon wood for fuel, the fireplace had both to heat the home and cook the food. But in neither farmhouse nor town house did the fireplace do an efficient job of heating during the winter months. Warming pans had to be used to take the shock out of the experience of getting into bed in cold bedrooms. Baths in the winter were infrequent. Such drainage as existed ceased to work altogether because the rare plumbing was frozen. Bundling was accepted among betrothed couples as a means of keeping warm while courting. Winters were so hard in the ill-heated New England houses that one can easily sympathize with John Adams' wish that he might hibernate from autumn until spring.

*Variation
in colonial interior decoration*

THE INTERIOR decoration of colonial houses differed according to region and social status. In

New England, the farmer's house contained furniture, kitchen utensils, and tableware that were homemade and functional, and ornamental, if at all, only incidentally. The Boston merchant and shipowner could afford silver plate, imported linens, and carved woodwork. The homes of the richer southern planters in the eighteenth century were lavishly, even extravagantly, furnished, frequently with objects brought from Europe. The inventory at the death in 1763 of one South Carolina planter showed the furniture in the "best chamber" to be worth £195, that in the dining room £126, and that in the parlor £135. His linen was worth £127 and his silver plate £600. Even without an allowance for the difference in money values between that day and this, these figures add up to over \$4000—which is a goodly sum for a deceased's furniture, clothing, and dishes. If we allow for the depreciation of the dollar since that day, the figure might reasonably be considered as high as \$40,000 in current purchasing power. Some New England merchants were also rich men, and their houses, according to one observer in 1675, were "as handsomely furnished as most in London." At the beginning of the eighteenth century, as in Europe, pewter was replaced by china among the genteel. The more fastidious also took up the new-fangled habit of using forks—sometimes referred to as small instruments "to make hay with our

mouths." In one respect—the absence of plumbing—the mansions of the wealthiest resembled the hovels of the poorest. Stationary bathtubs were not common for over a century after the colonial period had ended. Until then the movable tub was placed in the choicest position and filled by hand with hot water. It was an arduous process that was not indulgently contemplated every day.

The sturdy fare

enjoyed at the colonial table

WHILE food was more abundant in the colonies than in Europe, diets varied with place and occu-

pation. In New England the farmer provided most of his own edibles. Fruits and vegetables were plentiful and were very often preserved by the farmer's wife. Meats included beef, pork, and mutton, and those living near rivers or on the coast enjoyed fresh fish in addition. Because of the lack of refrigeration, the winter diet tended to be monotonous, relying as it did upon salt meat and fish. The New England farmer had to buy his salt, molasses, spice, tea, coffee, and rum. Cane sugar was a luxury to most of the rural folk, who sweetened their meals sometimes with maple sugar or honey but generally with molasses. The heavy outdoor life of the farmer and his quest for diversion encouraged him to turn to his table, where he ate heartily. And he washed his food down just as heartily with draughts of various alcoholic concoctions. Punch, beer, and cider were consumed in amazing quantities by New Englanders, and while the wealthier also drank imported Madeira, claret, port, and other wines, the poorer people managed to buy rum—most of it distilled in New England. According to one contemporary judgment, the rum was "so bad and unwholesome that it is not improperly called 'kill-devil.' " At gala banquets toasts to great men expressing noble sentiments were frequent. In the 1780's when Lafayette was entertained by the merchants of Newport the bill for alcoholic beverages indicated that the amount provided must have been staggering. By that time, it was customary to drink thirteen toasts on public occasions, since thirteen (the number of states) was regarded as a lucky number. In the South the poorer people lived to a great extent on hominy, corn bread, pork, and rice. The planter could boast of sumptuous tables, and placed before astonished European travelers a wealth of meats, seafoods, and dairy products. Pies, puddings, fruits, and nuts topped off the heavy repast, and the guest had to be strong-headed to rise steady—if not sober—from the table littered with decanters and empty bottles of choice Fayal, Madeira, and Rhenish wines, imported from Portugal and Germany. So universal was drinking at this time that it is not surprising that "Gen'l Washington notwithstanding his perfect regularity and love of decorum could bear to drink more wine than most people." Even in the midst of war Washington would sometimes dine for an hour or more.

*Differences
of costume in the colonies*

THE DRESS of the average farmer was plain and durable. While the northern farmer might have a suit

of "Sunday best" (which in many cases was even willed to his son), his daily attire usually consisted of homespun, perhaps with leather breeches. In the summer months adults and children would often go barefoot, except to church. The modest southern farmer dressed himself in no more stylish a manner than his northern neighbor. The moneyed classes, however, decked themselves out in the most lavish and fanciful finery.

Fashions were dictated in Europe. Fashionable gentlemen wore tight-fitting breeches, lace-trimmed shirts, richly brocaded coats, powdered wigs, gold-headed canes, and either fine leather slippers with silver buckles or riding boots. Fashionable ladies would follow the London styles, which were said to reach the colonial cities in America before they affected the provincial cities of Europe. Sweeping and colorful dresses trimmed with gold lace and fur were worn by the belles of North and South. Farthingales and crinolines were generally preferred for formal occasions, but the hoop skirt was coming in, adding to the demand for whalebone and wire as well as for cloth. Expensive jewelry, long bodices, high coiffures, fans, and snuffboxes adorned the American beauty of the wealthier classes as conspicuously as her European contemporary. Differences in costume marked differences in wealth much more clearly in colonial times than in our own day of ready-made and store-bought clothing.

*Sport
and entertainment in the colonies*

THE COLONIES did not lack for amusement, among either the southern planters or the New

England Puritans. The first legislature of Virginia passed strict laws against gambling, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, and "excess in apparell," but inhabitants of that province, along with Maryland and colonies to the south, nevertheless indulged heartily in racing, hunting, dancing, and card playing. Cockfighting was exceedingly popular in the South, as was horse racing. At first, racing was confined to the more affluent planters, and in 1674 a tailor was fined for "having made a race for his mare to run with a horse belonging to Mr. Mathew Slader for two thousand pounds of tobacco and cask, it being contrary to Law for a Labourer to make a race, being a sport for Gentlemen." Dancing was popular, even in New England, although Boston prohibited the teaching of dancing in 1685. The colonists took their dancing seriously and displayed unflagging vitality in the course of an evening. For example, one wedding dance held at Norwich, Connecticut, was the occasion of seventeen hornpipes, forty-five minuets, fifty-two country dances, and ninety-two jigs!

462 · Dancing by couples was relatively unknown.

Crime

and the severity of punishment

COLONIAL court records indicate that heinous offenses such as homicide and theft were fairly

uncommon. Vagrancy was likewise effectively discouraged. But other crimes, even in strait-laced New England, were not infrequent, and the guilty were subjected to harsh and utterly unsympathetic treatment. It was an age when, in England and the colonies alike, the death penalty could be invoked for acts then considered crimes, some of which, like petty theft, would be considered misdemeanors today. Actually, colonial courts were more lenient than their counterparts in England. This leniency is explained largely by the fact that the colonies had abundant resources and insufficient labor, and therefore a man's life was too valuable to be snuffed out casually when he could be sentenced to forced labor.

In Massachusetts in the seventeenth century severe penalties could be invoked for more crimes than in the South. The Puritans were hanging persons for witchcraft, murder, treason, and unnatural vices. Religious offenses also brought stern retaliation from New England courts. The Puritans put several Quakers to death. Both mutilation and branding were commonly employed by the authorities. The ears of three Quakers were cut off by order of the courts. Whipping was also a common punishment and might be administered for a variety of offenses. Sometimes the authorities would order a guilty prisoner to be "set up by the heels in the stock," or to "stand in the pillory" with a sign on his head telling of his offense. Women whose language or tirades had given offense might receive duckings. At times the punishment was made highly symbolic; in 1648 Robert Warder, convicted of drunkenness, had to stand at a church door with a large pot tied about his neck.

In the South, the law was especially hard on slaves. In Virginia in the seventeenth century, a master had the legal power to correct his slave. And if the slave were to die because of the extreme measures of correction used, "his death shall not be accompted a ffelony...since it cannot be presumed that prepensed malice (which alone makes murther ffelony) should induce any man to destroy his owne estate."³¹

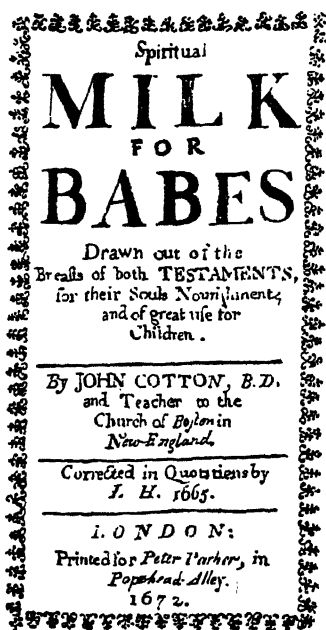
The place

of the church in colonial life

THE COLONIAL church was an institution at once social, religious, and intellectual. The vast

majority of farmers were deeply religious, and this was the case regardless of the colony in which they lived. Naturally the strength of the various sects differed from place to place. Congregationalists flourished in most of New

³¹W. W. Hening, *The Statutes at Large Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia* (New York, 1823), II, 270.



Title page from Puritan John Cotton's *Spiritual Milk for Babes*, 1672 (first edition, 1646) widely used as a guide for the religious training of children.

England, Baptists in Rhode Island, Dutch Reformed in New York, Quakers, Lutherans, and other sects in Pennsylvania, Catholics principally in Maryland, while Anglicans found their stronghold in Virginia and the South. Despite sectarian differences, all these churches exercised a profound influence upon their respective adherents.

The colonial farmer was usually a devout, God-fearing individual who ascribed his largely unpredictable fortune to the inscrutable wisdom of Providence. The southern farmer was as deeply religious as his counterpart in New England, and the Sabbath would find both in their respective pews, listening to equally long sermons on similar

subjects. The farmer put up gladly with such heavy-handed didacticism, for the minister was probably not only sincere and forceful, he was also the most learned man in the community. When one recalls the unlettered environment of a backwoods settlement, and the fact that such a settlement in numerous instances had been founded by immigrants who had endured heavy sacrifices to win freedom of conscience, the role of the colonial church can be better appreciated.

The church not only gave the farmer's family religious counsel; it gave them social stimulation and even political direction. To work on the Sabbath was a serious offense in colonial days, and pleasure-hunting on Sunday was condemned in Puritan New England, although more lightly countenanced in Virginia. However strait-laced a particular community might be, the churchyard was invariably the place for farmers, close by the graves of their kith and kin, to talk over crops and weather, and for their wives to gossip together, and to discuss fashions, children, household problems, and neighbors. Inside the church, the congregation's political concepts would be molded, however imperceptibly, by the minister, who often, in New England at least, was one who had broken irrevocably with the authoritarianism of the Church of England and who therefore preached a doctrine of religious and civil freedom.

THE NEW LEARNING

IN AMERICA

DURING the seventeenth century, the clergy ruled the intellectual life of America no less than of Europe. Protestantism had substituted for the infallibility of the church the infallibility of the Bible, and the desirability of being able to read and understand the Scriptures had given a strong impetus to education. The clergy, as intellectual leaders, wrote weighty tracts on intricate theological subjects, such as original sin and predestination.

*Secularization
of thought in America*

THE PURITANS in old England and New England alike attempted to establish theocratic societies

within a rigid and narrow framework that frowned upon religious toleration and political freedom. But in both lands the experiment of a Bible commonwealth fell before the onslaught of new historical forces. For one thing, the increase of English trade and the new prosperity to be found in America tended to shift men's search from spiritual to secular rewards. The eminent New England divine, Cotton Mather, relates how a minister of Massachusetts Bay, when urging a congregation northeast of Boston to put religion above all else, was contradicted by one of the assembly, who cried out, "Sir, you are mistaken, you think you are preaching to the people at the Bay; our main end was to catch fish."

In vain did the divines rail at their congregations and contend that "New England is originally a plantation of Religion, not a plantation of Trade." Secularism was in the air. Nor was this new force simply economic. As we have seen, the contemporary European was inquiring now into the nature of mind and matter. Sir Francis Bacon had already written convincingly upon the need of the inductive approach; Galileo and Kepler had corroborated the Copernican theory; Newton had propounded theories of light, motion, and gravitation that left out the supernatural; Leibnitz, Spinoza, and Locke had tried to explain the world in philosophical terms that made the static theological concepts of Calvin and his Puritan disciples seem to some inadequate.

The American colonies did not possess the same intellectual advantages as the European centers. Libraries, universities, printing houses, journals, academies, etc., were newer and rarer. Yet the very freedom of the New World's environment urged the colonists to rebel against clerical authoritarianism. The frontier did not encourage unquestioning acceptance of the doctrine that salvation was only for the faithful and the elect, but gave strength to the democratic belief in equality of opportunity—even the opportunity for salvation. Political self-determination implied freedom in spiritual

matters. Men began to evaluate their religious as well as their political and economic beliefs from the standpoint of natural laws, with the result that the new spirit of rationalism in time permeated America as well as Europe. It was no mere coincidence that when the English colonists felt called upon to justify their revolt from England, as they were to do in 1776, they should seek their justification in "the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God." Decades before the signing of the Declaration of Independence, Americans were turning imperceptibly but irresistibly from a miraculous to a rational interpretation of the universe, and from a theocratic to a democratic social philosophy.

Witchcraft

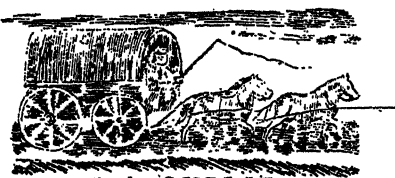
and witch hunts in New England

NEW ENGLAND'S theocratic society was dealt a body blow by the excesses of the witch craze

that sent a number of innocent people to their death during the latter half of the seventeenth century. The Puritans who founded New England were unfaltering believers in the supernatural, and they took natural phenomena—comets, eclipses, lightning, and so forth—as good or evil omens. When the great Cotton Mather lost the manuscript of three of his lectures, he was convinced that "Spectres, or Agents in the invisible World, were the Robbers." In such a world, devils roamed freely, and individuals who were at all unusual in their actions could be easily accused of being the confederates of these devils. During the years of Puritan and Cromwellian control in England, from 1642 to 1660, the witch hunt reached its height in that country. And the Puritans carried the craze to New England, where the terror of demons lurking in the unknown was accentuated perhaps by the very real terror of Indians lurking in the mysterious forest.

The two greatest epidemics of witch hunting in New England occurred from 1647 to 1663, and from 1688 to 1693. These periods bear a chronological and perhaps a logical relation to the uncertainties in America resulting from the revolutionary waves in England. During the first period, six misjudged persons were hanged in Massachusetts, and eight in Connecticut. Then followed a period of sanity and quiet, after which the panic broke out again with even greater virulence. The little town of Salem became a scene of terror. Scores of people were accused of witchcraft and imprisoned, and twenty of them were executed. Finally the very excesses of the witch hunt brought a halt to the madness. An increasing number of people began to entertain serious doubts that, in the words of a contemporary, "so many in so small a compass of Land should so abominably leap into the Devil's lap at once." Accusations by demented people against the most respectable members in the community forced the magistrates at last to take effective measures, and the prisons were opened. It was soon realized that innocent people had been sent to their death, and prominent individuals confessed their

The missing line in this reproduction of a 1771 advertisement of the stage from Jersey City (Powles Hook) to Philadelphia indicates that it cost twenty shillings.



To the PUBLIC.
THE FLYING MACHINE, kept by
 John Merceau, at the New-Blazing-Star Ferry,
 near New-York, sets off from Powles-Hook every Mon-
 day, Wednesday, and Friday Mornings, for Philadelphia,
 and performs the Journey in a Day and a Half, for the

error and repentance. The clergy, who had led the witch hunt, were to a great extent discredited, and the power of the Massachusetts theocracy was largely undermined by the Salem excesses.

*The improvement
 of travel between communities*

THE QUICKENING of intellectual life in the colonies during the eighteenth century was aided by the increase of trade and commerce, which in turn increased the interchange of ideas. While the colonial settlements remained widely scattered and isolated, ideas tended to remain static, unaffected by outside impacts, and unable to congeal into a common consciousness and public opinion. But the itinerant peddler, shoemaker, and other tradesmen circulated both their wares and the current views from community to community; and, as roads and transportation facilities improved, the communication of ideas improved with them. In the early days it was often virtually impossible to find one's way through the forest even when traveling between the largest colonial centers. The few existing inns were unspeakably dirty and unsafe, and it was not uncommon for the landlord to assign a single room to several travelers regardless of congeniality or sex. Roads and inns had improved greatly on the main highways, however, by the middle of the eighteenth century. Travel increased sufficiently by 1732 to warrant the publication in Boston of the first American guidebook, *The Vade Mecum for America, or a Companion for Traders and Travelers*. This book set forth the roads and distances between important points from Boston to Jamestown, and included information as to local fairs and other attractions. The greater number of coastwise vessels and their increased tonnage and accommodation also encouraged travel among the colonists, and the seaboard location of the settlements was an inducement to maritime transportation.

*The growth of towns
 and the formation of clubs*

STILL another factor in the stimulation of colonial thought was the growth in population and importance of the towns. Cities, large and small, tend to be centers of new ideas, new inventions, new associations of people, new styles of dress, new tastes in food, new schemes in politics and economics, new ventures in trade,

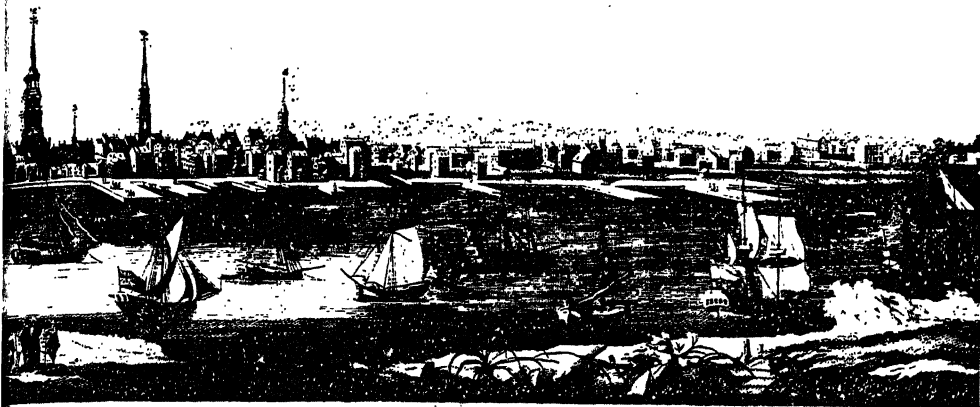


The city and harbor of Philadelphia in 1753.

and new contacts in culture. True enough, during the entire colonial period and for a century to come, the great majority of Americans lived a rural existence. Nevertheless, centers like Boston, New York, and Philadelphia became increasingly important focal points, and in their midst were fashioned the articulate forces of intellectual and political ferment. All were seaports and had access to contemporary European thought.

In their cosmopolitan atmosphere sprang up a host of clubs, founded for various purposes and with varying degrees of seriousness, but nearly all intent upon things of the spirit—along with the absorption of prodigious quantities of spirits. Some of these clubs' names are intriguing. For example, New York could boast of the Hungarian and the Hum Drum Clubs. Newport possessed the Philosophical Club (but this might have been a misnomer, for one contemporary tells us that, though the members drank punch and smoked, he "was surprised to find that no matters of philosophy were brought upon the carpet" and "they talked of privateering and the building of vessels"). Philadelphia had among its organizations a Beefsteak Club and a literary-scientific society called "the Junto."

The latter club, founded in 1727 by Benjamin Franklin, was a debating society where young intellectuals read and discussed papers. As an outgrowth of the Junto, Franklin and others founded in 1743 the American Philosophical Society. Its rationalistic purpose was shown by its encouragement of "all philosophical experiments that let light into the nature of things, tend to increase the power of man over matter, and multiply the conveniences and pleasures of life." Included in its membership were some of the outstanding minds in the colonies, together with such eminent European scientists as Lavoisier, Linnaeus, and Buffon and such philosophers as Condorcet and Chastellux (not to mention Lafayette). In connection with the Junto, Frank-



lin was instrumental in building up a subscription library that contained scientific works, and the fact that he did not fill its shelves with theological books—as the libraries of the colonial colleges did—was indicative of the new rational spirit he did so much to promulgate.

*The influence
of the newspaper in the colonies*

THE GROWTH of towns likewise encouraged the rise of a periodical press. The first regular newspaper, the *Boston News-Letter*, appeared in 1704, a small, dull periodical that managed to keep itself alive by printing only innocuous items that would give no offense to the political authorities. Fifteen years later two more papers entered the field, and in 1721 James Franklin, Benjamin's brother, founded the *New England Courant*, resisting the dissuasions of his friends, who assured him that America did not need another newspaper. By 1765 the colonies were reading about 43 newspapers, three of them in German.

Many of these journals had short lives, and few had real literary merit. They freely copied news items from each other, often weeks or months old, since, in the absence of other means of communication, stale news was still news. They seldom were as large as our tabloids. They nearly always carried little advertisements or "notices" on every page, and the front page was generally entirely devoted to such notices. Benjamin Franklin's paper, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, was entertaining and influential, while two southern journals, the *South Carolina Gazette* and the *Virginia Gazette*, had literary standards surpassing those of any New England papers.

Despite the fact that the colonial press was subject to strict censorship, it exerted a considerable influence on its readers, who turned to it for information about events overseas and in neighboring colonies. A victory for American intellectual development occurred in 1735 when John Peter Zenger, 469

editor of the *New York Weekly Journal*, was acquitted of charges brought by New York's governor in a case involving the principle of freedom of the press. The jury's verdict was later termed by Gouverneur Morris, himself a leader in the American Revolution to come, "the morning star of liberty which subsequently revolutionized America."

*The founding
of colleges and universities*

THE FIRST universities established in the New World were founded in Mexico City and Lima in 1551,

under the auspices of the Catholic Church. Likewise, the first universities founded in the American colonies were launched under religious control—in these instances, Protestant. The oldest Anglo-American college is Harvard, authorized in 1636 by a vote of the Massachusetts General Court and endowed by John Harvard, a Charlestown minister, so that young men might in turn become ministers. The second oldest college is William and Mary, established in 1693 during the reign of that royal pair, after a hectic uphill fight on the part of a Scottish Anglican, Dr. James Blair. When Blair expostulated with Virginia's attorney-general about the need of educating young ministers to take care of the souls of the colonists, he was met with: "Damn their souls!



Let them make tobacco." The third college to be established was Yale, founded in 1701 as a Puritan institution intended to educate young men "for publick employment both in Church and Civil State." Its endowment came from Elihu Yale, who had amassed a fortune from the East Indian trade. In the middle of the eighteenth century came the great religious outburst known as the "Great Awakening" (page 474), and it led to the founding of four new colleges—Princeton (1746), which was Presbyterian, Brown (1764), which was Baptist, Rutgers (1766), which was Dutch Reformed, and Dartmouth (1770), which was Congregational. King's College, an Anglican institution, was founded in 1754 and was presently to change its name to "Columbia," in keeping with political innovations.

*Educational curricula
and scholarship in America*

THESE admirable institutions were sectarian, and their curricula were traditionally classical. In 1643, for

example, Harvard decided that "when any scholar is able to understand Tully or such like classical Latin author *extempore*, and make and speak true Latin in verse and prose...and decline perfectly the paradigms of nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue, let him then, and not before, be capable of admission into the college." In America as in Europe, Latin was still the language of scholarly writing in the seventeenth century; and a knowledge of Greek, though not so essential to learning, was regarded as desirable. Harvard's requirement for entrance was thus neither so rigid nor so impractical as it might appear today. But the eighteenth-century Franklin was self-educated, and his early education had included no Latin, Greek, formal philosophy, or pure science. He conceived of an educational institution whose curriculum would include such utilitarian studies as surveying, navigation, accounting, mechanics, agriculture, physics, chemistry, history, civics, government, trade, commerce, international law, and modern languages as well as the classics. This was the Academy, and later the College, of Philadelphia. Franklin thereby became the founder of the first institution of higher learning in the western world to afford training in vocations and trades as well as in the learned professions, in contemporary problems as well as in classical and theological lore, and in the practical and applied sciences as well as scientific theory. His college became a model for many subsequent American colleges—whether for better or for worse is still a highly debated point. In 1765, a medical school was established in Philadelphia, the first of its kind in North America.

In general, colonial institutions of higher learning were marked by rigidity and conservatism of thought and by mediocrity of scholarship. Harvard College in 1680 seemed a dreary place to two Dutch visitors, who reported of the few students in residence: "They knew hardly a word of Latin...so that my comrade could not converse with them. They took us to the library where there was nothing in particular. We looked over it a little. They presented us

with a glass of wine... The minister of the place goes there morning and evening to make prayer."³⁵ However, in the general impetus to the advancement of learning that marked the middle decades of the eighteenth century, colonial scholarship seems to have improved appreciably.

*The increasing demand
for books and libraries in America*

would probably contain—if the household were literate—a Bible, of course, and a hymn book, and an almanac. Almost every printing house in the colony produced its almanac. The almanac was a small annual magazine, with encyclopedic information—recipes, sermon texts, lists of pills, short stories and poems, interest tables, weather prognostications, distances between taverns, aphorisms, jokes, essays, and astronomical information of sorts. The almanac's accuracy was open to grave doubts, but the average colonist probably seldom entertained them. The best-known was Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*, but it had to compete with a host of rivals.

The townspeople were more catholic than the farmers in their reading, and colonial importers and printers managed to provide an ever-growing

number of readers with the latest literature from England and the Continent. Locke, Pufendorf, and Montesquieu were especially popular, articulating as they did the colonists' own thoughts on natural law and right. Of course, the classics also found ready buyers. Franklin, as printer, was able to place before his customers works by Seneca, Ovid, Bacon, Dryden, Locke, Milton, and Swift. Such books soon found their way into private libraries, of which several were quite worthy of respect.

Meanwhile, those who could not afford to amass book collections of their own had their intellectual appetites at least partially satisfied by the founding of small libraries in the larger cities. The earliest known library in the colonies was established for Indians in 1621. The library of Harvard College (established in 1638) has grown continuously since its inception. Boston created the first

Poor Richard, 1733.
A N
Almanack
For the Year of Christ
I 7 3 3,
Being the First after LEAP YEAR:
Advances since the Creation Years
By the Account of the Eastern Greeks 7242
By the Latin Church, when Christ 6932
By the Computation of W. W. 5742
By the Jewish Chronology 5682
By the Jewish Bibles 5494
Wherein is contained.
The Lunations, Eclipses, Judgment of
the Weather, Spring Tides, Plagues, Migrations &
mutual Aspects, Sun and Moon's Rising and Set-
ting, Length of Days, Time of High Water,
Faint, Cautions, and observable Days
Fitted to the Latitude of Forty Degrees,
and a Meridian of Five Hours Walk from London,
but may without sensible Error serve all the ad-
joining Places, even from Newfoundland to South
Carolina.
By **RICHARD SAUNDERS, Philom.**
PHILADELPHIA.
Printed and Sold by **B. FRANKLIN** at the New
Printing Office near the Market.

public library in 1653. The Bray parish libraries were made up of books sent to America toward the end of the seventeenth century by Reverend Thomas Bray of London for the use of the clergy and their parishes.

Here again Franklin's resourcefulness showed itself to advantage, when he instituted the first subscription library in America in connection with the Junto. Together with a small number of mechanics and tradesmen, he started a library by the practical expedient of pooling modest savings. In Franklin's words: "The institution soon manifested its utility, was imitated by other towns, and in other provinces. The libraries were augmented by donations; reading became fashionable; and our people, having no public amusement to divert their attention from study, became better acquainted with books; and in a few years were observed by strangers to be better instructed and more intelligent than people of the same rank generally are in other countries." Franklin was to maintain afterwards that the new libraries "perhaps have contributed in some degree to the stand generally made throughout the colonies in defense of their privileges."

*Literature
in the American colonies*

EXCEPT for Franklin, who consciously modeled his style upon the *Spectator*, no great literary

figure appeared in the colonies, north or south, before 1776. Few outstanding works of art or belles-lettres were produced on the frontier. As the towns grew, literary productivity grew with them. But writings were generally political and historical tracts rather than novels or poetry or drama. John Woolman, a New Jersey Quaker, tailor, traveler, and reformer, produced a series of pamphlets in the period around the Treaty of 1763 carrying such titles as *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes* and *A Word of Remembrance and Caution to the Rich*. John Wise, Massachusetts pastor, defended the Congregational theory of politics in *A Vindication of the Government of the New-England Churches* and *The Churches Quarrel Espoused*, and other pastors in pamphlets and sermons dealt with the problems of popular government. John Winthrop's journal, Samuel Sewall's diary, and Mary Rowlandson's story of her captivity among the Indians were works of interesting personal record but of little literary merit. The writing of history was seriously cultivated on the frontier. William Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* (unpublished until 1856), Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana* (1702), Cadwallader Colden's *History of the Five Nations of Indians* (Iroquois) (Vol. I, published in 1727), and Thomas Hutchinson's *History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay* (three volumes, of which the first appeared in 1764) were the most lasting efforts. In these American historical accounts, the Indian appeared as a significant figure, even sometimes affecting the author's style with a touch of the formal metaphorical prose of the Indian oration and treaty.

*Religious stimulation
caused by the "Great Awakening"*

MUCH OF the best colonial literature was in the form of sermons. Despite the fact that the importation of Europe's growing rationalism was pushing America's educated classes into the secular and deistic trend on religious questions, the clergy continued to be the intellectual guides of the uneducated. Many of them were anti-Anglican. A revivalist wave, sometimes called the "Great Awakening," spread through America, beginning in the 1730's, in much the same way that Quietism, Pietism, Jansenism, and Wesleyanism had spread through Europe. Jonathan Edwards, native born, and George Whitefield, visiting from England, and other ministers of various denominations preached through the country a "new light," a new emotional rapport with God, that found expression in the rapid growth of evangelistic sects like the Baptists and the founding of new colleges like Princeton, Brown, Rutgers, and Dartmouth. Their sermons were frequently printed and widely read.

*Science and art
in the American colonies*

IN OTHER fields of cultural development America also showed the effects of youth. The great luminary of American science—as of other lines of American cultural achievements—during the colonial period was Benjamin Franklin. His *Experiments and Observations on Electricity* (1751) set forth, among other things, his daring experiment with a kite that established the identity of lightning and electricity. Other scientists—like David Rittenhouse in astronomy and Benjamin Rush in medicine—were worthy but not outstanding.

Though colonial America had its poets—particularly Philip Freneau and the Hartford group known as the "Connecticut Wits"—and its artists—particularly John Singleton Copley, these men were imitative and of little genius, and were to produce most of their best works only in the period following the Declaration of Independence. Two earlier poets, however, deserve special mention. Anne Bradstreet, wife of a governor of the Massachusetts colony, in the middle of the seventeenth century wrote a few poems that had a certain distinction; and Edward Taylor (1645-1729) privately gave expression to his apparently devout and meditative soul in poems that began to be published only in 1937 and are now critically regarded as of superior distinction.

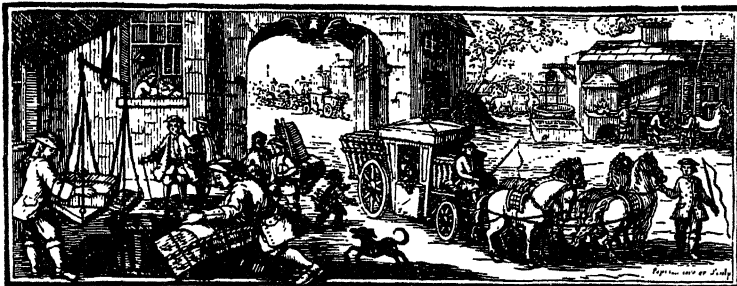
The New World had as yet produced few great artists, writers, and scientists, but the important thing was that, however few, they were beginning to think of themselves as Americans and of their culture as native, no matter how dependent upon European influences. Even in culture, America was learning to stand more or less alone.

WHEN in 1763, the English colonies in America finally rid themselves of the French menace, they had been in existence for over a century and a half, and about six generations of colonists had built new homes, roads, cities, governments, churches, and other institutions in the wilderness. The span of time between the founding of Jamestown and the Treaty of 1763 was approximately the same as the span between that treaty and the end of the First World War. In other words, it requires only two such spans to cover the history of the Anglo-American people from its beginnings until a fairly recent date. In the rapidly changing society of the New World, six generations had brought the development of a sense of solidarity and independence. What had been sparse and segregated little settlements in the seventeenth century, in many instances, had by 1763 become flourishing cities. Where once timid entrepreneurs had sought military and economic protection in the power of the British army, navy, and law, now vigorous and flourishing business firms felt self-assured and assertive. Where once the British crown had been looked upon as a benign source of paternal guidance, now it was often resented as a malignant force for regimentation. Communities that had once dealt with each other chiefly through London now had learned to communicate directly. Social and cultural institutions, at first strikingly similar to England's, had gradually derived from the Dutch, Swedish, German, Indian, Negro, and other parts of the population features that were different, and even the most firmly established ones had been modified by the rigors of the frontier.

Contemporary observers, among them a young French student named Turgot, destined to become a great statesman (page 632), perceived what was happening. Colonies, he observed, were like children, timid and dependent when they were young, but destined when they grew big and strong to become resentful of restraint and domination. And, indeed, the American colonies had grown big, strong, and self-reliant. "I am not a Virginian," said Patrick Henry as the colonial period drew to a close, "I am an American"; and further: "I am not an Englishman, I am an American." In short, the "one" that was later to be boasted in the motto *e pluribus unum* was gradually being welded, though as yet the welding was far from complete. This oneness was to come not only because thirteen separate parts were being physically joined more closely together but also because they were coming to think of themselves, and to be thought of by others, as having certain interests in common within the British empire. A new nation was being conceived on the North American continent, and if it was not conceived altogether in liberty, as Abraham Lincoln was one day to assert that it was (since some men were slaves and others, though free, were disenfranchised), at least a *greater* liberty was to be found there, for all but Negroes, than almost anywhere else in that day.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1621 First known library in the colonies established for Indians
- 1636 Founding of Harvard College, first institution of higher learning in English America
- 1643 Founding of the New England Confederation by Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven
- 1676 "Bacon's Rebellion," a revolt of Virginia farmers against Sir William Berkeley, royal governor of Virginia
- 1688-1693 New England's second epidemic of witch hunting, focusing around Salem, Massachusetts
- 1689-1697 "King William's War," known in Europe as the War of the League of Augsburg
- 1693 Founding of the College of William and Mary
- 1701 Founding of Yale
- 1702 Cotton Mather's *Magnalia Christi Americana*, early example of American historical writing
- 1702-1713 "Queen Anne's War," American phase of the War of the Spanish Succession
- 1704 Appearance of the first regular newspaper in America, the *Boston News-Letter*
- 1721-1722 Introduction of the practice of inoculation to Massachusetts by Dr. Zabdiel Boylston
- 1727 "The Junto," a literary-scientific club, founded in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin
- c. 1730. Beginning of "The Great Awakening," a revivalist wave in America
- 1732 Publication of the first American guidebook, *The Vade Mecum for America, or a Companion for Traders and Travelers*
- 1740 The Academy of Philadelphia, which emphasized education in the practical arts, founded by Franklin
- 1740-1748 "King George's War," the American phase of the War of the Austrian Succession
- 1743 The American Philosophical Society founded by Franklin
- 1751 Franklin's *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*
- 1754 Albany Convention, first step toward a colonial confederation
- 1754-1763 French and Indian War, American phase of the Seven Years' War
- 1759 Capture of Quebec by the British under General Wolfe
- 1765 The first medical school in North America established at Philadelphia
- 1786 Publication of the first collected edition of the poems of Freneau



CHAPTER XI

Growth of the revolutionary spirit

BY THE eighteenth century, Europe was less isolated and provincial than in medieval times. Her commerce reached around the world to places that had earlier been unknown, and her colonial ties not only spread European civilization abroad but closely knitted her interests with those of far-off lands and peoples. Rivalries once purely dynastic and intra-European were becoming more conspicuously commercial, national, and world-encompassing.

Along with Europe's expanding horizons, its wealth also expanded, and as it poured in from east and west, it slowly helped to change the fabric of the old European society. Some of these changes will now engage our attention. We shall find the ancient Habsburg-Bourbon rivalry, about which so much European political history had revolved, giving way to Anglo-French rivalry for overseas dominion; and Austria, divorced from her alliance with Spain, devoting her major attention to maintaining her hegemony in central Europe against the new threat from Prussia. We shall see that at the very time when kings were perfecting their respective systems of absolutism, insistently clamorous appeals for political liberty and popular participation in government were gradually undermining the institution of hereditary absolute monarchy. Furthermore, the middle class, whose steady growth in power and influence we have been observing through three centuries, became less ready to ally itself with kings and more ready to challenge the dominion of the aristocracy in society and politics. The new vogue of naturalism, interacting with the new scientific knowledge and the rising sway of secular influences, combined more and more with the growing restiveness of the bourgeoisie and other dissatisfied groups to produce a critical and reforming spirit. Finding themselves hampered by old institutions and traditions, the bourgeoisie be-

came more convinced than ever that the world could be made over more to the benefit of those who lived in it.

In spite of these trends, the old political and social structure was to remain essentially intact in most of Europe for the first three quarters of the eighteenth century. The growing spirit of reform was directed at modifying existing institutions rather than overthrowing them. The elimination of aristocratic and clerical privileges, the abolition of serfdom and slavery, greater equality in taxation, the ascendancy of reason in human affairs—such were the aims of the “enlightened” eighteenth-century reformers, for few men believed in the overthrow of monarchy or in the political and social equality of all mankind. The Old Regime was not yet ready to crumble; some of its best—certainly some of its most colorful—days still lay before it in the eighteenth century. Yet in this period the hidden weaknesses of the regime began to show outward symptoms and were eventually to bring about an unmistakable collapse and the cataclysm of the French Revolution.

THE PROBLEM

OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE (1713-1740)

WHILE Europe was learning to adjust to the international order fashioned by the treaties of 1713-1714, new domestic arrangements were taking place inside the leading European countries. Frederick I, who had been the first of the Hohenzollerns to bear the title of “king in Prussia,” was succeeded in 1713 by his son, Frederick William I. Anne, who had followed her cousin and brother-in-law William III as the ruler of England in 1702, died in 1714 and was in turn followed by her second cousin George I. And in France the seemingly interminable reign of Louis XIV came to an end in 1715, allowing his five-year-old great-grandson to replace him as Louis XV. Thus Prussia, the power whose rise in central Europe was to be a major source of international readjustment on both sides of the Rhine and the Vistula, and France and England, the two powers whose Atlantic and overseas rivalry was to determine policies on both sides of the Channel, found themselves guided by new and inexperienced hands.

Cameralism in Prussia under Frederick William I

IN PRUSSIA the change was least marked. Ascending his throne just before the War of the Spanish

Succession came to a close, Frederick William continued the domestic and foreign policies of his predecessors. He further centralized and fortified the Prussian bureaucracy, introducing a closer cooperation of financial, legal, and administrative officials and a stricter regulation of local government, business, industry, and finance. To the mercantilist philosophy that prevailed

in his day, he added the precept of paternalistic relations between the monarch and his people. This new mercantilism, which found expression in the king's stern personal control over his subjects and his emphasis upon an efficient and rigorously trained administrative personnel, later became known as *cameralism*. The term is derived from the Latin word *camera*, which means "chamber" or "office," and, in this connection, referred to the management of royal properties. Cameralism spread from Prussia to the rest of Germany and became a factor in the ultimate development of that respect for authority and for state regulation of private life which is commonly regarded as characteristically German. Frederick William created professorships of cameralism at the universities of Frankfurt and Halle, where prospective civil servants listened to lectures on the problems of administrative science in a paternalistic state.

*Military conscription
under Frederick William I*

IN KEEPING with his paternalistic policy Frederick William built up a strong standing army. Though

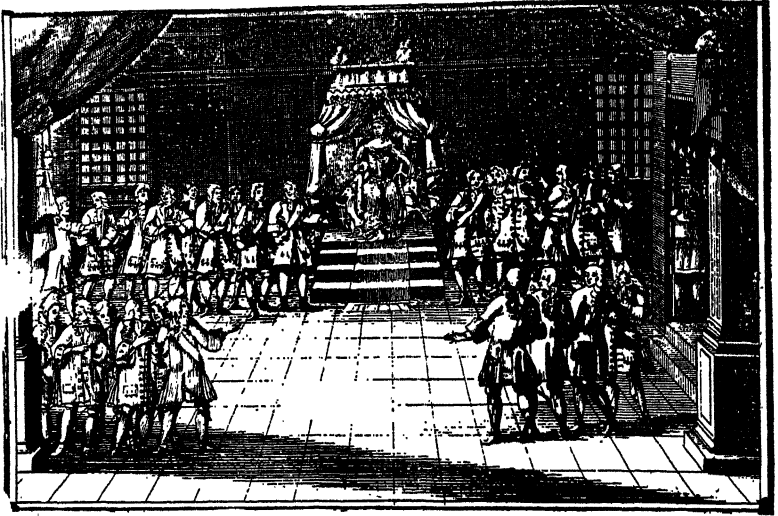
Prussia's population was probably no more than 2,500,000 at the time, he maintained a force of 83,000 men. Theoretically this army was raised by a process of "enrollment" that amounted to universal military conscription (probably the first peacetime effort in that direction by a modern state), but the number who were exempted, obtained substitutes, or escaped, was great, despite the boasted efficiency of the Prussian bureaucracy. Even so, it formed a huge and well-trained army, which was to give a good account of itself in the ensuing wars.

Frederick William tried to be a stern father to his people—and he sacrificed his son's happiness in the attempt. He undertook personally and gruffly to monitor his subjects' behavior. He created a crack regiment of Potsdam Guards—giants recruited from all over Europe at great cost and drilled with a carefulness that was exceeded only by the precautions taken to guard them from risk in battle. He left to his son and heir a strong army, a full treasury, a centralized and prosperous state, and an enviable prestige in international diplomacy. Nevertheless, few bonds of affection united that son to his father. The boy had shown an unprincely taste for music and literature and had once tried to run away from home. For this "desertion" he had been punished by being forced to witness the execution of a friend who had helped him to run away. Eventually this unsoldierly prince was to become known as "Frederick the Great."

*The preservation
of the British Union*

IN ENGLAND, the accession of George I represented a minor political revolution. Anne's reign,

filled though it had been with the tensions attendant upon fighting a long and costly world war, had also been preoccupied with the question of the royal



This contemporary print shows the ceremony of the union of England and Scotland before the throne of Queen Anne in 1707. Thereby Scotland accepted Sophia of Hanover or her heir as monarch upon the death of Queen Anne. (The ruler of Hanover had been made the ninth elector of the Empire in 1692.)

succession. By the Act of Settlement of 1701, the English Parliament had repudiated the claim to the crown of James II's Catholic son, and had fixed the succession to the throne in the Protestant house of Hanover, who were descended from James I through Sophia, electress of Hanover. When the parliament of Scotland, after some hesitation, accepted this Act of Settlement (1707), it was also decided that the two countries, though retaining separate churches (Presbyterian in Scotland and Anglican in England) and separate laws and legal administrations, should nevertheless thereafter have one ruler, one parliament, and one flag—the "Union Jack," combining the Scottish cross of St. Andrew with the English cross of St. George. The combined country created by this union of Scotland with England (including Wales) was thereafter known as "Great Britain." When Anne died (August 1714), having been predeceased by Sophia of Hanover, Sophia's son George, already elector of Hanover, became also George I of Great Britain. Great Britain thus remained Protestant and united, but only by accepting a foreign ruling house (the Hanoverian) that divided attention between its new British realm and the German country of its origin. Louis XIV and his successors, still hoping to divide Great Britain religiously and politically, continued to give aid and comfort to Anne's brother, known to his followers as "James III" and to his opponents as "The Old Pretender."

The Regency

during the minority of Louis XV

THE DEATH of Louis XIV was not unwelcome to many of the French people. As the body of the once-glorious Sun King moved to its final resting place, jeers and curses followed it in some quarters, where the evil that he had done by his intolerance, wars, and taxes had made a more lasting impression than his fostering of the arts, literature, science, industry, and national prestige. Louis himself realized before he died, having been the most powerful king in Europe for seventy-two years, that he had made unforgivable mistakes. To the handsome five-year-old boy who was to be his successor, he said on his deathbed:

You are soon to be the king of a great kingdom. What I would chiefly recommend to you is never to forget the obligation you are under to God. Remember that you are indebted to him for all that you are. Endeavor to preserve peace with your neighbors. I have been too fond of war. In this do not follow my example any more than in my too expensive manner of living. Take counsel in everything. Endeavor to distinguish what is best, and always take care to pursue it. Relieve your subjects as much as you can, and do what I have been so unhappy as not to be able to do myself.³⁰

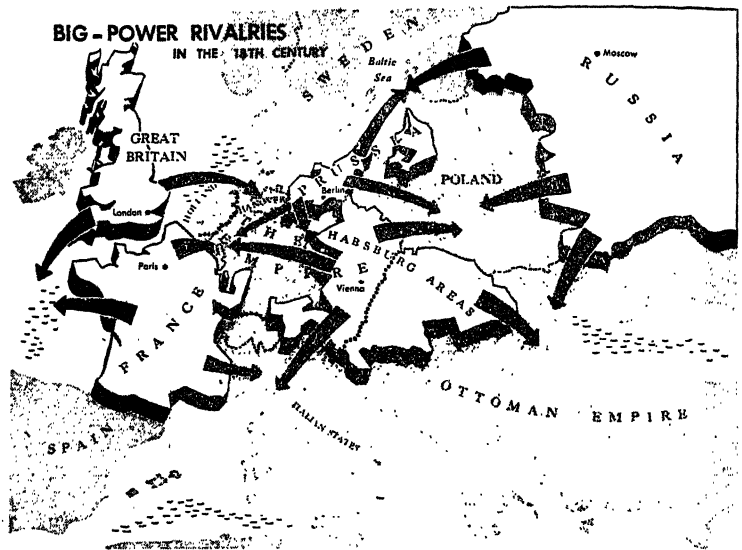
To the people of France the accession of the charming Louis XV was a welcome change from the austerity and rigor of the Grand Monarch in his old age. Louis XV was soon called the *bien-aimé* (the well beloved), and for a long time remained so to his people. But, being a mere child, he had to have a regent. Louis XIV, who had himself succeeded to the throne at the age of five, had tried to forestall the well-known evils of a regency such as had befallen France during the childhood of his father and again of himself. By creating a council of relatives and trusted officers of the crown, he had hoped to avoid the weakening of the royal position by intrigues among the nobility. But immediately upon the Sun King's death, his will ceased to prevail. The Duc d'Orleans, Louis XIV's nephew, with the support of some other nobles and the parlement of Paris, all of whom hoped to regain some of their lost prestige by this maneuver, made himself sole regent.

The Triple Alliance

to preserve the Peace of Utrecht

THE NEW reigns in Prussia, England, and France began at about the same time that new regimes were established in Spain, Belgium, and Italy. The Bourbon ruler of Spain, Philip V, introduced a policy of friendliness toward France in place of the

³⁰Voltaire, *Age of Louis XIV*, trans. William F. Fleming (Paris: E. R. DuMont, 1901), II, Ch. xxvi, 206-207.



Small or weak states and colonial possessions were prizes in the jockeying of the three new powers (England, Prussia, and Russia), of the two old powers (Austria and France), and of the five declining powers (the Netherlands, the Ottoman Empire, Poland, Spain, and Sweden). England, France, Holland, and Spain were rivals for colonies and trade; France, Austria, and Prussia for the Rhinelands, where Austria held the southern Netherlands; Spain, France, and Austria for Italy; Austria and Prussia for control of the Empire; Prussia, Sweden, and Russia for the Baltic regions; Austria, Russia, and Prussia for control of Poland. Russia and Austria meanwhile pressed on the decadent Ottoman Empire. England's interest in Hanover brought her a new reason for concern over continental issues. Boundaries are shown here as of 1715.

traditional alliance with Austria. In Belgium and Italy, on the other hand, Austrian influence now crowded out the ancient preference for Spain. At the same time, in the Holy Roman Empire the new prestige of the electors of Hanover as rulers of England enabled them to enter into the race for hegemony along with Austria, Prussia, and Saxony.

The coincidence of new reigns and regimes in so many European areas at once threatened the uneasy peace imposed by the Treaty of Utrecht. A series of major problems, some quite hoary, others arising from recent developments, seemed to require joint consideration if a new war were to be avoided.

- (1) Would England, France, or Spain control the seas and thereby the finest overseas empire?
- (2) Would France and Spain fall to the same Bourbon heir?
- (3) Would France be able to extend her boundaries northward and eastward to the Rhine?
- (4) Would Austria or Spain predominate in Italy?
- (5) Could Austria retain her control in the Empire?
- (6) Would Sweden be

replaced by Russia or by Prussia in the Baltic? (7) Could Poland survive the joint pressure of her neighbors? (8) Would the Ottoman Empire remain undisturbed in the Balkans? These questions were to crop up dangerously throughout the century. The treaties of 1713-1714 had thus left almost as much unsolved as they had solved. The satisfied nations of Europe (England, France, and Holland) soon (1717) formed a Triple Alliance in order to preserve the Treaty of Utrecht, which the unsatisfied nations (Spain and Austria), hostile to each other as well as to the Triple Alliance, sought to upset.

Until 1721 the intrigues of Philip v to secure for his descendants some dynastic advantages in France and Italy made peace uncertain. In fact it led to a mild and fleeting war in 1718-1720. The resulting adherence of Austria

WAR OF THE QUADRUPLÉ ALLIANCE



After this minor war Sicily and Sardinia were exchanged by Austria and Savoy. This exchange strengthened the Kingdom of Savoy in northern Italy and led eventually to the consolidation of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in southern Italy.

to the Triple Alliance (thereby making it a Quadruple Alliance) forced Spain to desist from her dynastic intrigues. The only significant outcome of this conflict has already been indicated (page 415): the ruler of Savoy exchanged Sicily for Austria's Sardinia.

*An attempt to keep peace
through international congresses*

THE DIPLOMATIC situation in western Europe continued complex and dangerous, however.

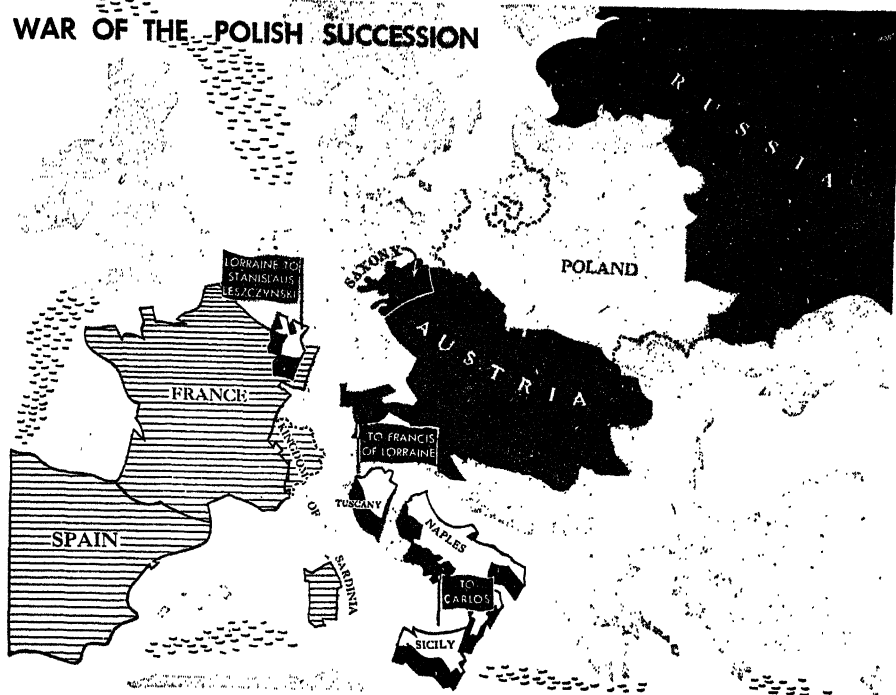
Recognizing the instability of peace, the five major powers adopted a novel plan. At Cambrai in 1724 the first international congress of modern times was convened in peacetime in an attempt to allay an explosive diplomatic situation. The congress was more notable as an innovation than as a success. For four years it tried to find pacific solutions not only of Philip's problems but also of those of the Habsburg Charles vi. For one thing, Charles wanted to create a Belgian East India company, thus inevitably rousing English, French, and Dutch opposition. At the same time, since he had no son, he hoped that all the European powers would accede to his proposal—the so-called “Pragmatic Sanction”—that his daughter Maria Theresa be permitted to inherit all his realm undisturbed. Cambrai eventually proved ineffectual, and a new congress was called at Soissons. But it was distinguished from its predecessor only by its short duration. Within a few months Soissons also proved futile, and the quest for allies (which had in fact not ceased during the congresses) became a free-for-all scramble.

*The marriage
of Louis XV and Marie Leszczynska*

LOUIS XV reached thirteen and was declared a major before the death of the Regent. Even after

the Regent's death he was kept under tutelage, however, by an incapable prime minister, the Duc de Bourbon. To keep the young king under better control, Bourbon arranged his marriage, though he was only fifteen and “the handsomest youth of the kingdom,” to Marie Leszczynska, the twenty-two-year-old, homely daughter of the poverty-stricken ex-king of Poland, Stanislaus Leszczyński (page 431). Bourbon had every reason to believe that the queen would be grateful and subservient to him for having found her so fine a match. But he was nevertheless replaced the next year by the less grateful king, who chose the former royal tutor, the Bishop (later Cardinal) de Fleury in his stead. After the first eight years of marriage, Louis had little to do with Queen Marie, preferring the companionship of a succession of ladies who were formally recognized as court mistresses (three of them from one family)—among them able politicians like Madame du Barry and Madame de Pompadour. Nevertheless, his position as son-in-law of the ex-king of Poland soon involved France in intrigues over poor Poland's still unsettled status.

WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION



This postwar settlement is an excellent example of the way small states are passed around to fit the needs of big-power politics. As usual, Italian and Rhineland areas figured prominently in the settlement. Tuscany and Lorraine ultimately fell to big powers, Tuscany to the Habsburgs through the marriage of Francis and Maria Theresa, Lorraine to France on the death of Stanislaus in 1766.

International diplomacy regarding the Polish election

IN 1733, Augustus II, king of Poland and duke of Saxony, died, and the Polish throne, elective by

the Polish nobility, became again a political football. Some of the Polish nobles advocated Augustus' son, also named Augustus. As hereditary duke of Saxony, Augustus could bring German and particularly Austrian influence to bear behind him, and Czarina Anne of Russia also supported Augustus. Nevertheless, the majority of the Polish electors chose Stanislaus Leszczynski. To France that appeared a windfall—a means of offsetting the prestige of the traditional enemy, Austria, and winning an ally in eastern Europe by the fortuitous relationship of the king of Poland to Louis xv. Fleury, old and feeble, would have preferred to stay out of the quarrel, but when civil war broke out

in Poland and Stanislaus was badly defeated by Augustus, French public opinion demanded that an army be sent to support the father of France's queen. Thus began the War of the Polish Succession.

*The War
of the Polish Succession*

BADLY beaten in Poland, France undertook to attack Austria. A coalition for that purpose was

easily created. Philip v of Spain (or rather his ambitious wife, Elizabeth Farnese) hoped to find good realms for his sons in Italy, especially since the birth of seven children to Louis xv had diminished his still-cherished hope of inheriting the French crown. The Bourbons of Spain were therefore ready to form a compact with the Bourbons of France against Austria; and the king of Sardinia, also hoping to gain at Austria's expense, soon joined it. All three members of this alliance had a common interest in securing power in Italy at Austria's expense. Hence, the War of the Polish Succession was fought primarily, not in Poland, but in Italy and the Rhine Valley.

*Reshuffling
by the Treaty of Vienna*

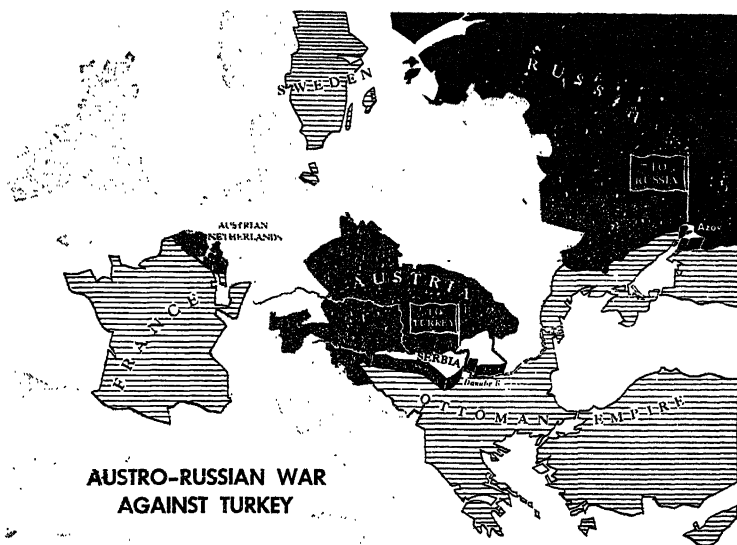
BY 1735 the French army had given so good an account of itself that Austria was ready to consider

peace terms. It was three years, however, before the complicated Treaty of Vienna (1738) was formally ratified. That treaty serves as a striking example of how peoples and territories were shuffled around to serve dynastic interests in the eighteenth century. Stanislaus did not regain Poland but was compensated by being made duke of Lorraine, which on his death (1766) passed to Louis xv. Philip v's son Carlos became king of Naples and Sicily (the so-called Kingdom of the Two Sicilies); the Bourbon family thus established a new dynasty in one of the most powerful states in Italy and ruled there until Italy became a unified nation in the 1860's. Emperor Charles vi was compensated by the marriage of his daughter Maria Theresa to Francis, the hereditary duke of Lorraine. Since Francis, however, had been displaced to make room for Stanislaus in Lorraine, he was made grand duke of Tuscany, where the last of the Medicis had died without direct heir. France also promised to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction. Thus the Habsburgs were compensated for their loss of the Two Sicilies by gaining control of Tuscany, and Charles was encouraged to hope for the continued unity of his possessions under Maria Theresa and her husband.

*The renewal
of the Russian-Austrian push*

THE PERIOD of negotiations from 1735 to 1738 that ended in the Treaty of Vienna was not a peace-

ful one. Led on by the desire to recapture Azov and to secure the right to navigate the Black Sea, the Czarina Anna of Russia attacked Turkey in 1736. Austria, constantly eager to push the Turks farther back in the Balkans, joined her the next year. Thereupon, the Swedish, fearful of Rus-



The east European war ending in 1739 settled two territorial disputes of long standing. Azov became permanently Russian, and certain territories along the Save and Danube rivers were lost to Austria and assigned to the Ottoman Empire.

sian success, and the French, still actually at war with Austria, gave their moral support to Turkey. Turkey therefore put up an unexpectedly vigorous resistance to the Austro-Russian forces. In 1739, Austria agreed to the Treaty of Belgrade. By that treaty she gave up her former conquests south of the Danube and Save; and those two rivers remained the boundary of Austria until the twentieth century. Russia also shortly made peace, acquiring only the port of Azov. The peace settlement in the Near East, roughly coinciding with the peace settlement on the Rhine and in Italy, signified an enormous recovery of prestige and power by France in European diplomacy. In 1740 Louis xv still owned the affection of his subjects and the respect of his neighbors. Moreover, no major changes had been made in the world settlement effected by the Treaty of Utrecht.

SOCIETY AND CULTURE

IN AN AGE OF EXPANSION

THE PERIOD following the Treaty of Utrecht was one of extraordinary business activity, both in France and elsewhere. The business upsurge was

due largely to the investment opportunities in the new lands overseas. From the same areas came also a great impetus to the curiosity of Europeans that found expression in the literature, art, and manners of the day.

*European prosperity after
the War of the Spanish Succession*

AN OUTSTANDING feature of the new prosperity was the continued growth of the national banks.

Though Amsterdam was to remain Europe's financial center until well into the eighteenth century, Hamburg and London gave it stiff competition. Companies writing marine insurance likewise came into prominent existence during this period. Lloyd's, established at Edward Lloyd's coffee house in London, still flourishes as one of the leading insurance companies of our day. All of this banking and insurance development had the effect of creating large sums of money on deposit ready for remunerative investment. Private stockbroking firms arose and helped the investor to find joint-stock shares to buy.

*Rise and fall
of the South Sea Company*

ONE OF the apparently good investments for idle capital of the day was the South Sea Company.

Formed in 1711 as a monopoly of the British trade with South America and the islands of the South Seas, it benefited greatly by the award to England of the *Asiento* in the Treaty of Utrecht. It was tied up still more closely with the British government in 1719 by an agreement whereby its stocks might be given in payment of government debts. Reflecting a general speculative wave that already had reached a high point in Paris (page 489), the demand for South Sea Company stock rose rapidly in London, encouraging new and less reliable firms to engage in feverish imitation and pushing up the market quotations on older stocks. In 1720, when South Sea Company stock was selling at over 1000, suddenly the "bubble" broke. The collapse was hastened by the discovery of fraud in the company management. By December 1720, the price of South Sea stock fell to 120. Thousands of fortunes were lost in the crash, though the company itself was reorganized and remained in existence until 1853.

*John Law
and the Mississippi Bubble*

IN FRANCE, much of the same kind of boom and crash took place. Its story centers around the

romantic figure of John Law, son of a Scottish goldsmith, who had fled from a London prison after killing a man in a duel, and had wound up in Paris. There he gained the confidence of the Regent, the Duc d'Orleans. In 1716, in a period of temporary financial depression and of diplomatic tension with Spain, the Regent, yielding to Law's persuasion, permitted Law to set up a general bank. Had Law limited his enterprise to the bank, no speculative fever need have developed. But he soon (1717) organized the Company

of the West (or Mississippi Company) with a monopoly of all trade with Louisiana and of the beaver trade with Canada. The next year he acquired a monopoly of tobacco in France. By 1719 he united all the big French joint-stock overseas companies (such as the Mississippi Company, the French East India Company, the Africa Company, and the China Company) into one huge commercial empire known as "the Company of the Indies." It became difficult for investors to distinguish between Law and the government or between his bank and his Company of the Indies, especially after Law used the bank's money to redeem the stock of the company. Holders of government bonds and other debts exchanged their certificates for company stock, and the company began to perform banking and governmental operations like issuing banknotes, collecting taxes, and minting money. As the company issued more stock, the bank issued more money, and thus, though the increase in the value of each share of stock was more apparent than real, the demand for shares grew until, by the end of 1719, they sold for 10,000 livres each (par 500). Skeptics began to call the whole of Law's scheme "The Mississippi Bubble." When, in January 1720, Law, as comptroller-general, became the chief financial officer of France and the bank and the company were united by the Regent's decree, the stock seemed guaranteed, though its price was at a dizzy peak.

Then, through a series of errors including arbitrary limitations upon the use of specie and a fiat cutting the value of banknotes in half, Law's enterprises lost public confidence. The Mississippi Bubble broke; shares dropped so rapidly that fortunes were lost overnight; and in March 1720 the Regent forbade further speculation. Law was almost lynched and left France. Three people were trampled to death in the effort to save their investments at the offices of the Bank and Company. When the government finally announced that it would no longer accept the Bank's paper notes, the stock of the Company dropped to about one-third its peak value. The French firm of Paris-Duverney Brothers, financial rivals of Law, liquidated it by a process that increased the public debt through an annual payment of thirteen million livres to the company's creditors. The Mississippi Bubble experience, fortified by later inflations, has made Frenchmen until our own day skeptical of stock certificates, bank paper, and paper money.

*Explorations
and the rise of literary exoticism*

ALL THROUGH the eighteenth century new explorations and discoveries continued to fill the

imagination of Europeans. Later in the century, Captain Louis Antoine de Bougainville sailed around the world for France (1767-1769) and discovered or rediscovered many of the South Pacific islands. Captain James Cook did likewise for England (1767-1771), exploring the coasts of New Zealand and Australia. Voyages like these furthered a literary vogue sometimes called

"exoticism," reflecting the current interest in the remote and strange places recently discovered. These far-off lands, especially America, began to appear a sort of refuge, not only for the poor and persecuted but for the maladjusted in general. The travel literature of the day underlined the popular idealization of America as a haven. The Baron de Lahontan's *New Voyages in America*, a large part of which was the sheerest fiction, gave an account of New France that made its readers think of the Indian as "a noble savage" and "a natural man," and of the New World as a place where almost every prospect pleased and only European man was vile.

*The interest
of French novelists in far-off lands*

THE INTEREST in travel—real and imagined—reached a point at the beginning of the eighteenth century

where it colored a number of lasting literary masterpieces. Among these Alain René Le Sage's *Gil Blas*, begun in 1715 though not published until 1735, marked a significant stage in the development of the novel. Few enduring French novels had preceded it, with the notable exception of the *Princesse de Clèves* of Madame de La Fayette. Le Sage had already made a reputation as a dramatist (page 494). His *Gil Blas* was a picaresque novel, whose hero wandered from place to place through four volumes, mostly in a decadent Spain, encountering many strange people and adventures and becoming a medium of censure of European culture. Le Sage's less well-known hero in the *Adventures of M. Robert Chevalier* (1732) better illustrates the contemporary interest in America, since Chevalier was a freebooter in New France.

The favorite romance of the day was the Abbé Antoine-François Prévost's *Manon Lescaut*. Manon's faithful Des Grieux was one of the first of the great lovers created by a novelist, and the story of his devotion to Manon has since become the subject of no fewer than three operas. Prévost's novel was about a splendid young nobleman (Des Grieux) and a loving but weak courtesan (Manon Lescaut), who flee their woes in France to seek a new life in Louisiana (which proves, however, to be no less tragic). Prévost's interest in the great travelers who had opened up the world was further revealed in a fifteen-volume collection entitled *General History of Voyages*, of which seven volumes were translations from the English. The only great French novelist of the day whose characters were not travelers in foreign lands was Chamblain de Marivaux. Marivaux's unfinished *Marianne* was the story of the quest of a calculating young miss for a husband at home in France.

*Exoticism
in the English novel*

LE SAGE'S novels bore a striking resemblance to those of a leading English contemporary—the

prolific Daniel Defoe. Defoe wrote many political tracts and at least two novels (*Moll Flanders* and *Roxana*, both about questionable heroines probably

typical of the day) that are generally said to be superior to his series of books on Robinson Crusoe (1719-1720). It is nevertheless by the characters of Crusoe and his Man Friday that Defoe is best remembered. Based upon the actual adventures of living sailors, Crusoe's story enhanced contemporary interest in faraway lands and savage peoples.

Among Defoe's contemporaries in English prose were his superiors Richard Steele, Joseph Addison, and Jonathan Swift (page 418). Already famous for his *Battle of the Books* and for his *Tale of a Tub* (1704), Swift also reflected the contemporary interest in remote lands and manners in a set of satirical fantasies commonly known as *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). Simple and interesting enough to have become a children's classic, *Gulliver's Travels* was intended as a burlesque of contemporary social and political behavior—with its Lilliputians, who have ever since lent their name to whatever is diminutive and petty, its Brobdingnagians, who have given theirs to things gigantic, its visionary and impractical Laputans, its Houyhnhnms, or horses that reason, and its Yahoos, or men that don't.

Pope
as social critic and deist

SWIFT's friend, Alexander Pope,
though less concerned with fan-
tasies of travel, was no less satiri-

cal of certain aspects of contemporary social behavior. His *Rape of the Lock* (1714), in mock heroic verse, poked gentle fun at a contemporary social scandal occasioned when a London nobleman snipped off a ringlet of a lady's hair. His *Dunciad* (1728) employed his skill as a versifier to denounce some contemporary men of letters as literary quacks and pedants, as Swift had already done. Probably Pope's most often quoted poem is his *Essay on Man* (1733), for which the statesman and deist Lord Bolingbroke is said to have provided the arguments. Pope himself was to become alarmed at how deistic the poem was generally considered. It defined the Deity as one

Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,
A hero perish or a sparrow fall,
Atoms or systems to destruction hurled,
And now a bubble burst, and now a world,

and advised man to

Know then thyself, presume not God to scan;
The proper study of Mankind is Man.

This was but a reflection of the contemporary deistic trend. But even contemporary deists like Voltaire were to demur when Pope adopted an opti- 491

mism similar to Leibnitz' philosophy that the sum of good exceeds the sum of evil in "the best of all possible worlds" (page 390):

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,
Whose body Nature is, and God the soul....
All nature is but art, unknown to thee;
All Chance, Direction, which thou canst not see;
All Discord, Harmony not understood;
All partial Evil, universal Good:
And, spite of pride, in erring Reason's spite,
One truth is clear: whatever is, is right.

Satire
in Montesquieu's Persian Letters

FOR MUCH the same purposes of satire as had moved Swift and his confreres, across the Channel the

Baron de Montesquieu, who was soon to win a reputation as one of the greatest political philosophers of his day (pages 505-506), wrote his *Persian Letters* (1721). Montesquieu, also taking advantage of the current vogue of the exotic, invented two Persian nobles who traveled westward, spending most of their time in France and telling of the amazing institutions, cities, and customs that they found there. Occidental monarchy, Christian beliefs, and the madness of European financial methods (this was shortly after the Mississippi Bubble) are contrasted with the political and social implications of the *Koran* and the harem. Though Montesquieu became immediately the leading literary light of the Regency, it was several years before the authorities would permit him to become a member of the Academy. Making fun of the king and the church had its hazards in France, where the church still provided the king with political as well as spiritual advisers.

Social behavior
in the Age of Louis XV

THE NUMBER of outstanding writers who flourished during the first decades of the eighteenth

century has induced some critics to refer to it as "the Augustan age" of European literature. In general this Augustan literature reveals the intellectual's disgust with the corruption in politics, laxity in manners, and callousness in social responsibility for the miserable and the poor that prevailed as Europe's overseas empires expanded and the European middle class grew prosperous and speculative. John Gay's risqué *Beggar's Opera* (1728) reflects the same protest through the medium of the musical play; and William Hogarth used still another medium in his moralistic series of paintings—the *Harlot's Progress* and the *Rake's Progress* (both 1730) and the *Marriage à la Mode* (1745). Engravings were made after these paintings and all three series had an enormous success.

The French Regency came to an end in 1723. But the manners that made the Regency proverbial as a time of loose living and low standards of business morality did not end with the man who gave the period one of its names and in many ways had set its fashions. After 1723 Louis xv ruled in his own name, if sometimes through prime ministers. The open spectacle he provided of concubines and court mistresses following each other in rapid succession furnished an example that was not readily eschewed by others in high society. In fact, among the lesser rulers of Europe—and nowhere more than among the princelings of the Holy Roman Empire, the French model was studiously copied. Showy palaces went up in imitation of Versailles. Even the sober Frederick II of Prussia did not hesitate to build the palace named “Sans Souci” at Potsdam and to coddle the Academy at Berlin, both fashioned after the French prototypes. The new Russian capital of St. Petersburg took on the appearance of a new Paris as Italian, French, or French-inspired Russian architects and engineers planned its boulevards and parks, and its baroque edifices with their mansard roofs. Close by arose the town of Peterhof in frank emulation of Versailles.

In these second-class Versailles, grand and petty rulers and their aristocratic flunkies and mistresses gathered in rococo salons, fitted with the latest furniture of the Louis Quinze style. They copied the French fashions, wearing highly colored and elaborate costumes, the ladies with enormous powdered coiffures and hoops and the men with great wigs and hats and dainty snuff-boxes. They discussed in French the latest ideas and books from France, and submitted to French rules of court etiquette. Even when these petty rulers acted in the manner current among the “enlightened despots” (pages 622-630), they were likely to cite some French precedent or work on political theory as authority.

*Social behavior reflected
in contemporary art and literature*

ANTOINE WATTEAU was the leading French painter of the Regency period, when the elegant

profligacy of the nobles set the tone for both social behavior and the arts. His most famous painting, “The Embarkation for Cythera,” illustrates a mixture of interest in classical mythology, contemporary social frivolity, and artistic grace, balance, light, and color. His other paintings show festivities in gardens and groves where handsome and expensively dressed young men and women disport themselves. The contemporary vogue of the Far-Eastern cultures led to his introduction of numerous *chinoiseries* (Chinese objects) into his ornamental engravings. Watteau, like Hogarth, painted the society he knew, but Hogarth knew different kinds of society and had a definite didactic purpose in mind—moral uplift. A comparison of their subjects would throw into relief the gaping distance that separated those to the manner born from proletarians and *nouveaux riches*. So would also a comparison of the gentle

satire in Molière's plays and the bitterness in Le Sage's *Crispin* and *Turcaret*. *Crispin* (1707) was the tale of a crafty and ambitious valet, and *Turcaret* (1709) that of a coarse, cheating, *nouveau riche* financier. Both were types that were becoming familiar in an age of easy money, and neither was as lovable as the *bourgeois gentilhomme*.

*Emigration
to escape social injustice*

ENLIGHTENED despotism was not to come into its own until the latter half of the eighteenth century.

In the earlier decades governments were less interested in reform. Low society—the workers and the poor—usually had to seek an escape through other channels from the evils of poverty and injustice in high places. They found it partly in emigration to the New World. Germans, Swiss, and Scotch-Irish began going into the so-called “Piedmont” of America at the close of the seventeenth century, and their numbers increased markedly after 1710. English emigration not only continued to the older colonies but led also to the creation of two new royal colonies—South Carolina (1719) and Georgia (1733).

*Evangelism in
Germany, England, and America*

THE PROTESTANT sect known as the “Moravian Brethren” was one of the most interesting groups to

settle in America. They linked migration and religious devotion together as an answer to the problems of poverty and immorality. Emphasizing a particularly strict standard of Christian behavior, the Moravians had managed to survive the persecution of Protestants in the Austrian possessions following the Thirty Years' War. This survival was largely due to the skillful leadership of their great bishop Johann Amos Comenius, who, in the seventeenth century, had been deservedly respected as an educator and religious philosopher. But clandestine existence had weakened them to the point that in the next century they chose to leave their homes in Bohemia and to migrate to Saxony, where the Pietist Count von Zinzendorf welcomed them to his estate at Herrnhut (1722). Ordered eventually to leave Herrnhut, the Moravian Brethren, or Herrnhuters, as they were now called, went to America under Count Zinzendorf. Going first to Georgia, they moved, in 1741, to Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, and from there spread to other communities.

The Moravian Brethren engaged actively in missionary work. Among the immigrants whom they encountered in Georgia was John Wesley. He, with his younger brother Charles and some fellow students at Oxford, had already introduced such a regularity and systematic study into their religion that they were called “Methodists” in derision. After a visit to Herrnhut and further relations with Moravian preachers, John Wesley became convinced of salvation through faith in Jesus, and set out to carry his conviction to the world.

He traveled around 250,000 miles and preached about 40,000 sermons, speaking in the open air or in barns to townsmen, farmers, and miners. In 1744, Articles of Religion emphasizing the need of repentance and faith for full salvation were drawn up and became the creed of the Methodist churches. John Wesley lived to be nearly ninety years of age (1703-1791) and to see founded the Wesleyan Methodist Church in England and the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, though he never ceased himself to be an Anglican minister.

*Philanthropy
as an answer to poverty*

THE CHURCHES that looked to Wesley as their founder appealed directly to the lowly and the mis-

erable through their special evangelizing efforts and their emphasis upon direct communion between God and man. From their ranks arose a new emphasis upon the Sunday school and upon humanitarianism. Already in France the word *bienfaisance* (benevolence) had been introduced by the Abbé de St. Pierre to distinguish lay philanthropy from charity undertaken by the church or by the layman as a religious act, and *sociétés de bienfaisance* were being formed to promote the sympathy of the rich for the poor. Wesleyanism, pietistic and evangelical, seeking to alleviate poverty and suffering, worked among the poor and the humble, giving impetus and focus to social movements that were to lead to prison reform, humanitarian penal codes, public hospitals and poorhouses, and the abolition of slavery.

A beginning in this public humanitarianism was made when in 1722 the English Parliament provided for the building of workhouses in which able-bodied paupers could find employment, and the aged, the sick, and the young would receive care. The last witchcraft trial and execution on record took place the same year. In 1736, a Public Workhouse and House of Correction was created in New York City, from which Bellevue Hospital eventually developed. Still later humanitarianism took nourishment from the sentimentalism and *sensibilité* that the literature of the century was to make fashionable (pages 530-531). The downtrodden serf, the illiterate poor, the virtuous servant girl, the tortured witness, the mistreated prisoner became the subject of novels, political tracts, and engravings.

In an age when middle-class ideas of philanthropy took the place of clerical charity and *noblesse oblige*, antiquated prisons, torture to elicit testimony, and ruthless law codes became especial objects of criticism. The Italian Marquis di Beccaria's *Treatise on Crime and Punishment* (1764) became famous all through Europe for its insistence upon making punishments fit the crime, its arguments against the capital penalty, and its plea for more humane treatment of prisoners. In England, John Howard conducted investigations of the jails that led in 1774 to Parliament's abolition of the

system by which jailers had had to depend upon prisoners' fees and to the establishment of regular salaries instead. Howard published various works on the shocking conditions in the prisons not only of England but of other countries as well. He helped to organize the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Misery of Public Prisons and the Howard League for Penal Reform, which still exists in London.

THE RESUMPTION OF THE WORLD CONFLICT

THE YEAR 1740 marked one of those fateful instances, with which the past of Europe is dotted, when chance determined that several significant figures should die at nearly the same time, thus bringing into the open complications and crises that might otherwise have been kept under cover. Between the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 and the year 1740 there had been several wars, but they had been relatively localized and costless. Now came a world-wide war, breaking up the stability created at Utrecht and leading to a new series of conflicts that was not to end until a new equilibrium was created by the Congress of Vienna in 1814-1815.

*The various rivalries
in the diplomatic alignment*

THE CHIEF antagonists in the new war were: (1) Prussia and Austria, which fought what appeared

to be merely a contest for territory but were in fact engaged in a struggle that in a little more than a century was to end in Prussia's control of Germany; (2) France and Austria, which, apparently fighting merely over the lands that lay between them in Belgium and the Rhine Valley, were actually engaged in a test of their relative strength in Europe; (3) England and France, which fought for predominance in territory and commerce on the high seas, where the outcome of their race for overseas supremacy would be determined; and (4) Russia and Prussia, which had become the chief competitors for control in the Baltic area. Sweden, fearful of the growing strength of both Prussia and Russia, felt obliged to follow the leadership of France. So did Spain, whose family compact with France became more binding as time went on, and Turkey, which shared with France an ancient enmity to Austria. France's international prestige was thus fortified by a string of alliances. Her favorable diplomatic position was only slightly offset by England's domination of the unstable aristocratic republic that had prevailed in Holland since William III's death and by the temporary ascendancy of Austria in Poland.

On the other hand, Austria's position was weak. The friendliness of Austria and Russia was unstable, for, though they had common potential enemies

in Prussia and Turkey, they were also rivals for advantage in Poland and the Near East. Nor could the loyalty of England to Austria be counted upon to be much more steadfast, for, though both countries wished to keep France in check, especially in the Netherlands, they had very little else of common interest between them. Whereas England's major attention was pointed overseas, Austria's was fixed on Germany and the Balkans. The decisions of Austria's potential allies (i.e., England and Russia), therefore, could not be as readily anticipated as those of her inveterate enemies.

*Austria's isolation
on the death of Charles VI*

CHARLES VI fully recognized Austria's weak position. For years he had centered his foreign policy

around the Pragmatic Sanction, hoping to bequeath all his hereditary property to his daughter Maria Theresa. Such a formal understanding was a wise precaution in a time when the succession of a doubtful heir might lead to intrigues, treaties of partition, and wars among rival dynasties. Nevertheless, although nearly every interested ruler in Europe had solemnly endorsed the Pragmatic Sanction, Charles' foresight proved futile. In 1740, three of the great powers of Europe acquired new rulers. The once browbeaten, flute-playing, poetry-writing, French-speaking, anti-Machiavellian crown prince of Prussia succeeded his gruff and unpolished father in May as Frederick II, and immediately showed that despite his love of music and literature he was hard of both heart and head. The rulers of Austria and Russia died within the same month (October), giving place to a woman (Maria Theresa) and a child (Ivan VI, infant grandnephew of Anna) respectively.

The fates, it seemed, could hardly have been kinder to Frederick. The two countries that stood most in Prussia's way—Austria in the Holy Roman Empire and Russia in the Baltic area—were immediately weakened by disputes of succession. Charles Albert, the elector of Bavaria, despite the Pragmatic Sanction, sought the imperial throne, to which Charles VI had hoped to secure uncontested succession for Maria Theresa's husband, Francis; and others laid claim to parts of the Habsburg estate. France openly supported the elector. Russia, which might have gone to Austria's help, was itself involved in a court intrigue that was to go on for about a year and was to end only when Elizabeth, the attractive, indolent, but capable daughter of Peter the Great, took the throne by military force.

*England and Spain
in the War of Jenkins' Ear*

ENGLAND had also accepted the Pragmatic Sanction, and Maria Theresa might have looked to it

for help against her French-supported rival. England, however, was engaged in a maritime struggle with Spain that seemed bound to divert her attention from continental affairs. The British minister at the time was Robert Walpole

—the first “prime minister” properly so called, since he controlled both Parliament and the cabinet and was permitted by the king (now George II) to determine policy. Walpole had consistently followed a program of domestic manipulation and international appeasement. But in 1739 he had reluctantly yielded to a popular outcry for war against Spain. The Spanish coast guard had been vigorously regulating the *Asiento* and other provisions for English trade with the Spanish colonies—so vigorously, in fact, that, according to Captain Robert Jenkins, it had cost him his ear when the Spanish guards had boarded his vessel. “The War of Jenkins’ Ear,” as it was called, was now going on between England and Spain, and Walpole could be counted on to avoid continental imbroglios.

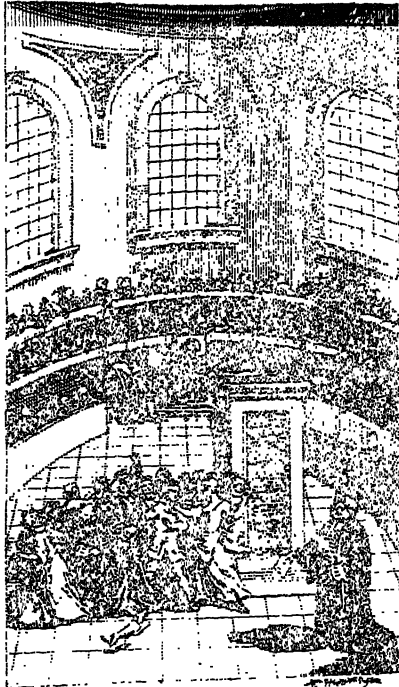
*The War
of the Austrian Succession*

FREDERICK easily perceived his extraordinary good fortune: Austria weak, her friends preoccu-

piated, and France and Bavaria favorably inclined to him. Claiming not to be bound by his father’s endorsement of the Pragmatic Sanction, Frederick dug up a title to a choice province of the Habsburgs—Silesia, whose possession would add a large, fertile, German-speaking area to the growing Hohenzollern state. While the other opponents of Maria Theresa hesitated to unleash a general European war, Frederick invaded and captured Silesia. It soon became apparent not only that he had inherited from his frugal father a magnificent army but that he himself also had an unusual gift for military strategy. Impressed by Frederick’s success, the enemies of the Habsburgs hastened to join with him. A coalition of France, Spain, Bavaria, and (at first) Saxony soon drew up plans with Prussia for the division of Austria’s territory among them.

At this point Austria experienced a turn in her fortunes. Walpole was forced to give place as the leading minister of England to the belligerent John Carteret, who not only wished to prosecute the war against Spain more vigorously but was anxious to diminish the prestige of France. Carteret immediately put England into the European conflict. With England, George II’s continental possession, Hanover, and his ally, Holland, entered the struggle on the side of Maria Theresa. So did the king of Sardinia. Thus by 1742, three separate European conflicts—the Spanish-English, the Austro-Prussian, and the Franco-Austrian—had become one: the War of the Austrian Succession.

While the continental powers battled over purely European issues, England engaged the colonial powers, France and Spain, at critical points all over the world. Protagonists in each area are indicated by flags. The “Diplomatic Revolution” in Europe may be seen by comparison of the alliance patterns shown in the two inset maps. (Lack of space does not permit the designation of the smaller principalities within the Holy Roman Empire that sided with Prussia.)



This Hogarth engraving shows the trial of Baron Lovat, a Scottish adventurer who supported the Stuart pretenders and was beheaded as a traitor.

The war was fought on several continents. In America, the French and the English clashed (page 454) for control of the St. Lawrence basin. British successes there were offset by French successes in India. By means of diplomatic maneuvering in Sweden and Denmark, France kept Russia so preoccupied that only at the end of the Austrian War did Czarina Elizabeth take a part—and then only by a show of force, for the peace negotiations were by that time well under way. Meanwhile, Frederick had twice withdrawn from the fighting, signing separate peace treaties by which Austria twice yielded Silesia to

him; England had had to endure an invasion by the Stuart pretender's son, "Bonnie Prince Charlie"; the uninterrupted line of Habsburg emperors had been temporarily broken when Charles Albert of Bavaria was made Emperor Charles VII (1742) and ruled as such until his death in 1745; and between defeat and taxes, the popularity of Louis XV had disappeared.

Warfare in the eighteenth century

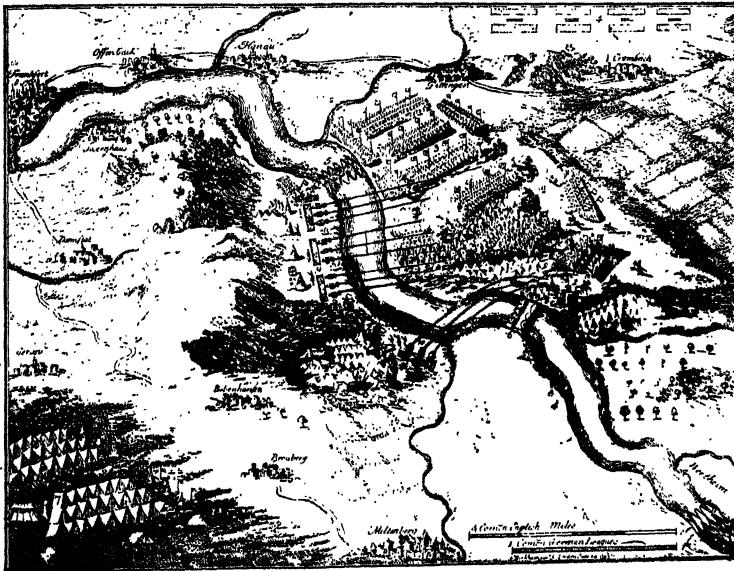
THE WAR involved several areas of campaigning in Europe, including Silesia, Saxony, Bohemia, Bavaria, Italy, Belgium, the Rhine states, England, and Holland. How far warfare had changed from the ruthless and unrestricted carnage of the Thirty Years' War is illustrated by what happened at the Battle of Fontenoy (1745). Though the fate of the Netherlands hung in the balance, with English, Hanoverians, Dutch, and Austrians on the one side and French on the other (each about fifty thousand strong), at one point in the battle English and French guards conducted themselves as if on parade, marching with flags flying and drums beating until they were face to face. Then they cheered each other before opening fire. Legend even has it that their officers disputed who should fire first, each insisting upon that advantage for his

opponents. At any rate the English fired first but lost the battle and retreated. There were over seven thousand casualties on each side. Armies were large and the percentage of casualties fearful, but warfare had become a professional soldier's business that was conducted according to rule and seldom involved noncombatants directly, as it had in the seventeenth century.

*Terms and implications
of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*

DESPITE the rehabilitation of the French military reputation at Fontenoy, the French had en-

dured defeats (as well as costly victories) and, deserted by Frederick, had proved unable to cope successfully with the Austrians in Germany. By 1748 all sides were ready to make a peace. At Aix-la-Chapelle they accepted the status quo ante (the conditions prevailing before the war), except that Frederick was reluctantly permitted by Maria Theresa to keep Silesia. Eight years of war had brought very little change. Since the war had in fact been fought to determine whether Austria would be partitioned, the status quo ante was a victory for Maria Theresa. But also it had shown that a calculating and able statesman presided over the councils of Prussia and threatened Austrian hegemony in Germany.



Combined Austrian, English, Hanoverian, and Hessian troops (shown here north of the Main River) defeated the French (south of the river) in 1743 at the Battle of Dettingen near Frankfurt. This was the last time a British king (George II, in this instance) led his army in person.



The rulers of Sardinia, Austria, England, France, Spain, and Holland are caricatured here making peace at Aix-la-Chapelle (German, Aachen) in 1748. Actually they were not present in person.

THE BEGINNING

OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

THE YEAR that saw the end of the War of the Austrian Succession also marked a high point in the intellectual development known as "the Enlightenment." The champions of the Enlightenment were the *philosophes*. The *philosophes* thought of themselves as philosophers; and in that they strove to understand the world and man, and to build up systematic explanations of them, they *were* philosophers. But they were distinguished from the type of writer usually designated under that name by their marked interest in social and political reform and their efforts to reach a wide audience. They not only used the vernacular consistently but they used it limpidly. They wrote not only philosophical tracts, but political pamphlets, plays, operas, poems, critiques of literature and art, satires, *nouvelles à la main*, histories, novels, short stories, scientific treatises, and voluminous letters. The *philosophes* seldom were profound or original, though they borrowed wisely and argued well. They stand forth as political publicists and journalists more conspicuously than as dialecticians and metaphysicians.

*Montesquieu's place
in the philosophic movement*

MONTESQUIEU'S *Persian Letters*
(page 492) is sometimes called
the first book in the *philosophie*

movement, though the writings of earlier social and political reformers like Bayle, Fénelon, and St. Pierre are **certainly** to be considered forerunners if not directly part of the *philosophie* movement. Selling his post as president

of the Bordeaux parlement, Montesquieu thereafter devoted himself to political speculation. His *Considerations on the Causes of the Grandeur and Decadence of the Romans* (1734) was sober and scholarly history that foreshadowed the theory of historical causation more fully set forth in his masterpiece, *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), which we shall shortly discuss.

Montesquieu,
Voltaire, and English ideas

IN THE year that the War of the Austrian Succession ended *The Spirit of the Laws* was published.

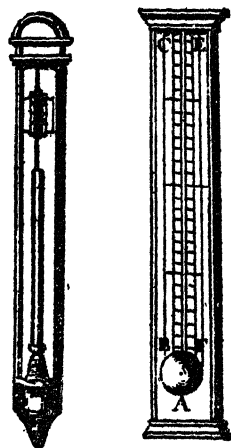
By that time, Montesquieu was under the influence of three separate intellectual currents—(1) sensationalism, or the theory that knowledge is derived exclusively from sensations produced by the reaction of the five senses to the physical environment; (2) its corollary, naturalism, or the belief that human nature and human problems are to be explained in naturalistic and scientific rather than providential or revelationist terms; and (3) libertarianism, or the belief that within the bounds prescribed by law man should be allowed to be free. Montesquieu's indebtedness to England, which he had visited briefly and had studied at length, was obvious. Sensationalism was largely derived from Locke, naturalism largely from the Deists and Newton, and libertarianism also largely from Locke, and from the English constitution.

English ideas had been widely imported into France, despite the strict censorship, by the circulation of clandestine manuscripts, subterfuges by daring printers and booksellers, conversations in fashionable salons, cafés, and clubs, exchange of travelers and tourists, etc. Ideas, it was proved once more, could fairly easily be checked, but they were hard to kill. This truism was illustrated by a still young poet-dramatist (about forty years of age), destined to be the leading *philosophe* of the day—François Marie Arouet, better known as "Voltaire." He described his observations in England in a work entitled *Philosophical Letters on the English* (1734). The book was condemned to be burned, and its author avoided arrest only by fleeing the country. Nevertheless, the work was widely read. It revealed Voltaire's great admiration for Locke, Newton, and English religious and political freedom. Thereafter Voltaire wrote a number of other works publicizing Locke's sensationalism, Newtonian science, and English liberal ideas.

Further development
of sensationalism by philosophes

THE SENSATIONALIST psychology appealed to the *philosophes* because they were opposed to formal religion and the dualism (i.e., the belief in the possible independence of mind and body) that logically resulted from an assumption of innate ideas.

A contemporary psychologist, Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, in his *Essay on the Origins of Human Knowledge* (1746), carried forward the war against innate ideas; and in his *Treatise on Sensations* (1754) he argued ingeniously that if a statue were endowed with each of the five senses in



These diagrams of a barometer and a thermometer appeared with plans for their construction in Christian von Wolff's Cours de mathématique (page 531).

turn it would develop a mind. Meanwhile (1748) Julian Offray de La Mettrie had published *Man the Machine*, setting forth a thoroughgoing mechanistic interpretation of human psychology. Other French writers—Denis Diderot, Claude Adrien Helvetius, Baron von Holbach—took up the theme. By the middle of the century it was fully accepted by one school of the French *philosophes* that man's mind was only a result of the impact of the outside world upon his senses—although by that time David Hume, a Scottish skeptic, had raised the question in his *Treatise on Human Nature* (1739) whether from sensations alone it is possible to derive thought or consciousness.

*Naturalism
stimulated by scientific advance*

THE *PHILOSOPHES* lived likewise in the midst of a great wave of scientific interest, of which Con-

dillac's and La Mettrie's mechanistic psychology was a reflection. Newtonianism, rendered popular by many editions and vulgarizations, had spread abroad a belief that the world was subject to general and regular laws ascertainable by the human mind. The Deists, by exiling God to a transcendental heaven, had made it possible to believe that, if God existed at all and was not an anthropomorphic invention, He intended that the world should run itself much as a clockmaker expected his clock to do.

New scientific activities fortified the belief that scientific detachment could help to answer the problems of man. Scientific societies, public and private, multiplied to emulate the academies of England, France, and Austria. Peter the Great founded an Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg (1724); Sweden in 1739 and Denmark in 1743 followed suit; and in 1744 Frederick II reorganized the old Berlin Society of Sciences into the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres. They all set to work to find out how the clock worked, without much attention to the nature of the clockmaker.

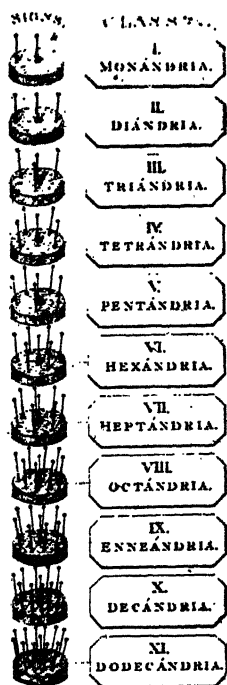
*Systematization
of the natural sciences*

THE NATURAL sciences flourished under such benevolent auspices.

A long series of experiments in chemistry from those of Boyle to those of Georg Ernst Stahl of the University of Halle led to the propounding of Stahl's so-called "phlogiston theory"

This chart illustrates Linnaeus' method of classifying plants according to the number of stamens.

to explain combustion. This theory held that burning releases an otherwise undetectable material known as "phlogiston." Though later disproved, it was an important phase in the study of the phenomenon of combustion. Hermann Boerhaave, professor at the University of Leyden, whose lectures Peter the Great had attended, in 1732 published a revised and complete edition of his earlier *Elements of Chemistry*. The new work not only attempted to apply Newtonian principles to chemistry but laid the foundations of the science of biochemistry. Successive improvements in the thermometer by Fahrenheit (1714), Reaumur (1731), and Celsius (1742) led to a mercury thermometer graduated on a centigrade scale, permitting the accurate measurement of temperature. The Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus systematized the classification of flora in his *Genera of Plants* (1737) and his *Species of Plants* (1753). Buffon, director of the Jardin des Plantes in Paris, began in 1749 the first of a series of studies that was eventually (1804) to reach forty-four quarto volumes and, under the title of *The Natural History, General and Particular*, to become a brilliant though uneven encyclopedia of the natural sciences.



Montesquieu's idea of a scientific politics

TO THE vogue of scientism that these new sciences reflected, Montesquieu thought he might add a science of politics. He worked upon a major hypothesis—to wit, that if the true principles of politics could be understood, they would reveal how best to preserve liberty in a country like France. Montesquieu's ideas of liberty arose not alone from his interest in English history and institutions. They were derived as well from his examination of Biblical and classical writings, the knowledge of the new world, both east and west, and his long study of French law and history. As a jurist and a historian he had been much concerned with the spectacle of growing absolutism in France and feared the eventual disappearance of liberty even for people of his own class—the aristocracy. His political philosophy, as expounded in *The Spirit of the Laws*, was based largely upon that fear.

In line with a number of earlier writers, Montesquieu held that every nation had a fundamental law. That law was based upon the character of

its people, which was in turn derived from its natural environment and its characteristic institutions—i.e., from its geography and history. The man-made laws of a country, he argued, ought to be calculated to reinforce the people's natural character. In despotisms, which Montesquieu considered the results of extremes in such natural conditions as size and climate, the fundamental characteristic of the subjects was fear; in monarchies, which were to be found chiefly in temperate climates, honor (in the sense of "distinction"); in aristocratic republics, moderation; and in democracies, which could exist only in small countries, virtue (which he defined as "love of country and of equality"). A country like France—big but not too big, and blessed with a temperate climate—ought to be a monarchy, he argued. It could avoid despotism, however, only by a body strong and distinguished (i.e., "honored") enough to act as an intermediary between king and people. Thus, he contended that a monarchy, to survive, needed a strong nobility to act as a "repository of the laws." Hence his dictum "No monarchy, no nobility; no nobility, no monarchy." To bolster this argument he appealed not only to the course of French history (to which he devoted most of his attention) but also to the example of England. Analyzing a somewhat idealized English constitution, he declared that its guarantee of liberty rested on the fact that the people through their control of the juries in the courts, the nobility through their control of the Lords in the legislature, and the king—the executive—through his control of police and military force, checked and counterbalanced one another.

*The idea of "checks
and balances" in government*

MONTESQUIEU was not the first to expound this theory of "mixed government" by which the classes

cooperate with but restrain each other through a system of checks and balances in the interests of liberty. Classical and Renaissance writers like Machiavelli had perceived it, and Locke and Bolingbroke, among others, had already discovered it in the English political system. But the emphasis in Montesquieu's thought was on the tripartite division of government into judicial, legislative, and executive branches. The tripartite division of government in the English system became a conscious model of European libertarians largely through Montesquieu's exposition of it in *The Spirit of the Laws*, which soon won its place as the classic justification of the rights of the nobility, at bay between the full-grown absolutism of the king and the rising power of the bourgeoisie.

The first stage of the *philosophe* movement was largely embodied in Montesquieu's writings, and was therefore largely aristocratic in intention and appeal. Although it was also anti-absolutist, it was not far removed from Bodin and the Huguenot monarchists of the sixteenth century. Middle-class and democratic developments were still to come.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

AND THE PARTITION OF POLAND

IN PART, the popular response to the *philosophe* movement was a result of Louis xv's loss of popularity at home and prestige abroad. That loss came chiefly from his resounding military and diplomatic defeat in the Seven Years' War, which was a continuation, after an eight years' truce, of the War of the Austrian Succession.

*The resumption
of international quarrels*

THE TREATY OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE had in fact settled nothing. Obliging England to return to France

her conquests in America, and France to return to England her conquests in India, it had left undecided the recurrent struggle for naval and colonial supremacy. And while it had apparently recognized Prussia's predominance in north Germany by yielding Silesia to Frederick, his title to that area was insecure, since Maria Theresa planned to get it back as soon as she could. The interval of ostensible peace between 1748 and 1756 was, therefore, filled with preparations for war. In America the French and the English maneuvered for advantages. Likewise in India the formal end of the War of the Austrian Succession had brought no cessation of the struggle for empire. On the high seas the English, without a declaration of war, captured hundreds of merchant vessels, and the French retaliated as best they could. The Seven Years' War thus became the first to begin in the overseas areas and then to spread to the mother countries in Europe.

*The formation
of new diplomatic alignments*

IN EXPECTATION of the renewal of the world-wide conflict, the European countries had used the

interval between wars to build up alliances. The new chancellor of Maria Theresa was Prince von Kaunitz, who had been Austrian ambassador in Paris and representative at the negotiations of Aix-la-Chapelle. He had long been convinced that the natural enemy of Austria was not so much France as Prussia. Upon becoming chancellor and foreign minister in 1753, he endeavored to enlist Austria's traditional enemy, France, in an alliance against Prussia. Louis xv, however, long remained difficult to persuade.

Meanwhile, England's fear that she would become involved in an overseas war with France induced her to approach Austria and Russia for a renewal of their alliance. Her purpose was to secure a continental defender of Hanover against French attack. When Kaunitz hesitated, still hoping for a French understanding, and when Elizabeth of Russia made only partly satisfactory promises, George II's ministers approached Frederick himself, and Frederick, by the Convention of Westminster (January 1756), agreed

to defend Hanover if the French attacked it. Thus Frederick assumed the guise of the defender of Germany against the non-German allies of the Habsburgs and, at the same time, secured a powerful and rich ally in England to offset the expected enmity of France and Russia.

The news of the Convention of Westminster persuaded Louis xv to take action, and the Treaty of Versailles (May 1756) followed. By its terms France and Austria, whose inveterate hostility over a period of centuries had been the constant core around which European diplomacy had centered, now became allies. Kaunitz thus achieved his "Diplomatic Revolution." Thereby France and Austria acknowledged that Prussia was their major concern, while England was left free to concentrate her attention upon India and America.

*The encirclement of Frederick
and the Russian victory in 1760*

BELIEVING in the strategic advantage of the surprise offensive, Frederick II began the war by an

attack upon Saxony (August 1756). Maria Theresa went to the defense of Saxony, and the Holy Roman Empire, of which Francis, Maria Theresa's husband, was the emperor, soon joined Austria. Much more serious from Frederick's point of view, Russia formed an alliance with Austria and France for the partition of Prussia. Attracted by the prospects of sharing in the spoils, Bavaria, the Palatinate, Württemberg, and Sweden joined the coalition. Prussia thus found herself almost completely surrounded by enemies and unaided except by the English and Hanoverians.

Although Frederick's ability as a strategist and the thorough organization of Prussia for war proved equal to the emergency for a while, he and the Anglo-Hanoverians were defeated in several engagements and forced to take the defensive. Hard pressed on all sides by powerful enemies, Frederick nevertheless had the advantages of "inner lines"—i.e., he could move his armies about within his own territories and, by covering short distances, could meet widely separated enemies. In that way he was able to defeat a French-Imperial army at Rossbach in November 1757 and the Austrians at Leuthen the next month. In both battles Frederick's force was greatly outnumbered—at Leuthen by about 82,000 to his 33,000.

Frederick thus saved Prussia temporarily and won a reputation for military genius, but the outlook continued dark. In England, George II, much against his own inclination, was forced by public clamor to give William Pitt, "the Great Commoner," the leading position in his cabinet. Pitt arranged for a more effective Hanoverian army and a large subsidy to Frederick, but he devoted his chief attention to maritime and colonial warfare. Thereby he created a resentment in Frederick that was not effaced even after the war ended. For Frederick, the years 1758-1760 were difficult ones indeed.

508 Despite several victorious battles, he lost Berlin to the Russians (1760).

*The diplomatic reversal
of Russia in Prussia's favor*

spent. But also, in 1762, after a long illness, Czarina Elizabeth died, giving place to Peter III, the son of the former Czarina Anna, and his German wife Catherine. Peter was as great an admirer of Frederick as Elizabeth had been an enemy. Furthermore, Catherine owed her brilliant marriage to Frederick's good offices. Moreover, an influential group of Russian statesmen had long doubted that the destruction of Prussia and the corresponding strengthening of Austria would be good for Russia. Consequently, Russia changed sides, now becoming Prussia's ally. A court intrigue similar to several earlier ones that since the time of Peter I had determined who should reign in Russia soon removed Peter and made Catherine sole ruler. Prussia, however, continued to have nothing to fear to the east.

*British victories
in America and India*

MEANWHILE, under Pitt's watchful strategy, the war in America and India had progressed favorably for England. The policy of Pitt to fight chiefly for empire overseas led to dazzling results. General James Wolfe, though he declared he would rather have written Thomas Gray's mournful and melodious *Elegy in a Country Churchyard* (1750), captured Quebec, with strategic results that have already

ACT 2^d. *The Twelfth Cake, a Farce of two Acts, as it was perform'd by the Potentates of Europe.*



*But not contented with their Shares
Each on his Neighbour's carcass leans
Confusion thro' the Band arose
Cursing Murmuring and Snares
Old Satan grinning views the Scene*

*That gives new Subjects to his Reign?
But Death who sweeps Youth and Age
Takes the Surviving off the Stage?
And the conquering Russian Lord
Gives rest to Prussia's Conquering Sword?*

This cartoon from England shows Satan watching the monarchs quarrel over the "cake" of Europe. The verses were written after "Death...took the czarina off the stage."



After the Treaty of Paris (1763) British territory on the North American continent extended from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic. The British also increased their West Indies possessions and gained a strategic foothold in west Africa. (British predominance in India was likewise conceded.)

been set forth (page 456). French attempts to invade England led only to the destruction of three French fleets, and postponed for two decades France's challenge of English supremacy on the seas. In India, Robert Clive and Colonel Eyre Coote won great victories, which determined that the English and not the French would dominate India (pages 773-774).

Negotiations for peace in 1760-1763

THE DEATH of George II and the accession of George III in 1760 seriously curtailed Pitt's program.

For George III not only did not favor the war but definitely wished to "be a king" and to determine his own policy. When it was learned that the French were ready to consider peace but were being offered only crushing terms by Pitt, public opinion veered to the king's side. France nevertheless might have yielded had not Charles III of Spain seen fit to join a new Family Compact (1761). This was in part the work of the Comte de Choiseul, one of the few able ministers Louis xv permitted to serve him. At this turn of events, Pitt was forced to resign and Lord Bute became the chief adviser of the king. After Pitt's resignation, England continued to make new conquests—now at the cost of Spain in Havana and Manila. Thereupon Spain refused to make peace until France assured Charles III compensation in Louisiana for his losses. Peace was not made until February 1763. England, France, and Spain signed a treaty at Paris, and a few days later Maria Theresa and Frederick signed another at Hubertusburg.

France and Austria defeated by England and Prussia

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR was probably the bloodiest, so far as the actual combatants were concerned,

that had yet been fought in Europe. It cost around 850,000 lives, not counting deaths from disease and other indirect causes. French armies had numbered as many as 100,000 in a single battle. Only the wars of the Spanish Succession and the Austrian Succession could vie with it in the size of armies and the number of casualties.

The war ended in complete defeat for France and Austria. France lost her empire on the North American continent and in India to England, which emerged as the chief colonial power of the world. Frederick at last obtained the definitive surrender of Silesia from Maria Theresa. Except for Spain, which yielded Florida to England and received Louisiana as compensation from France, the other European belligerents returned from the peace negotiations without territorial loss or gain. Prussia now stood forth as a world power destined to rival Austria for hegemony in the Germanies.

On both sides of the Channel the peace was unpopular. In England Bute was hissed because he had got too little; in France the phrase *bête comme la paix* (stupid as the peace) entered into current usage. Louis XV, whose recovery from an attack of smallpox during the War of the Austrian Succession had been the cause of popular thanksgiving and *Te Deums*, was now execrated for his sacrifice of French interests to Austrian and Spanish ambitions. Mounting taxes and the exorbitant cost of the war in blood and territorial cessions added to the dissatisfaction. Although his earlier mistresses had been tolerantly endured, now "La Pompadour," who was far more deserving than her predecessors, was hated because she mixed in politics and because it was believed that she influenced the king's decisions. Strife with his own law courts and the writings of the *philosophes* were rapidly increasing the speed with which Louis's popularity waned.

Poland and the

Russo-Turkish War (1768-1774)

ONE OF the outcomes of the Seven Years' War was the decision of Catherine II and Frederick II to

act together in international affairs. Their alliance soon revealed its general aims when Augustus III of Poland died and the whole Polish question was reopened. Frederick and Catherine candidly used their influence to place a Polish henchman, Stanislaus Poniatowski, discarded lover of Catherine, on the Polish throne (1764). A confederation of Catholic nobles, resentful of this foreign domination of their country, began to agitate for independence and constitutional reform. Thereupon Catherine intervened, claiming to be championing liberty and toleration.

The Polish Catholics now appealed to France. France did not care to intervene directly, but encouraged the Turks, ever fearful of Russian aggression, to make war on Russia. The Russians, however, were more successful against the Turks than had been foreseen, and their success led the Austrian government to worry about the outcome of the international tangle. It began to look as though Austria might have to take a hand to save both Poland and the Balkans from falling under Russia's control and thereby upsetting the balance of power in eastern Europe. A new general war might have resulted had not Frederick, Kaunitz, and Catherine come to an agreement:

Russia would be appeased and at the same time Prussia and Austria would be rewarded by each of the three powers taking a huge share of Poland.

*The beginning
of "the Polish Question"*

as a sovereign state, not to be restored until recent times. What was left of Poland after the first partition was a resentful but pitiable second-rate power. Prussia, both East and West, now became entirely a Hohenzollern possession, and Frederick II was truly able to call himself "king of Prussia," a title that his father had earlier begun to use. Unassimilable Polish minorities thenceforth became major problems for Prussia, Russia, and Austria, and "the restoration of Poland," feared by some and promoted by others, a major slogan in international politics.

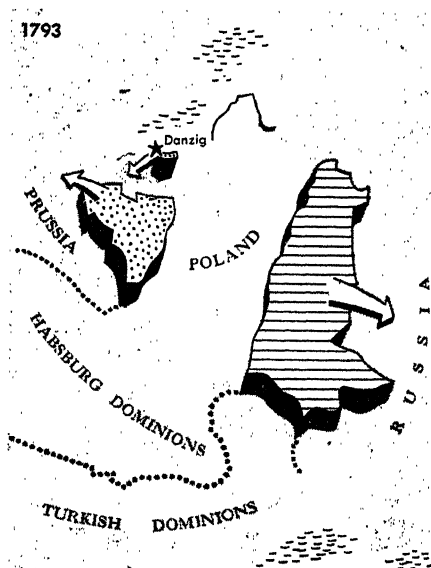
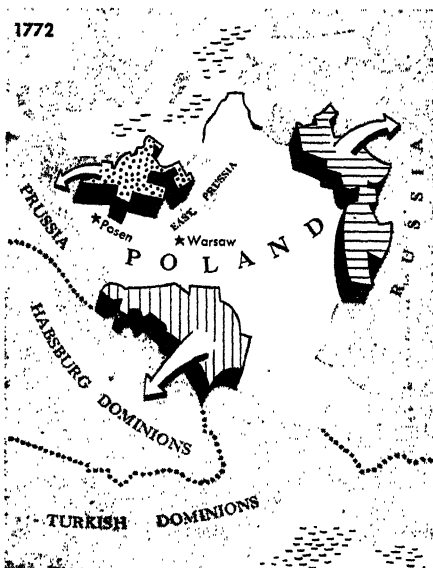
*The beginning
of "the Near Eastern Question"*

(1774). Russia received a firm footing on the Black Sea, including the port of Azov, moved her southwestern boundary to the Bug River, won the right to navigate Turkish waters, and received with regard to the Orthodox Church in Turkey certain privileges that Catherine's successors were to

THUS IN 1772 occurred the first of the three partitions of Poland by which Poland was to disappear

AFTER some further fighting and negotiations with Turkey, Russia made peace at Kuchuk Kainarji

POLAND PARTITIONED



interpret as the right to protect all Christians there. Thenceforth the advancing might of Russia on the Black Sea and the Balkans—"the Near Eastern Question"—was to share attention with the "Polish Question" as a major international problem.

THE SECOND PHASE OF THE *PHILOSOPHE* MOVEMENT

IN FRANCE the ineffective role that France had played in the partition of Poland added to the growing resentment against Louis xv. The once "well beloved" king had, since the War of the Austrian Succession, become much despised. His unpopularity brought to France a concomitant distrust of the institution of monarchy. Reflecting this trend of thought, a change of emphasis took place in the political ideals of the *philosophes*.

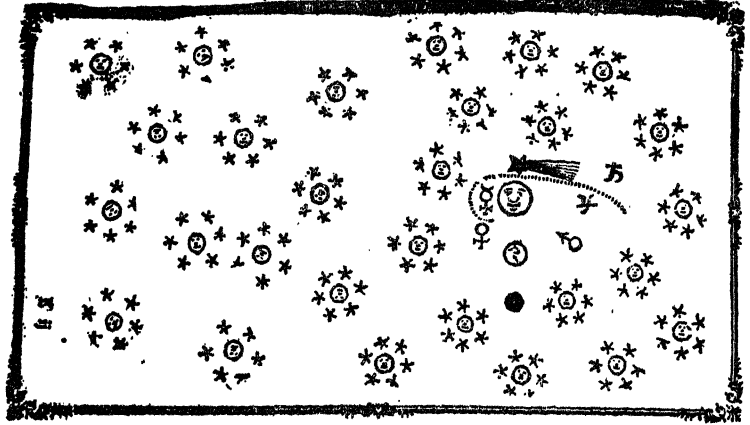
*The appearance of
a new generation of philosophes*

Voltaire, now no less famous as a historian and essayist than as a poet and dramatist, but Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Denis Diderot were not far behind. These men were all from the middle class and they deliberately

THE GREATEST figure among the *philosophes* after the death of Montesquieu (1755) was Voltaire, now no less famous as a historian and essayist than as a poet and dramatist, but Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Denis Diderot were not far behind. These men were all from the middle class and they deliberately appealed to a wider audience than Montesquieu had, writing a simpler prose (Voltaire perhaps wrote the best French prose ever written), deliberately avoiding learned language and philosophical terminology, and using the tract and the pamphlet to reach audiences that could afford neither the time nor the high prices that lengthy books required.



All three neighboring powers took slices of Poland in the first partition, Austria with somewhat more reluctance than the other two. In the second partition, with Austria's consent, only Russia and Prussia benefited directly (page 662). In the last partition, all three took shares again (page 673), and Poland ceased temporarily to be an independent nation.



Appearing in Voltaire's *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie par des amateurs* (1775), this diagram is an interesting representation of "our planet world...lost in the immensity of a space peopled with many other universes."

These *philosophes* were not republicans. It was regarded as an axiom, which all the history of republics up to their day confirmed, that a country as large as France could not be republican without fighting civil wars, splitting up into federal units, and becoming prey to its neighbors. But they were not content to find in the geographical environment and the historical tradition of France the lesson that Montesquieu had found there—that France must be an aristocratic monarchy. Rather they thought that the appropriate institutions for France or any other country must be sought in an examination of man's universal nature, needs, and rights, and in the application of the same rational principles to human problems everywhere.

Voltaire
as a critic of obscurantism

A TURNING POINT in the life of Voltaire came during a lengthy and unhappy visit with Frederick

of Prussia in the 1750's. In his history of *The Age of Louis XIV* Voltaire had been optimistic about that recent period, which he considered the greatest in history, because it alone had benefited from the new "natural philosophy." When, however, he came to write about his own generation in his *Age of Louis XV*, he was less optimistic. His *Essay on Manners*, together with his volumes on Louis XIV and Louis XV, constituted a sort of universal history including even the oriental world. They showed that he considered the historical process a continuous struggle of the forces of enlightenment against the forces of obscurantism. Although confident that enlightenment would ulti-

mately prevail, he was cynical about his own generation. He came to call the forces of obscurantism, which he identified largely but not exclusively with the Catholic Church, "*l'infâme*" (the infamous thing), and developed among the Voltaireans the slogan "*Ecrasez l'infâme*" (Crush the infamous thing). At great personal risk he defended several victims of intolerance.

The influence of Voltaire

and his *Dictionnaire philosophique*

THOUGH Voltaire had to live much of his life in exile and to deny many of his pamphlets, no voice

was more powerful than his. Few neophytes became successful writers without his approval, and when he quarreled with men of established reputation—as with Rousseau—the whole literary set of Voltaireans quarreled on his side. Even great monarchs like Catherine and Frederick were Voltaireans in their way. His plays and poems and novelettes were no less fashionable than his political tracts, and his *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), alphabetizing his thoughts on many subjects, made him easy to consult. The *Dictionnaire* made plain that despite many inconsistencies, Voltaire believed that man could easily be led astray by evil rulers and institutions and that a monarch who was both strong and enlightened was the best kind of ruler for people like the French, who were not fitted for democracy.

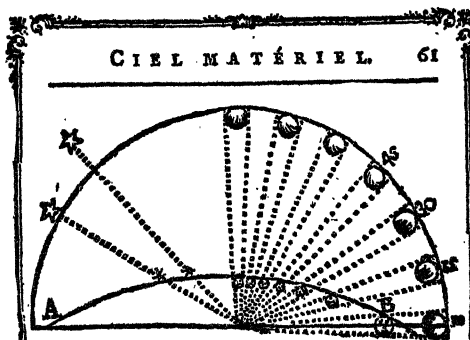
The physiocrats and

Quesnay's Tableau économique

IN ECONOMIC theory, Voltaire was generally sympathetic with that group of *philosophes* who

called themselves *physiocrats*. They were disciples of Dr. François Quesnay, whose *Tableau économique* (1758) taught that, land being the only true source of wealth, agriculture should be the chief source of revenue. In consequence of this principle, they advocated a change of the fiscal system of France so as to free commerce and industry from many of their burdens, such as the outworn guilds and provincial customs duties, and to simplify the multiple and confusing taxes by substituting for them a single tax upon land.

This diagram, showing the proportion in which the sun appears smaller at the zenith than at the horizon, also appeared in Voltaire's *Questions*.



*The suppression
of the Jesuit Order in 1773*

THE JESUITS waged a steady campaign of writings as well as of repression against the *philosophes*,

but they were doomed to defeat. Their defeat was the culmination of a process that began with their exclusion from Portugal in 1759. In France, anti-Jesuit feeling flourished on the still rife bitterness over the Jansenists. The Jansenists had suffered a severe blow when the papal bull *Unigenius*, definitely making them heretics, was registered as part of French law in 1730. Nevertheless, Jansenism continued to flourish among the wealthy middle class and found some protection in the parlements. Hence, a new bull was forthcoming in the 1750's, and when the parlement of Paris hesitated to register it, a quarrel ensued with Louis xv, resulting in exile and wholesale resignation of the parlementarians and an attempt on the life of the king. The Jesuits, of course, championed the papal bull, and the pro-Jansenist members of parlement sided against the Jesuits. Parlement won some public support, because it seemed to be championing the cause of toleration against the king and the church. The *philosophes* joined in the attack.

At first, the king and the Jesuits had their way. In 1761, however, a Jesuit father appeared before the court, accused of speculation in a bankruptcy case. That gave parlement a pretext for a searching investigation of the whole Society of Jesus. Claiming that the Jesuits were a hierarchy of agents loyal to a foreign monarch, parlement called for the dissolution of the order in France. It was not until 1764 that the king yielded and formally banished the Society. Spain, Naples, and Parma did likewise within a few years, and in 1773 Pope Clement xiv suppressed the order entirely. Ironically enough, since non-Catholic countries like Russia and Prussia paid no heed to the pope's expressed wishes, the Jesuits, though bound by a vow of special obedience to the pope, continued to survive there, and were finally to be restored in the Catholic world in 1814.

*Suppression
of the parlements by Louis xv*

LOUIS xv got his inning again in the struggle with the parlements when the parlement of Brittany

attempted to try one of his officials. In the resulting dispute, Louis abolished all the parlements entirely and for the rest of his reign ruled with a court of his own choosing. The parlements had long been the only body that had dared to claim, though with debatable success, the right to check the king's legislative and judicial authority. Louis's outright suppression of them seemed to mean a more complete victory for royal absolutism than any of his predecessors had been able to achieve.

The *philosophes* had been generally on the side of parlement; so had some sections of public opinion. When Louis xv died (1774), his successor 516 Louis xvi, anxious to play the role of enlightened monarch, quickly restored

the old parlements. But it was not long before he, too, was engaged in a quarrel with them because, more anxious to win power than to correct abuses, they tried to interfere with his program of tax and administrative reform.

Rousseau
and the problem of morality

IT MUST not be believed that the philosophes were a united group.

Rousseau eventually quarreled

bitterly with Voltaire. More explicitly than Voltaire this vagabond Swiss musician, who turned to philosophy only late in life, believed in the innate goodness of man. Voltaire generally avoided meeting squarely the problem of how, in a Lockean-Newtonian universe indifferent to moral values and containing both good and evil, man was able to distinguish between what was right and what was wrong. Voltaire seemed to take it for granted that somehow enlightened man could and would distinguish morality from immorality, and that no need for supernatural guidance existed. Rousseau, however, met the problem boldly by a frank dualism. In two early essays, *On the Arts and Sciences* and *On Inequality*, he contended that man had an inherent potentiality both for selfishness and for altruism but that civilization was likely to develop selfishness and stultify altruism. In later essays he suggested ways of overcoming the adverse effects of civilization while retaining its benefits. In *Emile* (1762) he tried to show that an education could be adapted step by step to the growing child's capacity to learn, avoiding the corrupting influence of civilization while providing a knowledge of the arts and sciences. In this scheme of education, God (but without a priesthood) played a prominent role.

Religion appeared as a tool of the state in Rousseau's political philosophy. In *The Social Contract* (also 1762) he built upon Hobbes' and Locke's ideas to present the notion that the true contract was one of the individual with society. Thus the people were sovereign and the government was merely their servant. Their general will was law and by their own decisions as to what that will was, they could retain their natural freedom and avoid the chains of oppression that Rousseau found everywhere. A "civic religion," he believed, was necessary for good citizenship in a well-ordered society.

Rousseau's romanticism
a reaction to the old skepticism

ROUSSEAU'S famous novel entitled
La nouvelle Héloïse, contemporaneously the most popular and

influential of his works, also upheld the validity of an innate sense of moral values. It was the story of a love triangle in which virtue triumphed over baser emotions. It was because Rousseau believed in innate emotions as a guiding influence, because he painted the natural environment with remarkable skill and delicacy, and, above all, because, repudiating the bleak sensationalism of other philosophes, he preached a personal God and a religious

conscience as a guide to moral behavior that *Émile* and *La nouvelle Héloïse* became cornerstones in the new Romantic Movement. This development (pages 850-852) was a reaction to the lack of emotionalism in the Age of Reason.

*The quarrel
between Rousseau and Voltaire*

THE FULL break between Voltaire and Rousseau came as a result of minor incidents. In 1755 a horri-

ble earthquake and flood destroyed a large part of Lisbon. Voltaire wrote a bitter ode, *The Lisbon Disaster*, raising doubts about the kindness of a Providence that permitted such things to happen. Rousseau protested this outburst of skepticism; and he later indirectly rebuked Voltaire again in attacking the morality of the contemporary theater. Voltaire's rejoinder was his *Candide*, a burlesque of the Optimist school of Leibnitz, with which Rousseau had much in common. Despite a succession of hardships that ought to have shaken his faith, *Candide* continued to believe that "all is for the best in the best of all possible worlds" until he finally decided that perhaps it would be better merely to settle down and "cultivate his own garden."

The two writers were, in fact, not widely apart in their views of religion and morality, but the small difference between them was vital. Voltaire, too, believed in a moral code—he summed it up in an aphorism that is not very different from the Golden Rule—and Rousseau did not believe in an organized church, for which he was persecuted in both Catholic and Protestant countries. But Rousseau's unabashed consciousness of a personal God (to say nothing of his paranoid personality) effected a breach between the two men.

*The Encyclopédie
written by the philosophes*

BEFORE his split with the Voltair-
eans, Rousseau (as well as Vol-
taire and other *philosophes*) wrote

articles for Diderot's *Encyclopédie*. The *Encyclopédie* was an ambitious project to codify all knowledge and, in so doing, to propagate the political faith of the *philosophes*. So many of the *philosophes* contributed to it that the term *Encyclopedists*, as they came to be called, became synonymous with *philosophes*. Diderot wrote many of the articles himself—especially the ones on technology. The mathematician D'Alembert contributed a famous introduction committing the writers to a Lockean psychology and an empirical philosophy of knowledge. Diderot had to use many tricks to avoid complications with the censors. The publication was nevertheless suppressed twice. Finally in 1765 the last of twenty-one volumes of text appeared, to be followed by several volumes of plates and indexes. It was not until 1780, twenty-nine years after the first volume, that the thirty-fifth and last appeared. Meanwhile, across the Channel, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* had been begun with three modest volumes in 1768-1771.

Diderot's *Encyclopédie* went through seven editions and reached thou-
sands of subscribers—rich subscribers, because the price was high. It differed

from the *Britannica* in that it was a sort of literary summary of the *philosophe* movement. It did not preach equality; it did preach the "natural rights" of life, liberty, and property, and the social contract binding rulers as well as the ruled. But it also preached the need for law and order in the well-constituted state. The Encyclopedists were reformers but they were reformers living in a monarchy and having a middle-class point of view (even when they were clergymen or nobles). Reason seemed to them to dictate a strong though restricted and enlightened monarchy in which all the propertied and not the hereditary aristocracy alone would control political power.

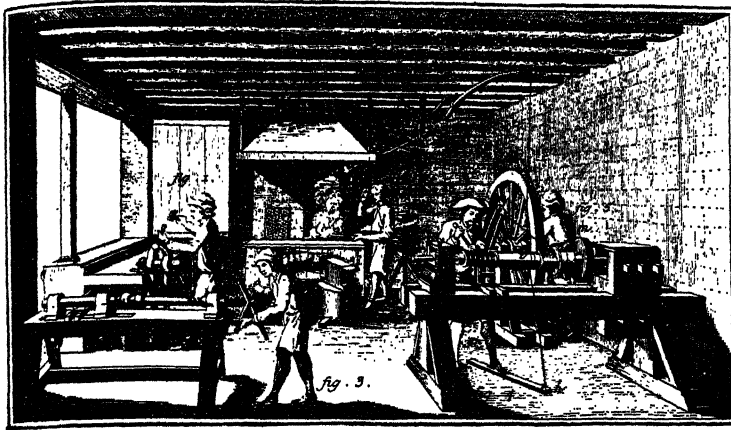
Social reform

advocated by the philosophes

THE *PHILOSOPHES'* program of natural rights was two-edged.

They meant not only to alleviate

the abuses of feudalism but also to destroy the privileges of the aristocracy. By speeding up the abolition of serfdom, excessive taxation, feudal payments, *corvées* (or enforced labor), aristocratic hunting rights, etc., they hoped to create a more equitable socio-economic system, but, in so doing, they would also be diminishing the influence of the nobility. By breaking the near-monopoly of the nobles upon the higher offices in the church, the army, and the royal service and by eliminating aristocratic exemptions and preferences in taxation, the *philosophes* hoped to improve those institutions, but, in so doing, they would also be increasing the middle-class influence in them. A more direct appeal for democratic reform inside of France had to await a third generation of *philosophes*.



This plate showing the inside of a machine shop was taken from Diderot's *Encyclopédie*, where many types of industry were carefully described and illustrated.

ART, SCIENCE, AND INVENTION

DURING THE ENLIGHTENMENT

IN ART, too, the middle of the eighteenth century was dominated by the aristocracy. The similarities among the paintings of the period are sometimes striking, but they are in part explained also by the still-prevailing influence of the Italian school. Young artists, as Joshua Reynolds, for example, still went to Italy to study, and outstanding Italian artists were in demand throughout Europe.

*The influence
of "high society" upon painting*

GIOVANNI BATTISTA TIEPOLO was probably the greatest representative of the Italian school in the

eighteenth century. After a brilliant career in Venice he went to Würzburg to decorate the archbishop's palace and to Madrid to do some frescoes in the royal palace. Tiepolo's subjects, because his temperament and his patrons urged him in that direction, were either religious or mythological and historical, with the luminous colors and delicate fantasy characteristic of the Venetian school. Although he painted in the tradition of the earlier Venetian



520 In this etching of a captive woman, Tiepolo achieved something of the striking dramatic effect that characterized much of his work.

school, influenced especially by Veronese, his work is distinguished from that of the earlier masters by greater emphasis on the baroque quest for dramatic effect.

In France Watteau found a disciple in François Boucher. Boucher became royal painter and director of the Gobelins tapestry factory through Mme de Pompadour's patronage. Like Watteau, he sometimes painted landscapes in which mythology and the *haute monde* got mixed up together in pretty pastoral settings. More often, he painted large-scale mythological and allegorical subjects. The influence of "high society" was also exerted on English art. Reynolds, probably Britain's greatest portrait painter, executed somewhere between two and three thousand portraits, practically all of them of rich or distinguished personages or their children, and often with great attention to the ornateness and expensiveness of their clothes and surroundings. The same was true of Thomas Gainsborough, who, while he rivaled Reynolds as a portrait painter, also distinguished himself as a landscapist.

*Classicism
in eighteenth-century art*

ITALIAN influence received an accidental fillip when the sites of ancient Herculaneum (1719) and

Pompeii (1748) were discovered. They revealed in almost living detail the life, manners, and art of the Romans seventeen centuries earlier, just as they had been when overwhelmed by the ashes and lava of a Mount Vesuvius eruption: A German historian, Johann Joachim Winckelmann, was intrigued by these discoveries and eventually published a *History of Art in Antiquity* (1764), which not only tended to direct attention once more to Greek models but also was the cornerstone in the development of *Kulturgeschichte* (the history of cultural achievement). The classical tendency was reinforced by the work of Giambattista Piranesi, whose engravings of Roman buildings and monuments attained an impressive popularity. It was reflected in Soufflot's Church of St. Geneviève (now the Pantheon) in Paris (1764) and in Coutant d'Ivry's plans for the Church of La Madeleine (completed 1842) to close one vista from the great Square of Louis xv (now the Place de la Concorde).

*The oriental
and the classical in ceramics*

THE RAPID development of ceramics in eighteenth-century Europe linked the oriental influence with the classical. In France, under the patronage of Louis xiv, a glossy, yellowish porcelain was developed at St. Cloud. In Germany, the chemist Johann Friedrich Böttger was able to perfect white porcelain, using native hard clay, and to develop glazes of several colors. Augustus the Strong, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, was Böttger's patron, and kept him and his assistants virtual prisoners—so jealous was he of their trade secrets. Nevertheless, from their workshop at Meissen the fame of their so-called "Dresden china" went forth and their methods were imitated. Workmen,

escaping from Meissen, set up shop in Vienna, St. Petersburg, Berlin, and elsewhere.

French ceramics meanwhile were improved in their independent development. Under Louis xv's patronage, they were centered at Sèvres, which ultimately became the most important porcelain factory in Europe, and still, as the national pottery works, retains its reputation. After 1770, it produced its famous vases and figurines in hard clay. From France the ceramic arts spread to Denmark, where the Royal Porcelain Works have ever since produced especially fine blue Copenhagen ware and the brilliant Danish faïence.

Josiah Wedgwood, the foremost English potter of the day, transformed the potter from an artisan into an artist and pottery-making from a craft into an industry. Some of his stoneware reflected the classical and the oriental influence at the same time. The two influences are notable in his jasperware vases and the "Wedgwood pattern" common in chinaware today. The straight lines and flute borders of Wedgwood chinaware still are reminiscent of Greek pottery, while the blue Chinese garden scenes of Thomas Minton's patterns—the famous "willow pattern" ware—recall the debt of the West to the East.

*The classical influence
and Georgian architecture*

THE CLASSICAL influence was especially marked in architecture.

In the United Kingdom Robert Adam designed many notable groups of buildings including the University of Edinburgh, using what has since come to be called the *Adam style*. He em-



522 Taken from the *Encyclopédie*, this plate shows the Sèvres Pottery Works. Men can be seen modeling the clay, decorating the pieces, and tending the low-temperature kiln.



A' choral prelude by Bach. It was a common practice for the organ master of a church to set the morning's hymn, or some part of it, as a choral prelude to play at the beginning of the service. Church organists very rarely do this work now.

ployed classical columns and classical motifs for interiors as well as exteriors. Adam was the architect of King George III, and his tastes intensified the trend toward classicism in public buildings in England and America (the *Georgian style*) that characterized the reigns of the first four Georges. Under Adam's influence, cabinetmakers like Thomas Chippendale, George Hepplewhite, and Thomas Sheraton did for furniture what Wedgwood did for pottery, lifting it to the level of artistry. These designers of furniture succeeded in conveying to chairs, tables, and cupboards some of the features of the Georgian style (such as simplicity of line and classical decorative motifs) but often departed from it—Chippendale especially—to add elements borrowed from the Chinese, the Gothic, and the rococo.

*A great age
of music dominated by Bach*

THIS PERIOD was especially brilliant in music. It was the age of Johann Sebastian Bach, George

Fredrick Handel, Christoph Willibald von Gluck, Niccolò Piccinni, and Jean Philippe Rameau—not to mention Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Franz Joseph Haydn, whose best works were still to come. The greatest composer

of these was Bach, descendant and ancestor in a long line of musicians and composers. To Bach, said the composer Schumann in the nineteenth century, "music owes almost as great a debt as a religion owes to its founder." He wrote numerous preludes and fugues for the organ, besides the forty-eight compositions in his *Well-Tempered Clavier*, much chamber music, several passions and masses (among which the *Passion according to St. Matthew*, the *Passion according to St. John*, and the *Mass in B Minor* are the most famous) and several hundred cantatas. His music combined loftiness and tenderness with unexcelled contrapuntal skill. As the organist and choir-master for German princes and churches, he wrote music chiefly of a religious and ceremonial nature. Yet, while deeply steeped in the tradition of Lutheran church music, he willingly adapted the Italian concerto and the French suite, not without vast improvement upon his models. Frederick the Great invited him to Potsdam toward the end of his life, and his *Musical Offering*, on a theme suggested by Frederick, was dedicated to the king.

Opera

dominated by Handel and Gluck

THE WORK of Handel, Gluck, and Piccinni centered around the opera. Handel, German-born,

Italian-inspired, and English-patronized composer, when he was well and his theatrical business prospered, wrote operas that he himself produced, resorting to sacred music usually when his health or his business was bad. He wrote forty operas and twenty-five oratorios. His greatest oratorio, *The Messiah* (1742), blended his operatic and religious tastes.

Gluck, building upon the work of Monteverdi and Lully, was one of the first composers to attempt to dramatize his music to fit the action of the libretto. This development was a musical revolution, for operatic music before that time had been quite independent of the text. Gluck's *Orfeo* (1762), *Alceste* (1767), and *Iphigenia in Aulis* (1774) were not well received in Germany. In France, they had a greater success, but chiefly because Marie Antoinette, being an Austrian (Gluck was her mother's court chapel master) publicly gave him support. When Piccinni, whose more conventional and popular *La Cecchina* (1760) had been a European success, was invited to Paris, Gluck was there at the same time and Piccinni was immediately built up into a rival of Gluck. The theme of Piccinni's opera *Roland* (1777) was deliberately chosen to appeal to a French audience and to compete with Gluck's *Armide* (1777), and both men were induced to compose an *Iphigenia among the Taurians* in competition with each other. Society became divided between Gluckists and Piccinnists, but the queen's prestige and Rousseau's preference for Gluck helped the German to complete his conquest of public approval for his operatic revolution.

Rameau was the most popular of French operatic composers of the day, but has remained more memorable as one of the world's greatest musical

theorists. The age was one of important scientific developments, to which even musicians could not continue indifferent. Rameau based his system of harmony on the physical properties of sound. His contemporary, Johann Joseph Fux, codified the doctrine of counterpoint in his *Gradus ad Parnassum* (*Steps to Parnassus*, 1715).

*Advances in electricity,
medicine, chemistry, and physics*

THE PERIOD following the War of the Austrian Succession saw some astonishing achievements in

the sciences. The nature of electricity and the principle of the electrical condenser had been partly revealed by the discovery of the Leyden jar (so called because discovered at the University of Leyden in 1745). In 1752 Benjamin Franklin demonstrated, by means of a Leyden jar and by a kite in a Philadelphia thunderstorm, that lightning was electricity. Franklin's experiment led to the invention of the lightning rod in 1753. In the next decade Dr. Leopold Auenbrugger began the use of percussion in the diagnosis of heart and lung ailments. In 1765 James Watt applied the long-known principle of steam as a source of energy to the making of a commercially successful steam engine. In 1774 the phlogiston theory of combustion gave way to the correct explanation of oxidation, when oxygen was discovered almost simultaneously by the British scientist Joseph Priestley and the French scientist Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier. Lavoisier was also to classify chemical substances into elements and compounds and to give to chemistry its present scientific nomenclature.

*Farming
by new, scientific methods*

THE INCREASING knowledge of botany, physiology, chemistry, and physics soon made itself felt

in the realm of practical affairs. Jethro Tull in the 1730's wrote several essays applying the new scientific theories to agriculture and invented the machine drill for planting. England could now boast a set of "gentlemen farmers" like Lord Townshend, whose enthusiasm over root crops led to his becoming known as "Turnip Townshend," and George III, who called himself "Farmer George" in articles that he wrote on improved husbandry. These gentlemen farmers applied the latest principles of scientific agriculture, using machinery, rotating crops, and draining, marling, and fertilizing the soil. They were thus able to use all their land efficiently, whereas previously one third of the soil had been allowed to remain fallow in order to "rest." The most famous of these new gentlemen farmers was Sir Thomas Coke of Holkam, who applied not only all of the new methods of agriculture to his land but also the newest principles of animal husbandry in breeding his sheep, first prominently set forth by "Farmer" Robert Bakewell in 1745. At the same time, Coke also earned an enviable reputation for being a kindly and paternalistic landlord. England thus saw the beginning of an "agricultural revolution" that was to help her to cope, though not adequately, with the food problems that

were to arise from the so-called "industrial revolution" that was also beginning to take form in the eighteenth century.

*The rapid application
of invention to industry*

EVEN IF the phrase "industrial revolution" has recently been considered a misnomer, no one denies

that important industrial changes took place in eighteenth-century England. The only question is one of terminology: the word "revolution," conveying an idea of suddenness, does not adequately describe the long and slow development of industry before its more rapid development in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Nevertheless, striking changes did take place in English industry in the 1700's. John Kay's "flying shuttle" (1738) increased both the speed of weaving and the width of the cloth woven. It threw so many hand weavers out of work that there were labor riots, in one of which Kay himself was nearly killed. When James Hargreave's "spinning jenny" made possible the spinning of more than one spindle at once (1770), it became easier for the makers of thread and yarn to supply the increased demand of the weavers. Then Richard Arkwright, by applying water power to the spinning process with his water-frame, improving both the quality of the thread and the speed of its production, made it possible for spinners to provide even more thread than the weavers could use. Samuel Crompton's "spinning mule" combined the best features of the jenny and the water-frame to make a still better thread even faster. The weavers were not able to catch up until Edmund Cartwright (about 1787) invented a power loom. By that time steam power was being applied to the textile and other industries.

*The disruption
of the old economy by the factory*

THE RESULT of all these mechanical inventions, and of the utilization of water and steam power in

place of human power, was the "factory." A factory was an especially built structure where huge machines were operated at specified hours of the day, requiring the attention of large numbers of workers. Hand craftsmen and artisans were thrown out of work. The small farmer also fared badly; he was placed in competition with scientific farming, which favored the big, unified farm and the enclosure for pasturing prize animals. Oliver Goldsmith as early as 1770 lamented in his poem *The Deserted Village*, the effect of increasing poverty and immigration upon the rural scene:

Amidst thy bowers the tyrant's hand is seen,
The desolation saddens all the green...
And trembling, shrinking from the spoiler's hand,
Far, far away thy children leave the land...
Ill fares the land to hastening ills a prey
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.

*Innovations
in transportation and industry*

INCREASING agricultural and textile production led to a demand for improvements in methods of

transportation. The most significant improvement made before the French Revolution was the English system of canals from the mine fields to Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, and other centers of the new factories. The Duke of Bridgewater was largely responsible for planning and financing, and James Brindley for engineering, the first of these canals. With her rivers and canals feeding coal and iron from her mines to her factories, England was well on the way by the 1770's to that industrial supremacy that she was to retain for the ensuing century. Only France could rival her, but France, though now undergoing a similar process of mechanization, was to lose ground as England gained it during the French Revolution.

THE NEW SPIRIT

IN BELLES-LETTRES (1740-1780)

ALTHOUGH writers before and after Rabelais and Cervantes had used fictitious characters and episodes to tell a story, during this period came the fuller development of the modern novel. From seventeenth-century variants in France, this literary form had become known throughout Europe. The vogue of the novel depicting credible characters living in a familiar atmosphere was another manifestation of the intellectual climate that had proved conducive to materialism and empiricism in philosophy and science. In such an atmosphere, not only the realistic novel but also the naturalistic poem and play found a ready audience, and together they helped to foster that *sensibilité* which, paradoxically perhaps, flourished at the same time.

*Development
of the realistic novel in England*

SAMUEL RICHARDSON was one of the first novelists to tell in single continuous narratives (Richard-

son's were all lengthy besides) the stories of characters who acted more or less like natural human beings in their usual surroundings. Richardson's novels arose less from any conscious effort to be in tune with the empirical spirit of the times than from his preoccupation with propriety and morality. His first novel, *Pamela, or Virtue Rewarded* (1740), grew out of a projected guide to proper letter writing, and only after he had begun it did the idea occur to him of having the letters all center around a single writer. Thus Pamela came to tell her parents regularly the details of her struggles to preserve her purity against her designing master. This novel's success led (1744-1748) to seven more volumes of correspondence (*Clarissa, or The History of a Young Lady*) in which virtue, far from being rewarded, led only

to injustice, grief, and death. *The History of Sir Charles Grandison* (1753-1754) embodies Richardson's ideal of a model gentleman, though a later critic (Hippolyte Taine) thought Grandison was fit only to be stuffed and put in a museum.

Meanwhile other English novelists had appeared. Henry Fielding, whose *Joseph Andrews* (1742) was begun as a burlesque of *Pamela*, in 1748 produced *Tom Jones*, probably the greatest novel of the day. Fielding abandoned the stylized letter form for simple narrative. Tobias George Smollett's literary reputation was established with *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748), which was followed at fairly rapid intervals by *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (1751) and others. His *Humphry Clinker* (1771) was said by no less an authority than Thackeray to have been "the most laughable story that has ever been written since the goodly art of novel-writing began." The first volume of Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* appeared in 1759 and the ninth and last in 1767. It was followed in 1768 by *A Sentimental Journey Through France and Italy*, limited to two volumes by the author's death. It is reflective of the limited warfare of the day that the "sentimental journey" depicted was undertaken during the Seven Years' War, without the traveler from England expecting to encounter difficulties in France. Horace Walpole in 1765 wrote his *Castle of Otranto*, which, by setting the scene amidst medieval horrors, became a precursor of the "Gothic" novel of the romantic period and a forerunner of the modern detective story. Oliver Goldsmith wrote his short

and pathetic tale of the kindly Dr. Primrose in his *Vicar of Wakefield* (1766).

These later novelists, for the most part, abandoned "phony" and histrionic paragons and peopled their novels with figures that, though more plausible, were sometimes distorted in another direction. Smol-



This picture appeared as an illustration in the first edition of Sterne's Sentimental Journey. It shows the traveler pausing in his journey to talk with an elderly monk.

lett, drawing largely from his own travels and experiences, often made his men and women coarse and bawdy, hard drinking and quarrelsome, with only occasional interest in the arts and the more delicate passions. Sterne's characters were usually more lovable, but their behavior was seldom less shocking, particularly since their creator was a clergyman. And if Goldsmith's vicar was an unbelievably kindly man, others in his stories were unbelievable cads. Fielding's characters were usually both more tame and more realistic than those of his contemporaries.

*The naturalistic trend
in the new drama and poetry*

THE NEW emphasis in poetry also reflected the current stress on naturalism. Studied attention was

given to nature as a subject for poems. Gray's *Elegy* (page 509) and Goldsmith's *Deserted Village* (page 526) contained often-quoted descriptions of rural beauty. James Thomson's *Seasons* (1730), in which heroic couplets gave way to blank verse, rhapsodized the changes wrought by nature.

The new interest in folklore was reflected by a controversy over "Ossian." Ossian was a legendary Gaelic poet and hero of the third century A.D. James Macpherson, in *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760) and subsequent collections, set forth what he claimed to be literal translations of Ossian's poems, painstakingly collected in the Scottish Highlands. Other writers quickly challenged their authenticity, and the literary world was set agog by the ensuing controversy. After Macpherson's death, it was established that only a small part of his work was genuine folklore; he had invented the rest. Macpherson, therefore, is to be remembered more as an original poet than as a collector of folk tales and folk poetry.

Innovations in the drama likewise reflected the current realistic trend. Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773), Richard Sheridan's *The Rivals* (1775), whose Mrs. Malaprop has ever since lent her name to the ludicrous misuse of words, and his *School for Scandal* (1777) were distinguished by their avoidance of the fantastic, the oratorical, and the bombastic. Even though the characters today might seem overdrawn, they were everyday people, speaking the ordinary vernacular. If sometimes they found themselves in more dramatic and sentimental situations than was usual, they did not behave in an incredibly heroic or villainous manner. When brilliant actors and directors like David Garrick put on these irreverent and realistic dramas before huge audiences at large theaters like Covent Garden and Drury Lane, the theater became a more profitable business than ever before.

*Dr. Johnson,
literary dictator in England*

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON, in temperament independent and at the same time conservative, stands a

significant figure in the third quarter of the century. His *Dictionary of the English Language* (2 vols., 1755) was an important contribution in thorough-

ness and sharpness of definition as well as in choice of illustrative quotations. Already before that time known as a poet and essayist, he continued throughout life a contributor to literary periodicals. He became the central figure in the Literary Club, which he founded in 1764 and which included celebrities like Oliver Goldsmith, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and Edmund Burke. In 1765 he produced the best edition of Shakespeare's plays that had yet appeared. And during his late years he published *The Lives of The Most Eminent English Poets*, which are still useful biographical and critical accounts of some fifty seventeenth- and eighteenth-century writers. Until his death in 1784 Johnson was a literary dictator in England, much like Voltaire, whom he did not admire, in France; and after his death he became the subject of one of the world's greatest biographies (1791), by James Boswell.

Anglomania,
sensibilité, and French fiction

THE PEOPLING of English novels
and plays with horse racing, card
playing, and hard-drinking rogues

gave England the reputation abroad of being a country whose liberty was matched only by its license. The popularity of English gambling games, race-tracks, riding costumes, and landscape gardens nevertheless spread rapidly onto the Continent, fortifying the vogue of English political ideas. There the English innovations mingled with the continental development called *sensibilité*, which fed on the tribulations of the heroines of English (and other) novels. *Sensibilité* can be inadequately translated by a combination of the two English words *sentimentalism* and *sensitiveness*. It designated the readiness to feel compassion for suffering, particularly in literature, that was fashionable before the French Revolution. Grand dames who read Richardson's *Pamela* or Rousseau's *La nouvelle Héloïse* while their enormous coiffures or intricate costumes were being prepared on them earned a reputation for emotional refinement by the ease with which they burst into tears over the hardships in the path of righteousness. *Sensibilité* went hand in hand with the new humanitarianism that the century had developed (page 495).

Rousseau and other French novelists, among them the Encyclopedist Diderot, catered to the fashion of *sensibilité*. *The Nephew of Rameau*, probably Diderot's best novel, was not a sentimental novel, however. It dealt, in unyieldingly tight arguments, with the problem of ethical standards by portraying a sybarite and a moralistic philosopher side by side. The novel ended without a decision for either side. Diderot's realistic but sentimental plays—*The Natural Son* (1757) and *The Head of the Family* (1759)—and his sentimental novels—*La Religieuse* (1760), portraying an unhappy nun, and *Jacques the Fatalist*, which imitated *Tristram Shandy*—had a great contemporary vogue. Diderot's cultivation of the realistic and the bourgeois and his avoidance of classical conventions on the stage inaugurated a type of drama

new to the France of the Corneille-Racine tradition. The new emphasis was continued in Beaumarchais's *Barber of Seville* (1775), whose hero, the barber Figaro, spent much of his time on the stage criticizing the aristocracy. Napoleon Bonaparte is said to have later called this play the beginning of the French Revolution—"the Revolution already in action."

Lessing, Herder,
and the Sturm und Drang

THE NATURALISTIC school of
dramaturgy moved from Diderot's France to Germany with

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767), which, portraying a poor soldier's love for a rich girl, was the first great German comedy. Lessing tried to create a German national art despite the centrifugal provincialism of the Holy Roman Empire. His famous critique of the drama, *Hamburg Dramaturgy* (1768), spoke of a natural and German theater, urging that the Greek dramatists and Shakespeare rather than the French classics be regarded as models. His own dramatic masterpiece was *Nathan the Wise*, in which the Mohammedan Saladin, the Jew Nathan, and a Christian knight plead for toleration while enacting the story of the knight's love for Nathan's daughter.

Lessing's *Nathan* was among the books the Nazis prohibited and burned in the 1930's. Nevertheless, he was one of the founders of the modern German national literature and art, and prepared the way for a generation of writers who were to restore Germany to a leading place in the intellectual life of Europe. This generation, which began roughly around 1765, produced the literary period known as the *Sturm und Drang* (Storm and Stress). Lessing was its leader, but not far behind him came Johann Gottfried von Herder, who was best known as a philosopher of history but who had also written essays on literary criticism, German philology, and folklore.

The Enlightenment
or Aufklärung in Germany

THIS GENERATION also had its
forerunners. The earlier French
philosophes like Montesquieu had

their German counterparts in Christian Thomasius, sometimes called the father of the German Enlightenment because of his emphasis upon the validity of common-sense judgments, and Christian von Wolff, who popularized Leibnitz' teachings. Thomasius and Wolff often wrote and lectured in German rather than Latin. They encountered the same sort of opposition and the same sort of success as the *philosophes* in France. Building upon the work of the Cameralists (page 479) and these earlier German philosophers, the generation of Lessing and Herder brought the Enlightenment—in German, *Aufklärung*—to Germany. Wolff was supposed to have been the first person to use the term "*Aufklärung*." The *Sturm und Drang* was only the literary phase of the *Aufklärung*.

Goethe
and the Sturm und Drang

THE MOST brilliant writer of the
Sturm und Drang period was
Herder's student and friend

Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Goethe's *Götz von Berlichingen* (1773), usually considered the first important work in the *Sturm und Drang*, followed Lessing's critical principles. Modeled after Shakespearean drama, it was based upon the career of a German patriot hero of the Peasants' War. Goethe's autobiographical *Sorrows of Young Werther* appeared the next year. It presented a less robust type of hero in a young lover whose hopeless passion led him to suicide. The influence here was strikingly Rousseauian and *sensible*. Goethe in 1775 went to Weimar, at the age of twenty-six, to become a minister of that tiny German state, as well as to continue to cultivate his reputation as the foremost German man of letters. By so doing, he withdrew from the *Sturm und Drang* to enter another phase of his career that was more directly inspired by the classics. Young Werther meanwhile had many imitators and evoked a sentimental cult that spread Goethe's influence far beyond the confines of the German language and permitted the *Sturm und Drang* to live on into the French Revolution.

THE AGE that in France was called "the Louis Quinze period" and in England "the Georgian period" was also the Age of Reason, of the Enlightenment or *Aufklärung*. It was likewise the age of the "enlightened despots" (whose work we shall examine in Chapter 13). It was a time when many felt that the old and traditional ways were not changing fast enough and wished for more sweeping reforms. Reform measures were going to be tried by the enlightened despots, but they were to prove, in several instances, too little and too late.

Louis xv, for all his success with the parlements and for all his military and diplomatic efforts, was engaged only in bolstering up a regime that was bound to collapse. To a certain extent, that was likewise true of other contemporary rulers. The enlightened regimes of George, Frederick, Maria Theresa, and Catherine fortified the persuasion of the *philosophes* that enlightened monarchy was the most acceptable form of government for most of the European countries, but it now seems clear that those triumphs were, in fact, undermining the strength of the monarchs. They encouraged the spirit of innovation, inquiry, and unrest. They gave to many who had no reason to prefer a hereditary king or aristocracy a personal sense of achievement and dignity and a public prominence that had no relation to their class.

Louis xv is supposed to have said, when told that his credit was running low, that it did not matter; it would last as long as he did and "after us, the

The emotionalism of the Sturm und Drang period is clearly discernible in this illustration from an early edition of Goethe's Sorrows of Young Werther, showing the farewell scene of its despairing young hero.

deluge." Whether he actually said these words or not is less important than that the prediction came true. The prestige of the strong absolute monarchs was still sufficient to keep them firmly on their thrones. As long as kings were strong, the hereditary aristocracies, struggle though they might, could be no more powerful than the monarchs would permit them to be. But the

bourgeoisie, who were a sort of aristocracy of talent and of money, were neither so easily controlled nor so exclusive, especially since they could appeal to the mass of the population. And as the hereditary aristocracy gave a grudging support to the monarchs, the deluge that Louis xv is supposed to have bidden not to rise in his lifetime was to come from those masses, led by conspicuous members of the upper classes. The program that the popular leaders would demand was being shaped by the political enlightenment, the scientific advances, the literary and artistic realism, the humanitarian *sensibilité*, the religious evangelism, and the other untraditional developments considered in this chapter. These developments were gradually fostering both the desire and the ability of more of the governed to be more widely and more directly consulted by those who governed them.



CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1685-1750 Johann Sebastian Bach
- 1696-1770 Giovanni Battista Tiepolo
 - 1707 Union of England and Scotland under the name of Great Britain
 - 1720 The breaking of the South Sea Bubble and the Mississippi Bubble
- 1723-1792 Joshua Reynolds, distinguished English portrait painter
 - 1726 Publication of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*
 - 1733 Appearance of Pope's *Essay on Man*
- 1733-1738 War of the Polish Succession, in which France, Spain, and Sardinia opposed Austria and Russia
 - 1734 Voltaire's *Philosophical Letters on the English*
 - 1735 Linnaeus' *Species of Plants*
 - 1738 Invention of the "flying shuttle" by John Kaye
 - 1739 Hume's *Treatise on Human Nature*
- 1739-1741 War of Jenkins' Ear between England and Spain
 - 1740 Richardson's *Pamela*
- 1740-1748 War of the Austrian Succession, settled by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle
 - 1748 Montesquieu's *The Spirit of the Laws*
 - 1748 Fielding's *Tom Jones*
 - 1749 A series of studies that were eventually to be developed into an encyclopedia of natural sciences (*The Natural History, General and Particular*) begun by Buffon
- 1751-1780 Publication of Diderot's *Encyclopédie*
 - 1755 Publication of two volumes of Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*
- 1756-1763 The Seven Years' War, concluded by the Treaty of Paris
 - 1758 Quesnay's *Tableau économique*
 - 1762 Publication of Rousseau's *Emile* and the *Social Contract*
 - 1765 Completion of a commercially successful steam engine by James Watt
- 1767-1771 Circumnavigation of the globe in voyages by Bougainville and Cook in the service of France and England
 - 1768 Lessing's *Hamburg Dramaturgy*, a critique of the drama
- 1768-1774 The Russo-Turkish War, concluded by the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji
 - 1770 Invention of the "spinning jenny" by Hargreave
 - 1772 The first partition of Poland
 - 1774 Appearance of Goethe's *Sorrows of Young Werther*
 - 1787 Invention of a power loom by Edmund Cartwright

PART FOUR

Revolution and Counter Revolution (1775-1815)

INTRODUCTION

WHEN LOUIS XVI ascended the throne of France, he appointed an enlightened ministry, including Turgot as comptroller-general. Voltaire and the other *philosophes* hoped that Turgot would effect a much-needed fiscal reorganization, but reform met opposition and Turgot had to resign. When Louis, in response to Franklin's mission, recognized American independence (as symbolized in the Sèvres porcelain on the right below) and brought on war with England, France embarked on enormous expenditures that were eventually to prove disastrous.

HOUDON: VOLTAIRE



TREATY OF ALLIANCE
BETWEEN FRANCE AND AMERICA





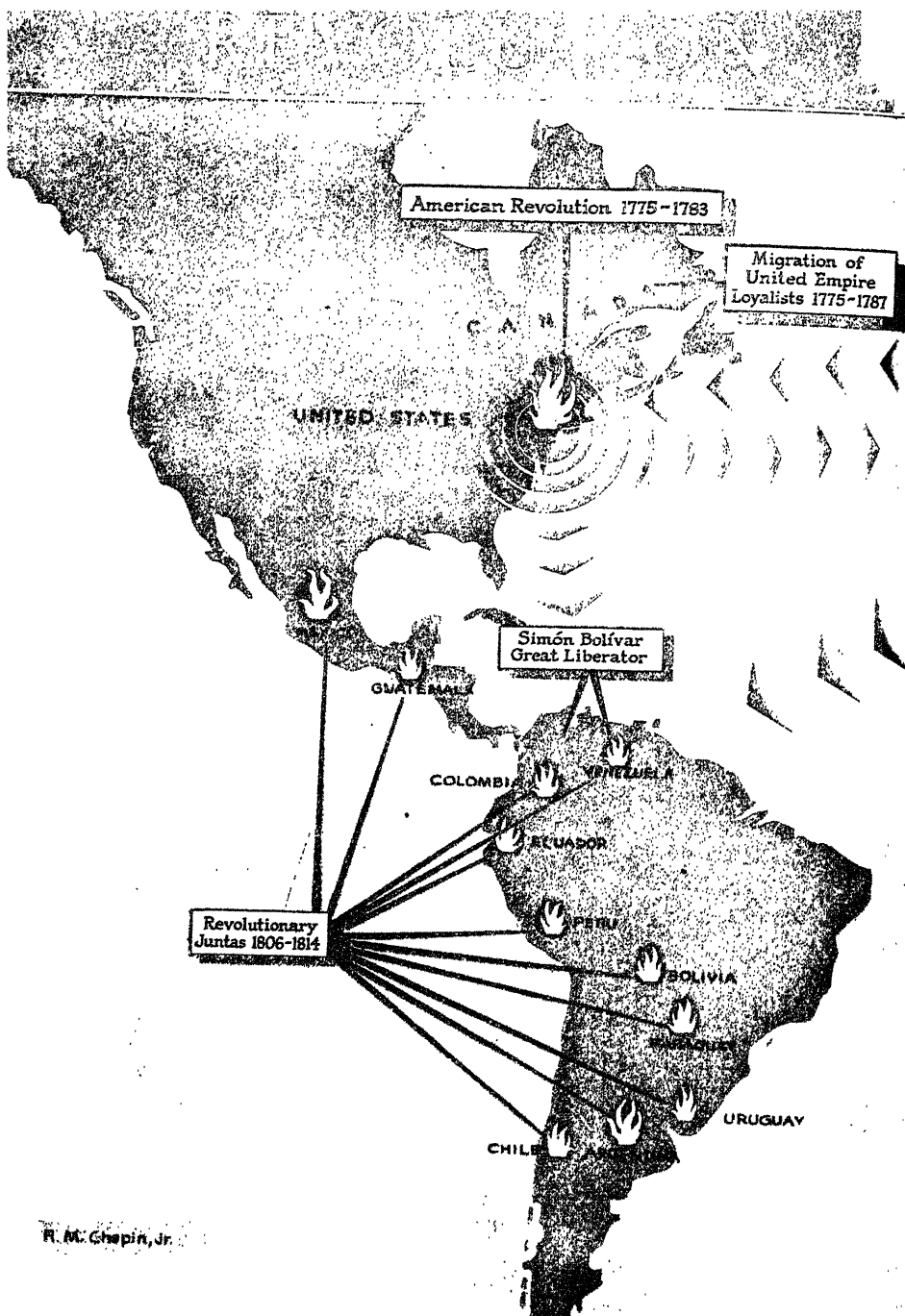
DAVID: THE TENNIS COURT OATH

The American War of Independence, offering a concrete example of a revolution justified by natural right, helped crystallize the demands for reform in France and brought forward leaders for the "Patriot" party. France's participation in the war had obliged her to support her allies, the United States, Spain, and Holland, and to maintain armies and fleets in Europe, America, the West Indies, Africa, and India. The French treasury was hard beset, and Comptroller-General Calonne proposed an Assembly of Notables to avert bankruptcy. The Notables made few concessions, however, and the parlement blocked subsequent reform, thus obliging the king to revive the defunct Estates General. Reform elements seized the opportunity to create a "National Assembly" to replace the old Estates General, in which commoners had had only a limited voice. When the members of the self-ordained Assembly found their meeting place barred by order of the king, they adjourned to a nearby tennis court and defiantly swore never to separate until they had given France a constitution. This famous "Tennis Court Oath" was recorded, with some historical inaccuracies, in a drawing (above) by Jacques Louis David (1745-1825). The monarchy was at first restricted and eventually overthrown, and then several forms of republic were tried. As the foremost artist of the Revolution, David recorded some of its outstanding episodes—for example, the murdered Marat, and Marie Antoinette en route to the guillotine. After a decade of revolutionary instability, David, like many tired revolutionaries, became a follower of the brilliant General Napoleon Bonaparte, whose career seemed to promise international peace and domestic justice.

Playing up Jacobin and royalist menaces, Napoleon Bonaparte was able to get himself named one of the three consuls, then life consul, and eventually emperor. Napoleon early undertook to insure domestic stability by wedding the old with the new. For example, he reestablished the Catholic Church by the Concordat without returning the confiscated church properties, and he promulgated various codes of law which embodied the gains of the Revolution but reestablished the tightly knit family. He endeavored to assure France, and hence himself, first place in international affairs, which necessitated an increase of his personal power at home and continual campaigning abroad. Like the Bourbons, Bonaparte found England the major threat to France's world hegemony and concentrated his military resources and diplomatic skill upon the task of reducing that nation. When all the four hostile powers finally learned to cooperate, they were able to overthrow him. David became painter to the emperor when Bonaparte assumed the imperial throne, but the sketch below, said to be the only one for which the subject ever intentionally sat, is of the Revolutionary general before he became a consul.

DAVID: NAPOLEON BONAPARTE





UNITED KINGDOM
Rise and
suppression of
Jacobin clubs

SWEDEN
Bernadotte as
Crown Prince

UNITED PROVINCES
Revolt against
House of Orange

IRELAND
Attempted revolt
against England

AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS
"Vorwerkists" Revolt
against Austria

PRUSSIA
Reorganization of
Prussian state

POLAND
Constitution of 1791
Revolt under Kosciuszko
Duchy of Warsaw

GERMANY
French reforms and
nationalist spirit

SERBIA
Attempted revolt
against Turks

ITALY
French reforms and
nationalist spirit

GREECE
Attempted revolt
against Turks

SPAIN
Rise of
Constitutionalism

SWITZERLAND
Helvetic Republic, Revolt
against oligarchy

EGYPT
French influence
introduced

MYSORE
Jacobin club

FRANCE
Revolution and Empire
1789-1815



DUPLESSIS: GLUCK

new trend, abandoned "Sturm und Drang" for the classical. A comparison of Tischbein's Goethe and the mid-eighteenth-century portrait by Joseph Sifred Duplessis (1725-1802) of Gluck, composer of some of the world's finest operas, may illustrate the classical trend in painting.

Art in Europe and America underwent changes as drastic as those in politics during the years from 1775 to 1815. Winckelmann's studies of the antique cultures of Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Naples stimulated a fresh classical trend that counteracted the baroque and rococo spirit much as the Revolution of 1789 counteracted the institutions of the Old Regime. Italy regained widespread renown as a center of antiquity and attracted outstanding artists from all over Europe. Johann Heinrich Wilhelm Tischbein the Elder (1751-1829) there met and painted Goethe, who, in the forefront of the

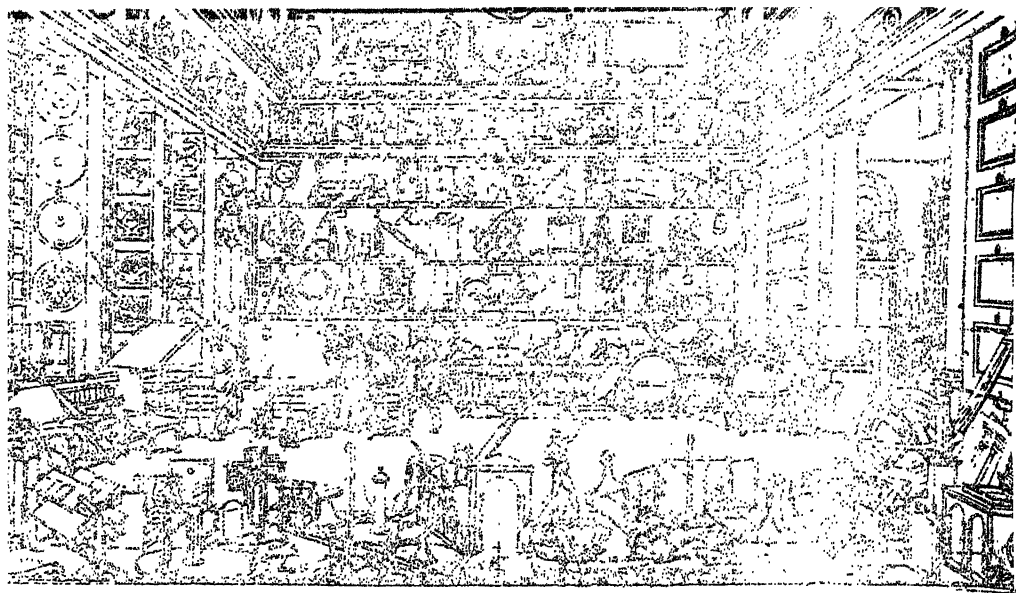
TISCHBEIN: GOETHE





GOYA: EPISODE OF THE FRENCH INVASION

The cult of the antique in France widened with the coming of the Revolution, as the republicans of France, helped by David's designs, identified themselves with ancient Rome. But the classical tradition was challenged toward the end of this period by the growing Romantic Movement, which had its roots in Rousseau's worship of nature, Herder's devotion to the folk spirit, and the younger Goethe's emotional stress. Chateaubriand and Mme. de Staël were to take leading parts in the Romantic Movement with their books extolling the noble American savage, the Middle Ages, the innovations in German literature, and the human emotions. The Spanish artist Goya ran the artistic gamut of his time, moving from the rococo through the classical to the romantic. Above he displays some of his realistic indignation over the French invaders of his country and his pride in Spanish resistance; however, he accepted the post of court painter to King Joseph Bonaparte. Goya's willingness to collaborate with the French conqueror compares with Goethe's readiness to associate with genius even in the guise of tyranny and contrasts with Beethoven's early change of heart regarding Napoleon. Napoleon's own appreciation of art and literature was largely determined by their value as propaganda; France produced no Shelleys or Goethes during the Empire.



LE CLERC: PHYSICIST'S LABORATORY

In the field of science, the advances of the early eighteenth century continued at an accelerated pace. In his laboratory, part of which is pictured below, Lavoisier laid the groundwork of modern chemistry and chemical nomenclature before being guillotined as a tax-farmer in 1794. Under Napoleon the natural sciences were notably encouraged. Great strides were made, in well-equipped laboratories such as that shown above, toward the understanding of man and his universe, and the practical application of the principles of electricity, chemistry, and physics began to transform the life of the average man. The tight restrictions on continental importations by England's blockade and France's Continental System made necessary the invention of substitutes for foreign items. The continued broadening of man's knowledge and the application of recent inventions to the problems of everyday living increased the tempo of the great "industrial revolution" that was to transform the economic, social, and political structure of Europe in the nineteenth century.



DAVID: ANTOINE LAVOISIER AND HIS WIFE



*The first
world
revolution:
the American phase*

IN 1818, several decades after American independence had been firmly established, John Adams wrote: "The Revolution was effected before the war commenced. The Revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people."⁸⁷ Although neither the British government in London nor the American colonists at home fully recognized it, a new nation had been in the making ever since the founding of Jamestown in 1607. Tracing this growth will enable us to appreciate what a profound change this new nation was to make in the history of England, of Europe, and indeed of the world—and how remarkably, on the other hand, the course of the new nation was from the start to be affected by outside forces. America, in short, was born and was to develop in the main currents of European and world history.

We have already examined the way in which the American colonies grew from a few straggling settlements into thirteen self-reliant and largely self-sufficient communities. All the great changes of the European past found expression in eighteenth-century America. The religious upheavals of the Reformation had given it part of its people. The political revolutions of the seventeenth century had affected its institutions. The emphasis upon rationalist philosophy and empirical science since the Renaissance had raised doubts regarding some traditional values in America no less than in Europe. The new commerce and wealth that had ensued from the great discoveries and explorations created problems for Americans as well as Europeans to which old mercantilist theories no longer seemed to provide the correct answers. The same wars with rival powers and stubborn natives that had fostered England's desire for imperial centralization had enhanced the colo-

⁸⁷John Adams to H. Niles, February 13, 1818, *The Works of John Adams*, ed. Charles F. Adams (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1856), X, 282.

nies' capacity for local home rule. It was to take only a few relatively minor disputes with the mother country in the 1760's and 1770's—incidents in some ways less sensational than numerous other disturbances that Britain successfully weathered elsewhere both before and after—to crystallize these questionings, influences, and aspirations into a concrete program of colonial self-determination.

The resulting clash between British imperialism and American separatism precipitated a revolution in America. In other words, political independence was the end-product of a decades-old drift toward economic, social, cultural, and psychological alienation. An American national spirit was being slowly forged by the steady hammering of environment, distance, and historical circumstances. We are now about to study the events that determined how that national spirit became manifest, first to the Americans and then to the rest of the world.

Eventually the new American nation was to give itself an enduring constitution. That constitution was not found ready-inscribed by an American Moses on a Mount Sinai but was to be sweated out in an atmosphere of humidity and acrimony in Philadelphia. As we are about to see, the document finally adopted by the Founding Fathers was a compromise agreement that embodied the moral, economic, social, and political predilections of its signers. It was freely admitted to be imperfect at the time by its own creators. Yet it has survived to the present day and has proved flexible enough to continue as the political framework for a nation that has evolved from an agrarian economy of three million people to the foremost industrial power of the modern world. Wherever natural rights and federal government are under consideration, as for example when the United Nations Charter was drawn up at San Francisco in 1945, the development of the American Constitution is likely to be cited as a source both of inspirations to follow and of errors to avoid.

- MERCANTILISM

VERSUS "SALUTARY NEGLECT"

LEST DISPROPORTIONATE emphasis be placed upon economic factors in tracing the origins of the American Revolution, it should be repeated that the new-world spirit had for decades been crystallizing because of doubts concerning a social and political system no longer applicable to conditions in America. Nevertheless, it was around economic and fiscal questions that the differences between opposing camps became polarized, leading to open friction in the 1760's and finally to outright revolution in the '70's.

*"Subjects
of Britain's fair isle"*

IN 1760, after Wolfe's capture of Quebec, Franklin wrote: "No one can more sincerely rejoice than I

do, on the reduction of Canada; and this is not merely as I am a colonist, but as I am a Briton." And when he returned from England in 1763, Franklin felt so warmly toward that country that he could write: "No friend could wish me more in England than I do myself." These were common sentiments during the sixties among colonists, and were unashamedly proclaimed in the song, "Virginia Hearts of Oak," which was to be printed and sung with gusto despite the heated controversy already raging:

Though we feast and grow fat on America's soil
Yet we own ourselves subjects of Britain's fair isle;
And who's so absurd to deny us the name
Since true British blood flows in every vein.

In other words, the colonists considered themselves Britons, and this concept of allegiance was maintained almost to the very outbreak of hostilities between them and the mother country. ✓

Nevertheless, although the American colonists themselves may not have been fully aware of the process, they had long enjoyed a marked degree of economic self-determination, and their economic autonomy had for decades been at work bringing about its logical counterpart, a desire for political independence. Full recognition of this process was to come only when the colonists realized that their favored economic position was in peril and would remain so unless they gained the political means of safeguarding it. X

*Mercantilism
and the American colonies*

✓ THE ECONOMIC clash between the mother country and the colonies was rooted in the doctrine of mercantilism.

The mercantilists held that the possession of colonies was a blessing. Colonies might furnish raw materials that the mother country herself did not have and might otherwise have to purchase from a rival state; they might be sources of vital war materials, like naval stores, which it would be wise to keep out of the hands of potential enemies as well as to stockpile for oneself; they were a sure market for the mother country's finished products, stimulating overseas trade to the benefit of the mother country's shipowners and merchants; they could sometimes even add directly to the mother country's supply of precious metals; and they would be the homes of new, loyal subjects.

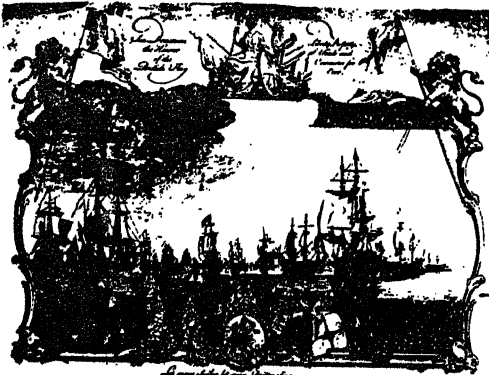
Mercantilism's principal purpose was to further the defense and the prosperity of the realm as a whole, and the colonies were occasionally sacrificed to the welfare of older portions of the realm. As long as the interests of

mother country and colonies more or less coincided, all went well and few disturbing questions were likely to be raised by the colonists as to basic premises. But fundamental questions were bound to arise when that condition was reached which the American colonies could not avoid and the mercantilist state could not tolerate—when the colonists, becoming capable of self-defense, at the same time became competitors.

Early English restrictions on American shipping and trade

when the most famous of the Navigation Acts was passed (1651). It provided that the carrying trade to and from the colonies would be limited to ships manned mainly by English mariners. The intent of this act was to make this shipping a monopoly of the English and the colonials. In 1660, a new act provided that the goods carried to and from England must be

transported in ships that were not only English-manned but also built in England or the colonies. These provisions served to encourage the carrying trade and the shipbuilding industry of both mother country and the colonies, and were therefore looked upon favorably by the latter. But the Act of 1660 also ruled that certain "enumerated" articles—sugar, tobacco, cotton, ginger, indigo, fustic, etc.—which had been grown or manufactured in the colonies could not be shipped to any place except England. As time elapsed, the list of enumerated articles expanded until by 1764 they also included tar, pitch, turpentine, hemp, masts, yards (all naval stores), copper, ore, beaver and other furs, molasses, whale fins, hides, iron, lumber, raw silk, pearlsh, coffee, pimento, and coconuts.



*God save Great Georges our King,
Long live our noble King,
God save the King;
Send him Victorious,
Happy and Glorious,
Long to reign over us,
God save the King.*

HAIL, happy Land, which feeds Great
The best of Industry and Art,
O Britain, chaste Port of Trade,
May never flourish more;
His prime Treasure to support
Convey thy Store. If Justice Fate
Thy right of Commerce does oppose,
Shall not thy Sons their Rights sue?
Who let purchase the Crown Land?
Whomsoever mighting Sons command,
To them it is the gift of Fate;
What a's who rule in other Lands?
On Trade alone thy Glory stands;
That Benefit is mankind's;
Delighting Good among Mankind;
Thou art gone Lovers in the Reign,
And soon'st I may see thy Plans;
To that thou thy Wealth layest,
And down all Europe's various Eyes;
By Commerce then thy Fate hangs;
Keep this, and all the World is Thine;
Where Moral Truthful plant the Main,
Who have not in the Merchant's Claim?
To that supports the Royal State,
And makes the Farmer's Home place;
The man now I look that of such the Land,
Can never supply the Nation's Demand;
Proud Culture show the Field,
And the best Jack a Harvest yields.

None except Mankind should have
The Dues of the Public Coo,
Who's here for Work? To some we find
The Pleasure's sweetest Toil all day's;
Some at the sounding Awe glow;
Some the full-fledged Swath throw;
Some, Builders of the Wind and Tide,
From Pole to Pole our Commerce guide;
Some taught by Industry import
With Hands and Feet the Works of Art;
With Hand, of Course more rich;
With Head and Tongue still Mankind;
Rank, rising at one common End,
Down to the World a useful Friend;
Then, born each other's useful Aid,
By Turns are Obligations paid.
The Merchant, when his Trade's spread,
Is as the Glens oblig'd for Bread;
And, when at all his Glory dwells,
Ours in the Loos he buys'd will;
Do not the Maiden's Tail and Case
Proud long from all's neglect and Awe?
Does not the Cultivator's Art supply
The Merchant that guards his Plough?
All this, in Duty, is the Home,
Thy common Obligations own.
In H.E. (the one and People's Good)
Fate's One Purpose and Law;
Thou they that's here's Toil employ,
And with content the Farm enjoy,
In every Rank, as great as small,
Thy Industry supports us all.

This poem, dedicated to "Great George our King," sings of "Sea Dominion the Honour of the British Flag" and of "Liberty, Property, Trade and Commerce for Ever."

Furthermore, the English government sought to prevent the direct importation into the colonies of foreign commodities that would compete with English goods. Hence, with the idea of keeping the colonies "in a firmer dependence upon it [England] and rendering them yet more beneficial and advantageous unto it," Parliament required in 1663 that all European goods bound for the colonies must first be shipped to England and then re-shipped in English (including colonial) ships to colonial ports. There were a few exceptions, such as salt from Spain for the New England fisheries. Later, because the colonial merchants constantly evaded the Navigation Acts by sending cargoes of enumerated articles directly to European ports, the ire of the English merchants was further aroused. Through their efforts, Parliament in 1696 passed an "act for preventing frauds and regulating abuses in the plantation [i.e., colonial] trade." This put teeth into the Navigation Acts, which, as a result, remained fairly effective for several years.

*Early restrictions
upon colonial industry*

✓ BRITISH mercantilists sought to regulate and control not only the colonial carrying trade but also

manufacturing in the colonies. To prevent the rise of industries competing with home enterprises, colonial governors were requested to "discourage all manufacturers and to give accurate accounts of any indications of the same." One of the home enterprises of which the English were most jealous was the wool industry. It is a venerable tradition that the lord chancellor of England sits upon a woolsack, as a constant reminder to the noble lords of the importance of wool in England's economy. At this period, the woolen industry involved over a million people in England and accounted for almost half of that country's exports. All of the northern colonies were by this time, however, manufacturing woolen goods, and Massachusetts was even exporting them to other colonies. ✓ In righteous alarm, Parliament passed the Woolen Act in 1699. It provided that no woolen goods could be exported either abroad or from one colony to another, though nothing in the Act prevented the manufacture of woolens for consumption within a colony's own borders.

✗ One Englishman's reaction to colonial enterprise is shown in a report at the beginning of the eighteenth century by the governor of New York:

I am well informed that upon Long Island and in Connecticut, they are setting up a woollen Manufacture, and I myself have seen serge made upon Long Island that any man may wear. Now if they begin to make serge, they will in time make course cloth, and then fine...How farr this will be for the service of England. I submit to better judgements; but however I hope I may be pardoned, if I declare my opinion to be, that all these Colloneys, which

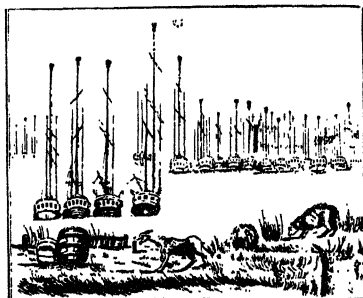
are but twigs belonging to the main Tree [England], ought to be kept entirely dependent upon and subservient to England, and that can never be if they are suffered to go on in the notions they have, that as they are Englishmen, soe they may set up the same Manufactures here, as people may doe in England; for the consequences will be that if once they see they can cloath themselves not only comfortably but handsomely too, without the help of England, they who are already not very fond of submitting to Government, would soon think of putting in execution designs they had long harboured in their breasts. This will not seem strange when you consider what sort of people this Countrey is inhabited by.³⁸ x

*Later restrictions
upon colonial trade and industry*

IN THE eighteenth century new restrictive laws found their way into the English statute books. In

1731, a company of feltmakers caused Parliament to investigate charges that New Yorkers and New Englanders had established an all too flourishing industry in the manufacture of beaver hats. The upshot was the passage of the Hat Act of 1732, prohibiting the exportation of colonial hats either to England or across colonial boundaries, besides restricting each hatmaker to no more than two apprentices.

Another measure that would have been particularly disastrous to colonial trade if it had been strictly enforced was the Molasses Act of 1733. A large and prosperous commerce had developed between the West Indies and the

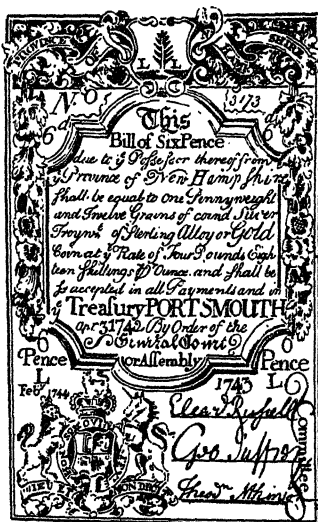


These English political cartoons protesting colonial competition in industry and trade show (left) the city of London transferred to Boston and (right) the port of London destitute of trade with all the ships for sale and the dock deserted except for a bear and wolf drinking at the river.

³⁸Lord Cornbury to Mr. Secretary Hedges, July 15, 1705, in *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan, IV (Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1854), 1151.

The colonies were flooded with paper currency such as this bill of sixpence issued in 1743 by the General Assembly of New Hampshire.

northern colonies. The New England merchants shipped fish, forest products, and African slaves to the West Indies and in return brought home rum, sugar, molasses, and money or bills of exchange. Most of this West India trade was carried on with the non-British islands, and especially the French and Dutch West Indies, for, producing in larger quantities, they were able to undersell the British West Indies planters. This left the British planters with a surplus of sugar beyond that which the mother country, the only remaining customer, was able to consume. As a result



they experienced a marked financial depression and eventually asked Parliament to prohibit American trade with the foreign islands. After a strong planter lobby had pressed the struggle in Parliament, the Molasses Act was passed in 1733. Actually, the act merely imposed duties upon sugar, rum, and molasses imported from the non-British West Indies, and hence restricted but did not prohibit the disapproved practice. Furthermore, the customs restrictions were not adequately enforced. Thus, the law did little to change conditions, and the rich trade went on as briskly as before. The diligent enforcement of the law, however, might have seriously crippled the northern colonies' commerce and industry.

Then, in 1750, the colonial iron industry was restricted. An act was passed permitting the free importation of bar iron into Great Britain but prohibiting the erection in the colonies of slitting or rolling mills, plating forges, or steel furnaces. Here was a pat application of the mercantilist theory: the British ironmasters welcomed the importation of raw materials from the colonies, but kept colonial ironmasters from competing in the manufacture of finished articles such as tools and hardware.

Disputes

over colonial paper currency

STILL another source of friction between the mother country and the colonies was the currency

problem. Because of the unfavorable balance of trade, metal currency did not long remain in the colonies but found its way to English pockets. Eventually all the colonies resorted to the issuance of paper money. Massachusetts set the

pace in 1690 when it issued paper currency without metallic backing to pay its soldiers after they returned from the expedition against Quebec (page 509). This issue retained its value because it was accepted in payment of taxes (i.e., as legal tender) at 5 per cent advance over coin. But the very success of the issue caused a veritable flood of paper money in the colonies, most of which quickly depreciated. In 1751, in response to the insistent complaints of English merchants that they were losing money because of the depreciated colonial currency, Parliament passed an act forbidding the governments of New England to issue bills of credit as legal tender.

*Advantages to the colonies
of the British mercantile policy*

X THE DISADVANTAGES of the mercantile system were easily recognized by the colonists, who could

see without any great effort that their economic interests were usually subordinated to those of the mother country. Much less obvious were the undoubted advantages accruing to the colonists from imperial legislation. For one thing, the mother country gave preferential treatment to many of the products of the colonists. In the case of tobacco, the customs rates on the colonial product were much lower than those on Spanish tobacco. The same situation obtained regarding iron, lumber, indigo, whale oil, ginger, and potash and pearlsh. In addition, substantial bounties were offered on hemp, masts, and certain naval stores—all important to the maintenance of sea supremacy. Again, in the case of many foreign commodities—for example, Dutch linens—brought into the colonies via English ports, the duty was partially or entirely refunded, with the result that the colonists were often able to purchase these products more cheaply than the English. The colonists benefited still further from the military and naval protection that they enjoyed and, in addition, profited from trade privileges with other parts of the empire. There was little or no exaggeration in the observation of Adam Smith (page 603) that British imperial policy was “less illiberal and oppressive than that of any [other European nation].” X

*“Salutary neglect”
and colonial smuggling*

IT HAS sometimes been maintained that the advantages derived from the mercantile system definitely

outweighed the disadvantages suffered by the colonists. Certainly prior to 1750, despite the resentment among the colonists against the restrictions imposed upon their business activities, the situation, by and large, was mutually advantageous both to the colonies and the mother country. This relative satisfaction was largely due to what has been described as the policy of “salutary neglect” that Britain followed during the first half of the eighteenth century. For this policy, Prime Minister Robert Walpole, who took for his motto *Quia non movere* (freely translated: *Let sleeping dogs lie*), was largely responsible.

The British government was unwilling to provide the enormous bureaucracy and personnel that would have been required to enforce the mercantilist statutes adequately. Hence, in one way or another, the colonists managed to evade the restrictive laws. It has been estimated that one half of the trade of Boston in 1700 was in violation of existing regulations. This was notably true, later, of the Molasses Act of 1733. "Salutary neglect" kept that act ineffective until 1763. It did have the moral effect, however, of making smugglers out of a large percentage of the colonial merchants. As a result of the mercantilist system, some of New England's leading citizens were mixed up in this contraband trade. John Hancock was conspicuous among them. With John Adams as his lawyer, he was being arraigned by the government as a smuggler at about the time that the Battle of Lexington opened the Revolutionary War. Trial might have brought half a million dollars' penalty if he had been found guilty.

Differences of opinion

regarding the opening of the West

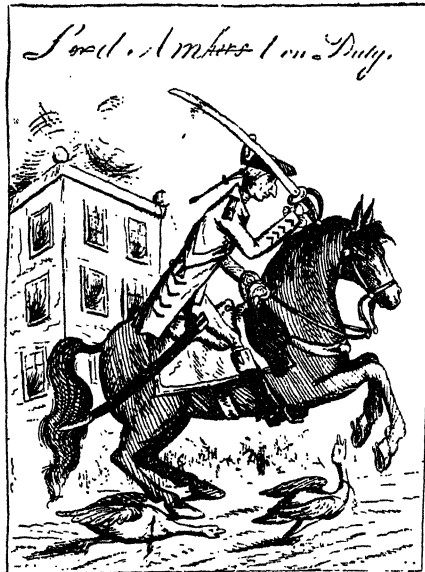
DURING the 1750's British statesmen were coming to the conclusion that the colonial system required a thorough revision. For one thing, the belief was growing that the control of lands beyond the Alleghenies needed to be centralized. The situation had become chaotic because the colonies had separate and often conflicting policies. Then again, several of the colonies had shamefully victimized the Indians, so that the British government feared the danger of Indian warfare—a matter of the utmost importance in the struggle still going on with France for continental supremacy. The British government inclined toward limiting the opening up of the West to white settlement, but, on the other hand, immigration into America was markedly increasing and important groups in the colonies—above all, the numerous land speculators—wanted the western lands populated as quickly as possible.

Involved also in the problem were the colonies themselves. Several, such as Virginia, Massachusetts, the Carolinas, and Georgia, claimed vast trans-Allegheny tracts by virtue of their charter rights. On the other hand, those colonies without claims to western territory feared the added power that the acquisition of new lands would give to their rivals. Obviously, the problem was complex, and although the necessity of an equitable solution had become increasingly apparent to London, the formulation of such a solution proved an awkward stumbling block in the way of the improvement of imperial relations.

The problem of centralization

in the government of the colonies

BRITISH statesmen were also convinced that the time had come for a closer association of the colonies, at least for administrative purposes. They were no longer separated by vast forest tracts, as had been the case a century earlier, but now formed



General Amherst, who in 1760 had his difficulties with the colonial troops, is lumpooned in this later English cartoon for his conduct of subsequent wars. (Amherst became a lord in 1787.)

together a fairly continuous strip along the entire eastern seaboard. The need of defense against the French urged a closer alliance among the colonies. The handling of the Indian and western land problems also necessitated greater administrative agreement. As we have seen (page 454), in 1754 delegates from New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland convened at Albany, and, arriving at the conclusion that

a union of the colonies was "absolutely necessary for their preservation," adopted a plan of union drafted previously by Benjamin Franklin. The plan, as has already been noted, met with a universally cool reception. Franklin himself was not surprised. "Every Body cries, a Union is absolutely necessary," he commented, "but when they come to the Manner and Form of the Union, their weak Noddles are perfectly distracted."

Undoubtedly provincialism and local patriotism played their part in defeating the Albany Plan. Colonial legislators were unwilling to consider themselves anything other than members of their particular colonies or to surrender any portion of local autonomy and power to a central union. But the opposition was also grounded on economic objections. The shrewd colonists knew all too well that the mother country was interested in having them bear a larger proportion of the cost of imperial defense, and the Albany Plan contemplated this very obligation. The national debt in the 1750's had not yet become so serious a problem to the British government as it was to become upon the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, but already the colonists had shown their hostility toward shouldering any portion of it.

*Colonial decentralization
during the French and Indian War*

THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR brought the inadequacy of the colonial system into full focus. Britain

again began her life-and-death grapple with France in the New World with her colonies neither united for action nor prepared for proper defense. Britain

was forced to make use of the old requisition system. In 1757 the English colonies were told that they had only to levy, clothe, and pay the provincial soldiers, while London would provision and equip the men. The colonists were also promised compensation for any expenses if they were vigorous in raising troops. The results were, from the home government's view, highly unsatisfactory. The colonists did not regard the struggle wholly as their own. Only three of the colonies, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, contributed anything like their proper share, while Maryland and Pennsylvania furnished practically nothing. In 1760 General Jeffrey Amherst complained that "the Sloth of the Colonies in raising their troops and sending them to their Rendezvous made it impracticable for me to move the Troops on as soon as I could have wished." Some of the colonies were more concerned with internal political problems than with prosecuting a war in which their entire future was at stake. Frequent quarrels arose regarding the length of service. By and large, the inadequacy of the requisition system served to convince British authorities that the colonies were incapable of defending themselves, and that a system of centralized control for defense would one day have to be introduced.

*Colonial disaffection
during the French and Indian War*

BUT IF the colonists were not keen about incurring heavy financial obligations in the prosecution of

the war, great numbers of them were all too ready to profit by the conflict. Not only did the merchants continue to carry on their lucrative trade with the French West Indies but the French forces in Canada were actually provisioned with beef and pork from New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. Merchants and shipowners in Rhode Island carried on such a flourishing illicit business that Governor Francis Bernard of Massachusetts wrote home to the Board of Trade: "These practises will never be put an end to till Rhode Island is reduced to the subjection of the British Empire, of which it is at present no more a part than the Bahama Islands were when they were inhabited by Buccaneers." Colonial vessels were protected largely by the device of flag-of-truce passes, theoretically issued by colonial governors for the exchange of prisoners of war. Governor William Denny of Pennsylvania sold these passes in great numbers, eventually providing blank ones for £20 each. Ships from almost every American port were busily engaged in trafficking with the enemy, despite Pitt's outbursts against "this dangerous and ignominious trade" and the epithets of military and naval officers, who called these traffickers "traitors to their country." Pitt contended that because of this illicit trade the French were "enabled to sustain and protract this long and expensive war." The unhappy situation convinced the home government that upon cessation of hostilities, the entire system of colonial administration would have to be thoroughly overhauled.

THE RISE

OF THE SPIRIT OF INDEPENDENCE

JUST AS Americans were beginning to ask more persistently why they should continue to be tied to England's apron strings, the demand arose in England that the policy of "salutary neglect" in the economic sphere and of loose association in the political sphere should be replaced by one of firmer regulation and association. Any effort to overhaul the colonial system in the direction of greater mercantile restraint and imperial control was thus likely to make relations worse, not better, between England and the colonies.

*The problem of payment
for the Seven Years' War*

GREAT BRITAIN came out of the Seven Years' War the richer for substantial additions to her im-

perial territory, the poorer for equally substantial additions to her national debt. The conflict had cost Britain over £82,000,000, and £60,000,000 of this amount had had to be added to a national debt already exceeding the £72,000,000 mark. In addition, the necessity of maintaining order in the expanded empire would place new and considerable burdens upon the British taxpayer. In fact, British statesmen sincerely doubted the ability of the British taxpayer to bear the entire weight of the debt and increased expenses; government income would therefore have to be augmented by larger revenues from the colonies. They considered such a proposal equitable on the grounds that the new debt had been contracted in waging a war which had saved the colonies from French domination, that the standing army would afford the colonists protection against the Indians, and that the navy would safeguard their ocean commerce.

In 1763, a new prime minister, George Grenville, took office. He and his associates at once decided to put an end to the old policy of "salutary neglect." Britain's new imperial stature and her resulting financial insecurity could be adjusted, they thought, by a threefold policy: (1) establishing greater control over the newly won lands in the American West; (2) tightening the existing trade laws; and (3) obliging the colonists to make a greater contribution to the imperial exchequer. Each of these proposals, however, was to encounter bitter opposition in the colonies.

*Conflicts
over the settlement of the West*

BEFORE 1763, great speculative land companies had been formed to exploit the virgin frontier land

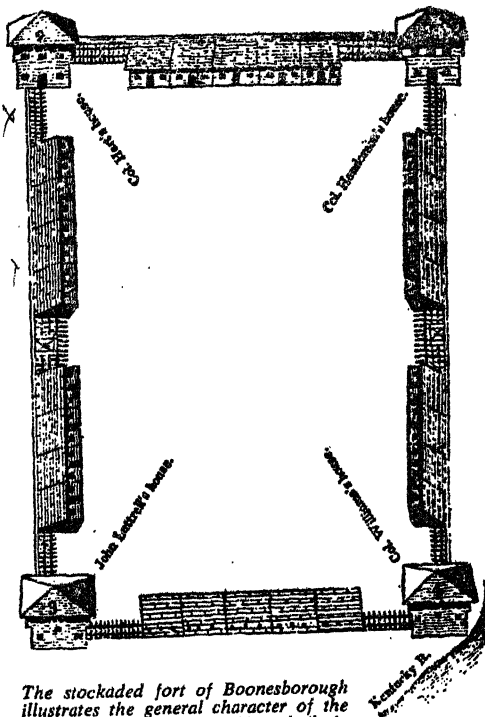
in the West. One, the Ohio Company, had petitioned the king as far back as 1747 for 500,000 acres on the upper Ohio. Other speculative companies had also come into existence, and were all set to stake out even vaster trans-

Allegheny tracts, which they sometimes acquired without proper authority to buy from Indians who had no proper authority to sell.

Before 1763, imperial defense had justified trans-Allegheny settlement as a bulwark against the French and the Spaniards. The victorious conclusion of the Seven Years' War, however, ended that necessity for settlement. Furthermore, with the lucrative Canadian fur trade now in British hands, merchants in London feared that further expansion in the West would lessen or destroy their profits from this enterprise. Other English capitalists maintained that the opening of the West would attract

settlers from the eastern seaboard, thus populating areas beyond the control of British merchants and depopulating areas where they had invested substantial sums. Still another argument put forth in London was that if there was to be any trans-Allegheny development it should be controlled by the British government, which would thereby gain revenue from the sale of lands, while British land speculators would have access to the profits.

Nor were the Indians indifferent to the problem. They had seen themselves defrauded of lands and furs by unscrupulous speculators and traders, and were at last driven to desperate action. In 1763, organized into a mighty confederacy under the Ottawa chief, Pontiac, they took to the warpath. Within a short time they had destroyed every British post west of Niagara with the exception of Detroit, and it was not until the following year that the situation was once more under control. This Indian uprising had the effect of crystallizing action already contemplated in London.



The stockaded fort of Boonesborough illustrates the general character of the early settlements in the West, built in defense against the Indians.

*Closing the West
by the Proclamation of 1763*

IN 1763, the Grenville government issued a famous proclamation forbidding colonial governors to

warrant surveys or grant patents "for any lands beyond the heads or sources of any of the rivers which fall into the Atlantic Ocean from the West or Northwest." This Proclamation of 1763 meant that all lands between the crest of the Alleghenies and the Mississippi for a length extending from Florida to 50° north latitude were "for the present" closed to settlers and speculators alike. Indian lands could not be sold except to the crown. ✕

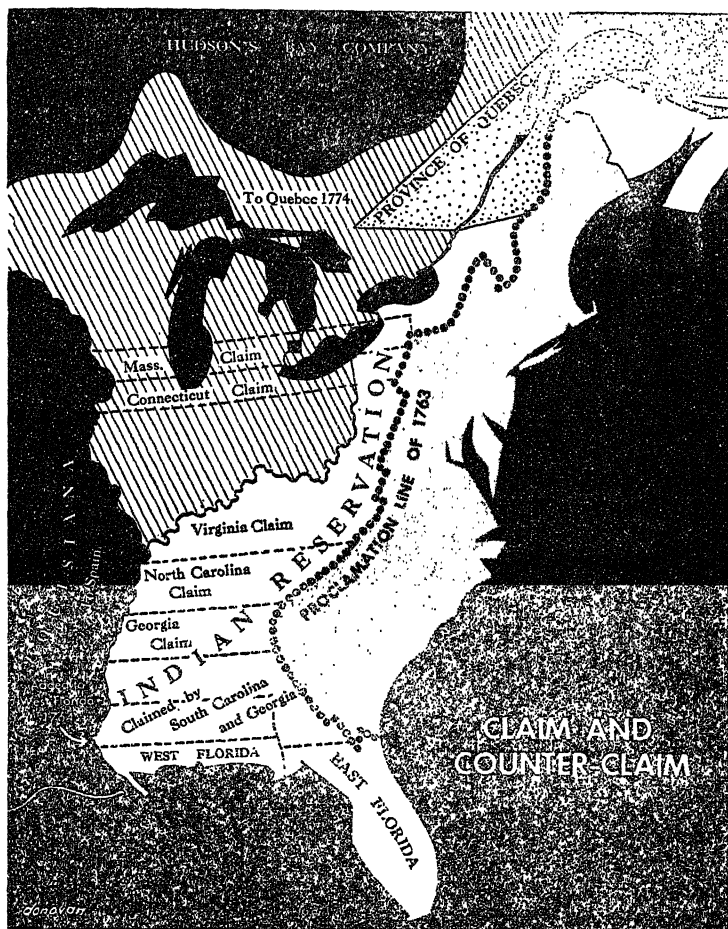
✓ The immediate aim of the proclamation may have been the pacification of the Indians, but it had precisely the opposite effect upon the colonists. The pioneer elements, who sincerely desired to trek westward and open up new settlements, bitterly resented this shattering of their hopes. Just as enraged, though perhaps for less laudable motives, were the land speculators, north and south, who were thus deprived of an easy means of enlarging their fortunes or paying their London debts. Colonists who had helped win this land from the French in the recent war were certainly in no mood to see it slip away from them now. And in 1774, when it appeared possible that Ohio and Kentucky lands would be granted to a British company, Virginians, previously as a general rule loyal to the mother country, now began to have misgivings that lands claimed by Virginia would be snatched away by old-world favorites and speculators. Virginians found ready sympathizers in other colonies.

*The Sugar Act of 1764
and stricter collection of customs*

GRENVILLE had figured out that the colonists should justly pay at least half of the annual cost of

their defense, i.e., raise about £150,000 annually. This would be done, according to Grenville, through enforcement of the existing mercantile regulations. He proposed that the duties of the old Molasses Act of 1733, which was universally despised and evaded, should be cut precisely in half. The calculating statesman thus liberalized the prohibitive import duty in the hope that American merchants would thereby be encouraged to become more law-abiding and pay their duties more regularly. Grenville also raised the duties on refined sugar, placed a tax upon foreign wines, coffee, indigo, and certain textiles, and enlarged the list of the enumerated articles that could be sold only in England. To make sure that the new laws were enforced, Grenville buttressed the ordinary customs authorities by ordering British naval officers to collect the new customs duties and giving the British admiralty courts jurisdiction over smuggling cases. Admiralty courts were not required to employ juries.

There was immediate uproar throughout the colonies. Well might John Hancock, who personally stood to lose a good income by Grenville's meas-



The states still maintained their early claims to the western lands, and several land companies, some of them backed by illustrious colonial names, had been projected to exploit these claims. Resentment against England grew when by the Proclamation of 1763 the rich lands beyond the Alleghenies were closed to the English colonists and were made an Indian reservation to placate the restless tribes. The establishment of Quebec as a separate province in 1774 with a vast additional territory served to make the seaboard colonists feel still more restricted.

ures, write that "the times are very bad." The New England colonies were at once hit by depression, so dependent were they upon the foreign molasses trade. Formal protests were drafted by mercantile associations. The French 557

and the Dutch West Indies had hitherto been a major source of hard money—specie—for the colonies, and the source was now likely to dry up.

*Regulation of paper money
by the Colonial Currency Act*

TO MAKE matters worse, Grenville chose this juncture for further regulation of colonial paper

money. The plight of the merchants was now increased by the passage in 1764 of the Colonial Currency Act. This measure forbade the further issue of unsound paper money in the colonies and protected the English merchant against the payment of colonial debts in depreciated currency. Parliament had acted to protect the English creditor, thereby gaining not only the support of this group but also the general approval of the wealthier creditor merchants of the colonial towns. But it alienated the small debtor farmers and the debtor plantation owners of the South, who had found inflated paper currency a convenient device for taking care of their heavy financial obligations. Franklin stated to British leaders in 1766 that the prohibition of paper currency constituted one of the major reasons for the existence of ill-feeling in America toward Britain.

*Passage
of the Stamp Act of 1765*

NOT CONTENT with this state of affairs, Grenville now proposed another measure designed to pro-

duce revenue for defense purposes. This was the famous Stamp Act. It subjected the colonists to taxes similar to those already demanded of Englishmen at home, providing that stamps, varying from a halfpenny to £ 10, were to be placed on almanacs, newspapers, wills, contracts, licenses, and other legal documents, as well as playing cards and dice. The Stamp Act, supported by both Whigs and Tories, was passed by Parliament in March 1765, "with less opposition than a turnpike bill." Even intelligent and well-informed British observers failed to appreciate the significance of that measure or the temper of the Americans. Horace Walpole, as a member of Parliament, commented casually of those perilous times: "Nothing of note in Parliament, but one slight day on the American taxes." Nevertheless, Americans, feeling that their economic development had already been seriously hampered by Grenville's restrictive tactics, had come close to the end of their patience.

*Consequences
of the Stamp Act*

THE COLONISTS' reaction to the Stamp Act was one of universal and unparalleled hostility. The

act was an innovation in that it was a direct, internal tax—unlike the import duties previously inflicted on the colonists, which were paid at the ports and passed on to the consumer only indirectly. At once there arose protests that the Stamp Act was unconstitutional. Nine colonies sent delegates to a Stamp Act Congress, which met in New York in October 1765; and there a declara-

tion of rights and grievances was issued, maintaining that the American colonists were entitled, among other liberties, to trial by jury and self-taxation.

English merchants soon found themselves affected by the colonial defiance. The depressive influence on trade of the new regulations from London was enhanced by a colonial boycott of British goods. Benjamin Franklin, when summoned before the House of Commons to explain the attitude of the colonists, informed Parliament that only compulsion would force them to submit to the Stamp Act—and at the risk of violent resistance. In fact, violence now made itself felt in no uncertain terms through the actions of the “Sons of Liberty.” These were organizations made up generally of mechanics and other elements of the poor and unenfranchised, who showed their dissatisfaction with discriminatory regulations by their public demonstrations and riots, burning of officials in effigy, intimidation of stamp collectors, and destruction of property.

*Repeal
of the Stamp Act in 1766*

ON THE WHOLE, the situation in the colonies had proved highly disagreeable to the authorities and

mercantile interests on both sides of the Atlantic, and amid universal rejoicing the Grenville ministry was forced to resign. The Stamp Act was repealed

The TIMES are
Dreadful,
Distasteful,
Delicious, and
DOLLAR-LIKE.



OF THE STAMP
ACT
OF THE STAMP
ACT

Thursday, October 31, 1765
THE
NUMB. 1195

PENNSYLVANIA JOURNAL;

AND

WEEKLY ADVERTISER.

EXPIRING: In Hopes of a Resurrection to LIVE again.

AM sorry to be obliged to acquaint my Readers, that as the Stamp Act, is said to be obnoxious upon us after the first of November next, (the said to mean the Publisher of this Paper unable to

bear the Burthen, has thought it expedient to stop a while, in order to deliberate, whether any Methods can be found to elude the Chains forged for us, and escape the intolerable Slavery, which it is hoped, from the late Representations now made against that Act, may be effected. Mean while, I must earnestly Request every Individual

of my Subscribers, many of whom have been long behind Hand, that they would immediately Discharge their respective Arrears, that I may be able, not only to support myself during the Interval, but be better prepared to proceed again with this Paper, whenever an opening for that Purpose appears, which I hope will be soon.

WILLIAM BRADFORD

In protest against the Stamp Act The Pennsylvania Journal suspended publication, picturing in its issue of October 31, 1765, the stamp as a skull and crossbones.

in 1766, and the Sugar Act was revised, the duty on molasses being reduced to one penny per gallon. The British government made clear, however, that in retreating in this instance, it was not surrendering the general principle of its jurisdiction over the colonies. The repeal was accompanied by a Declaratory Act maintaining that Parliament "had, hath, and of a right ought to have full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and people of *America*, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatsoever."

Parliament's insistence upon its constitutional prerogatives was overlooked by the rejoicing colonists, who were apparently more concerned at the time with economic realities than political principles. Bells were rung, cannon were fired, and the king was toasted everywhere with brimming bumpers. Many of the colonial merchants still grumbled that for one reason or another they were not able to make the profits reaped before 1764, but generally speaking, the colonists were eloquent in their protestations of loyalty to their noble sovereign, George III.

*The Townshend Acts
and increasing hostility*

THE REPEAL of the Stamp Act and the reduction of the sugar tax only transferred the burden of raising

imperial revenues back to the already heavily loaded shoulders of the British taxpayer—and he did not intend that all of it should remain there. In July 1766, a new coalition ministry came into power, headed by William Pitt the elder (soon to become Lord Chatham). Pitt was ill during this time, and leadership in the formulation of financial policies fell to his brilliant but superficial chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townshend. The chancellor was convinced that the mercantilist philosophy should be enforced strictly and that the existing deficiency in revenue must be overcome. Taxation of the colonies presented a way of achieving both these aims at once, and at little expense to the harassed English taxpayer.

Townshend had seen what happened when internal taxes, such as the Stamp Act, were imposed on the Americans, and so he hunted around for a form of taxation that might be more agreeable to hypersensitive colonists. In 1767 he had the acts bearing his name passed by Parliament. They called for the imposing of tariff duties on colonial imports of painters' colors, red and white lead, glass, paper, and tea. The taxes were not excessive, but they fell on articles of everyday use, and so raised the general cost of living. But the Townshend Acts went further: they provided for the collection of these revenues by British officials appointed by London and paid out of their collections; thus keeping them free of local control. To assist officers in stamping out smuggling, writs of assistance were legalized, by which these officers were permitted to enter any shop, warehouse, or home in search of illegally imported goods.

The Townshend Acts met with the same kind of reception as had been accorded the Grenville Acts, except that it was much more serious. Once again the colonial merchants resorted to a commercial boycott—this time less tacit than before—and these nonimportation agreements spread to the plantation provinces also. Merchants who would not cooperate found themselves bedecked in undignified tar and feathers; and other acts of violence occurred, this time more numerous, vigorous, and purposeful than before.

*The Boston Massacre
and increasing colonial resentment*

THIS OPEN defiance of law and order was scarcely to be tolerated by the British authorities. They

decided to station a military force in Boston. Its arrival from Halifax in October 1768 only inflamed passions the more. Radicals like Samuel Adams, a leader of the Boston Sons of Liberty, were tireless in fomenting unrest, and the redcoats were pelted with cries of "Lobsters," and "Bloody Backs," together with more solid missiles such as snowballs and oyster shells.



"The Bloody Massacre" of Boston, 1770, from a colored print by Paul Revere, well-known American patriot and engraver.

The situation progressively worsened until on March 5, 1770, an incident occurred that had far-reaching repercussions. On that day a sentry called for assistance upon being snowballed by some youths. A sergeant and six men appeared, only to be assaulted with sticks and stones. When one of the soldiers was knocked down by a club, the company fired on the crowd, killing five and wounding some others. This became known as the "Boston Massacre," and though the commanding British officer was defended by John Adams and acquitted, the resentment against the use of military force was exploited by radicals to keep the minds of the people inflamed. According to the Tory Governor Thomas Hutchinson, descendant of Anne Hutchinson (page 281): "The Boston people are run mad. The frenzy was not higher when they banished my pious great-grandmother, when they hanged the Quakers, when they afterwards hanged the poor innocent witches."

*Repeal
of the Townshend Acts*

THIS ALL but impossible situation was improved in April 1770 by the repeal of the greater part of

the Townshend Acts. A new prime minister, Lord North, had taken office. He held the view that the taxation of British manufactures was "preposterous," and accordingly he arranged for the removal of the tax upon paints, glass, and paper. But in order to reconfirm the principle that the crown at all times had the right to tax its colonies, a tax of three pence a pound on tea was retained. The colonists thus could purchase the beverage cheaper than it could be bought in England, where the import tax was a shilling a pound.

The repeal of most of the Townshend Acts was highly agreeable to the colonial merchants, for their uneasiness over mounting disorder grew as their prosperity returned. They had come to worry about this growing propaganda of home rule spread about by agitators like Samuel Adams; for, they asked each other, in the event of independence, who would be in control—they or the radicals? And so some merchants agreed with one of their members that "high points about the supreme authority of Parliament" should best "fall asleep." With the breakdown of the boycott, trade was resumed and imports spurted from a low of £1,604,000 to £4,200,000 in 1771.

*Continued agitation
and the Gaspée incident*

AGITATION continued, but it was now carried on almost solely by a radical minority, headed by the

irrepressible Samuel Adams. As he bombarded the public with pamphlets and newspaper articles, a spectacular event took place which aided his efforts. The smuggling of tea had brought the revenue vessel, the *Gaspée*, to Rhode Island, where the ship's commander made himself detested for the ruthless manner in which he searched vessels for contraband and treated the farmers of the region, from whom he seized sheep for meat. Finally, on June 9, 1772, the *Gaspée* ran aground below Providence, and the ship was

attacked by a mob headed by one of Providence's leading citizens. The ship was burned and the commander wounded. British officialdom considered the whole affair treasonable and proposed to bring the persons responsible for the act to England for trial, but no one could be found who was willing to accept the reward for naming them.

*The uniting
of public opinion in America*

SAM ADAMS seized upon the hue
and cry to press his case further.

Vehement and eloquent as a pamphleteer and conspicuously talented as a political agitator, Adams bombarded the public with every possible argument for resistance, asking his countrymen whether they wanted to be "freemen or slaves." To win freedom, Adams constantly reiterated, union and collective action would be needed. In November 1772, he conceived a highly effective organ for propagandizing and solidifying the colonists—the Committee of Correspondence. Rising in the Boston town meeting, he proposed that a committee of twenty-one be appointed "to state the rights of the colonists and of this province in particular, as men, as Christians, and as subjects;...with the infringements and violations thereof that have been or from time to time may be made." This committee was to be empowered to send emissaries to other towns, and in every way to educate the public against ministerial oppression.

So timely did this innovation prove that almost overnight similar committees of correspondence sprang up everywhere. Massachusetts alone possessed over eighty by January 1773. Two months later, militant members of the Virginia House of Burgesses, including Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Thomas Jefferson, succeeded in creating a provincial Committee of Correspondence, designed to communicate with the sister colonies. Within a year, all but one of the colonies had these special committees, whose purpose was to mold public opinion to oppose domination by London.

*The Tea Act of 1773
and its first repercussions*

NEVERTHELESS, despite the
growing unrest and solidarity of
the American colonies, and de-

spite the effectiveness of the radical leaders, the more cautious mercantile groups were reluctant to jeopardize their returning prosperity for the sake of greater political autonomy. At this point, however, the government in London unwittingly provided the radicals with powerful ammunition. In 1773 the British East India Company was on the verge of bankruptcy, thanks to mismanagement and extravagance (page 777). Tremendous quantities of surplus tea were lying in its English warehouses. Bankruptcy of the company would be sure to impoverish a number of British merchants and politicians, whose misfortune would have repercussions in other quarters. Parliament decided to avert disaster by advancing the company a huge loan at a low rate of interest, transferring some of its privileges in India to the

crown in return. Furthermore, in order to facilitate the sale of the surplus tea, Parliament passed the notorious Tea Act of 1773. This act permitted the East India Company to ship tea to the American colonies in its own vessels and then sell it there directly through its own agencies. Furthermore, the customary shilling-a-pound tax on tea imported to England and subsequently transshipped to the colonies was remitted. Parliament's intention, since direct importation would eliminate middlemen, was to provide the colonists with cheaper tea than they had ever before been able to buy, and, at the same time, insure a certain market in the colonies for the company.

But if Parliament thought that it had pleased everybody, it was soon disillusioned. The act had conferred a virtual tea monopoly upon the East India Company, for it could now afford to pay the three-pence customs tax in the colonies and still reduce the price of tea by 25 per cent. Smugglers and honest shopkeepers would alike be helpless against this monopoly. But the danger was not confined to the tea merchants. What would prevent monopolies being granted to other British concerns, with the result that a host of commodities could then be shipped and sold directly to the colonies, thus depriving Americans of the profits of shipping and retailing?

*"The Boston Tea Party"
and the beginning of violence*

ONCE AGAIN the merchants joined with the radicals, although the means of resistance to be em-

ployed still brought disagreement between the two groups. The merchants inclined to the resumption of the technique of economic boycott; the radicals favored sterner action. Popular feeling running high, the radicals won out—and tar and feathers were soon in brisk demand. The first cargoes of tea to arrive in Boston were met with demands that they be shipped back home without payment of duty. The refusal of the obstinate Governor Hutchinson (whose sons were tea consignees of the Company) to allow the tea ships to leave port, brought a stalemate. Finally, a mass meeting was summoned at which Samuel Adams arose and said: "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country." Although historians will perhaps never know whether these words were designed as a signal for action, that night a group of men disguised as Indians rushed down to the harbor, boarded the tea ships, and dumped overboard a cargo sometimes estimated to have been worth £15,000.

This "Boston Tea Party" marked the point in the struggle between America and Britain at which pacific methods like colonial boycotts and parliamentary concessions became the exception, and violence and coercion the rule. On the one hand, the "Tea Party" was a signal for militant elements in the other colonies to take strong—and even strong-armed—measures. Rioters came close to physical violence in New York, Portsmouth, Philadelphia, and Charleston; and at Annapolis the *Peggy Stewart* with her cargo

of tea was publicly burned. On the other hand, the news of the "Tea Party" brought immediate repercussions among conservative elements both in the colonies and in Britain. They interpreted such action as lawless destruction of private property, which no self-respecting government could overlook. Even a liberal like Franklin labeled the episode "an act of violent injustice" and maintained that the East India Company deserved full compensation.

*British retaliation
with the "Intolerable Acts"*

THE REACTION in Parliament can be easily imagined. With large majorities, in the spring of 1774,

the statesmen at Westminster passed the four disciplinary measures that have come to be known as both the "Intolerable" and the "Coercive Acts." First (1) of all, by the Boston Port Bill, that hitherto intractable port was closed tightly to all outside commerce until such time as the royal authorities were satisfied that the trade of Great Britain might safely be carried on there, and "His Majesty's customs duly collected"; nor was the port to be opened again until the East India Company had been given full compensation for damages suffered. Another disciplinary measure, the (2) Massachusetts Government Act, was aimed at bringing the troublesome colony back to its senses; the old charter of 1691 was virtually abrogated, and town meetings—which in the hands of the stormy Samuel Adams had led to so much of the discontent—were forbidden to assemble without the governor's permission. By the Admin- (3) istration of Justice Act, those British officials charged with murder in the suppression of riots were to be sent to Britain for trial, if the governor or his lieutenant believed that a fair trial in the colonies was out of the question.

(4) Finally, the Quartering Act compelled the province of Massachusetts to provide lodging and food for British soldiers.

*Segregation of French Canada
from the other English colonies*

A FIFTH measure was also passed, which, while not intended strictly as punitive, helped to intensify ill

(5) will. This was the Quebec Act, which extended the boundaries of that province by the annexation of a great tract of land between the Ohio and the



This drawing from Benjamin Franklin's memoirs shows, in protest against the Intolerable Acts, a dismembered Britannia, her colonies severed and the broomstick-masted ships of her merchant navy lying idle.

Great Lakes, restored the old French civil law, and granted religious toleration to the Catholics in Canada. Coming at the time it did, this statute incensed not only the colonies of Virginia, New York, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, whose western territorial pretensions were thereby extinguished, but also infuriated the Puritans of New England. Moreover, it was clear that the generosity of Parliament toward French Canadians was motivated less by a love of toleration than by a desire to separate them from the English colonists and make them look to London for friendliness. The Quebec Act perhaps helped to save French Canada for the British empire and for French culture, but only at the expense of increased suspicion in the other English colonies.

*Stiffening
of the colonial resistance*

THE INTOLERABLE ACTS were supplemented by strong administrative measures. General

Thomas Gage, commander-in-chief of the armed forces in the colonies, was appointed governor of Massachusetts, and four regiments were ordered to the scene of discontent. Gage believed that the colonists "will be Lyons whilst we are lambs but if we take the resolute part they will undoubtedly prove very meek." Unfortunately for this prognostication, the New Englanders had read too much of Locke and had lived too long as practically self-governing Englishmen to forget that governments rested upon the consent of the governed; and many of them meant to express in no uncertain terms their unwillingness to consent to the Intolerable Acts. Even colonists who had formerly been disturbed by "Tea Party" vandalism and had been inclined to approve of compensation now were alienated by Parliament's harshness. As Governor John Penn wrote from Philadelphia: "They look upon the chastisement of Boston to be purposely rigorous, and held up by way of intimidation to all America.... Their delinquency in destroying the East India Company's tea is lost in the attention given to what is here called the too severe punishment of shutting up the port, altering the Constitution, and making an act, as they term it, screening the officers and soldiers shedding American blood."

*"Virtual"
and "geographical" representation*

UNTIL the Intolerable Acts were passed, the most tangible issue between the British government

and the colonists seemed to have been that of taxation, and the slogan "No taxation without representation" had been boldly flaunted by the Americans to justify their opposition to Grenville's and Townshend's acts. Yet it has been questioned whether the Americans would have consented to taxation by the British Parliament even if they had in fact been represented. Since the founding of Jamestown, the colonists had been taxed without representation, and not until the period of "salutary neglect" came to an end had there been any serious agitation against this accepted procedure.

Actually, when the colonists spoke about their constitutional rights as Englishmen, they were interpreting those rights differently from Englishmen. Since the colonies had been founded, English constitutional theories had undergone fundamental changes. The seventeenth century had witnessed the victory of parliamentary sovereignty over royal sovereignty. During the eighteenth century, the theory gradually was established that Parliament legislated for the nation as a whole. The theory is still basic in the British constitutional system. A member of Parliament need not be a resident of the constituency he represents, for he is regarded as morally bound to be guided by the national welfare rather than by merely local interests. This theory is known as "virtual representation." In the eighteenth century it was believed to apply to the whole British empire.

But American constitutional theory had developed in another direction. At first the colonies had been small, isolated, extremely suspicious of one another, and differentiated by variant and sometimes conflicting rights and privileges set down in their diverse charters. Virginians found it hard to believe that a man from Pennsylvania or Massachusetts could virtually represent them, or that a man from London or Glasgow could represent them and Pennsylvanians equally. Furthermore, colonial representatives were chosen by a much broader suffrage than in England. Being elected depended upon winning the suffrage of more than a select few. The greater number of voters also tended to increase the interest in issues of a local character. A legislator from a town was expected to represent his town, not the nearby rural areas; and repre-



Henry Adams (1844)

The COURT COTILLION, Or the Premiers new Parl+...t Jig.

*Revere, Britons, Revere! behold the staggering State,
Discord, distresses you, Concord unites you great;
While brutal voracity, Brother-swarty's Brother,
Friends dissimil, must destroy each other*

Certain political observers saw the American revolt as a new sign of British disunion. A British tar, an American Indian, and a kilted Scot scourge each other to North's tune, while Britannia weeps.

sentatives from tidewater constituents did not expect to win their reelection by scrupulous devotion to the needs of the frontier. Thus, while British constitutional practice had developed the concept of "virtual representation," colonial constitutional practice had brought forth the doctrine of "direct" or "geographical representation" whereby each colony had its own legislative system within which each deputy represented the interests of his own constituents. It was believed that the satisfactory resolution of local issues would result automatically in promoting general welfare.

*Traditionalism and rationalism
in colonial political philosophy*

THE COLONISTS' champions at first had argued that home-rule privileges had been granted them

in colonial charters, which were derived from the crown and antedated the rise of Parliament, and that therefore they were not bound to accept Parliament's pretensions over them. But since for a century the colonists had accepted the right of Parliament to legislate for them and had rarely questioned its sovereignty, it was somewhat unconvincing now to deny that sovereignty, basing that denial upon the sovereignty of the divine-right monarchs who had granted the charters.

Eventually the colonial thinkers saw that the justification of their cause would have to be argued on philosophical and rationalistic rather than on traditional and legal grounds. In other words, they would have to switch from historical precedents to logical arguments. The English political philosophers of the seventeenth century offered them the rationalization they were seeking. John Locke's theory of social contract was especially influential. His *Two Treatises on Civil Government* had concluded that "whenever... the legislative shall transgress this fundamental rule of society, and either by ambition, fear, folly, or corruption, endeavor to grasp themselves, or put into the hands of any other, an absolute power over the lives, liberties, and estates of the people, by this breach of trust they forfeit the power the people had put into their hands for quite contrary ends, and it devolves to the people, who have a right to resume their original liberty, and by the establishment of a new legislative (such as they shall think fit), provide for their own safety and security, which is the end for which they are in society."³⁰

*"Natural rights"
as a justification and a program*

THE APPEAL to Locke's treatises, now around three-quarters of a century old, was seldom made directly,

but the ideas of "social contract," "fundamental law," and "natural rights" were in the atmosphere of eighteenth-century America. More recent writers on the eternal problem of justice kept these ideas fresh in the minds of the literate. William Blackstone, for example, had maintained in his *Com-*

568 ³⁰John Locke, "Of the Dissolution of Government," *Second Treatise on Civil Government*, Ch. XIX.

mentaries on the Laws of England (London, 1765-1769), destined to become the standard law textbook of Englishmen and Americans of that generation, that human laws have no validity if they are contrary to the law of nature or the law of God; and Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws*, translated into English, along with other books of the French philosopher, confirmed Americans in their belief that just government was a government of laws and not of men, of enduring principles and not of temporary decisions. The recent conflicts over the stamp, tea, and other taxes had kept such ideas fresh and had made them common property. They were publicly pronounced in town meetings, sermons, rallies of Sons of Liberty, and political pamphlets; and they were proclaimed in private debate at taverns and country stores.

These ideas provided the intellectual ingredient in the rising spirit of independence. Here was a set of philosophical principles to justify the colonists' defiance. They were much more, however—they provided a program for a "thoroughgoing reform," if the colonists should so decide.

"FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES"

THE AMERICAN colonists were now face to face with the necessity for some bold decision. Previously they had been able to bring pressure against the acts of Parliament upon Parliament itself, and Parliament, favorably disposed, had made timely concessions. But now the Intolerable Acts revealed an unfavorably disposed Parliament intent upon meeting force with force. Would the colonists be made to yield, or would they counter with still more violence?

Convocation

of the First Continental Congress

MASSACHUSETTS was the object of the "Coercive Acts" and defiance appeared first in her county

conventions, but it was Virginia that took the initiative in showing the sympathy of the other colonies. On May 27, 1774, the Virginia House of Burgesses invited the other colonies to send delegates to a Continental Congress that was to meet in Philadelphia in September. The delegates were "to deliberate and determine upon wise and proper measures to be by them recommended to all the colonies, for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and liberties, civil and religious, and the restoration of union and harmony between Great Britain and the colonies, most ardently desired by all good men."

The Congress was attended by outstanding figures from all the colonies except Georgia. John Adams classified the delegates as "One third Whig; another Tory; the rest mongrel." In other words, the Congress, like the country, was about equally divided into the militant, the cautious, and the undecided.

*The Declaration
of American Rights and Grievances*

JOHN ADAMS, Samuel Adams,
and Patrick Henry led the radicals to victory in the Congress.

They persuaded that body to endorse the "Resolves," adopted a short time before by Suffolk County, Massachusetts. The resolves maintained that the Intolerable Acts were unconstitutional and should not be obeyed, and urged resistance through the organizing of a new civil government, the raising of troops, and the suspension of all commercial intercourse with Britain and the British West Indies. The radicals were instrumental in defeating a proposal put forward by the conservatives, suggesting that the colonies form a union and enter into a new constitutional arrangement with the mother country. Then radicals and conservatives together adopted, on October 14, 1774, a Declaration of American Rights and Grievances. This declaration, after setting forth the colonists' complaints, asserted that the colonists "are entitled to life, liberty, and property" and "have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever a right to dispose of either [*sic*] without their consent." The declaration went on to state that because the colonists had no voice in Parliament, they were "entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal policy, subject only to the negative of their sovereign."

*The Association
and committees of safety*

TO CAP this declaration, the radicals pushed through the "Association," pledged to import no

goods of any kind from Great Britain, and, should this fail to bring redress of wrongs, to ship no exports except rice to Europe. The Congress was an extra-legal body, and had no authority to enforce obedience to the Association. But the radicals were prepared to cope with this problem. In every city, town, and county they organized "committees of safety and inspection," made up of those qualified to vote for members of the colonial legislatures. These committees assumed the responsibility of enforcing the nonimportation agreement, and they sometimes dealt sternly with violators, seizing imported goods and plying tar and feathers. Despite conservatives' qualms regarding the effect of colonial resistance upon trade and the preservation of order, the colonies successively ratified the work of the Congress and approved the Association. How well the Association was enforced is shown by the drop in English imports from £2,532,919 in 1774 to £82,385 in 1775.

*Conciliation
repudiated by Lord North*

THIS WAS by far the most serious decline in business yet experienced by English exporters, and

caused alarmed mercantile interests in England to petition Parliament for repeal of the Intolerable Acts. The cause of repeal was eloquently cham-

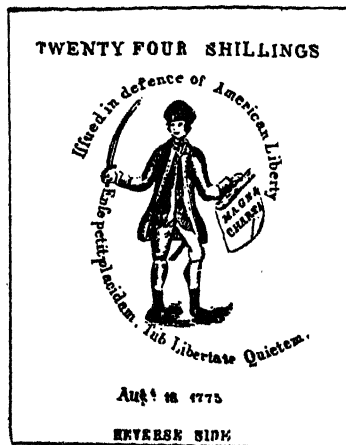
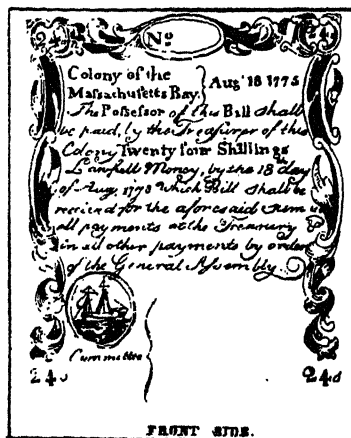
pioned by Edmund Burke, who spoke for conciliation with Americans because they were Englishmen fighting for their traditional rights, and by Lord Chatham, who feared the disruption of the British empire he had done so much to erect. The House of Lords was the setting of Chatham's impressive warning: "Every motive of justice and of policy, of dignity and of prudence, urges you to allay the ferment in America by a removal of your troops from Boston, by a repeal of your acts of Parliament, and by a display of amicable disposition towards your colonies. On the other hand, every danger and every hazard impend to deter you from perseverance in your present ruinous course—foreign war hanging over your heads by a slight and brittle thread; France and Spain watching your conduct and waiting for the maturity of errors, with a vigilant eye to America and the temper of your colonies."

Events were to show that Chatham was right. Certain elements in France—particularly Minister of Foreign Affairs Vergennes—were waiting for England to commit the errors that would split her empire asunder, and had sent agents to the British colonies, who let French interest become known. But Chatham's foresight was of no use. Lord North and the Tories had no intention of backing down, either to the radicals in the colonies or to their political opponents at home. North was willing to go only so far as to sponsor, in February 1775, a set of conciliatory resolutions, promising relief from parliamentary taxation for those colonies which assumed their share of imperial defense and made provision for the support of the crown's local officers. But this "olive branch" was nullified by his assuring George III that the colonists' rebellious acts would be suppressed, and by the Restraining Act of March 30, 1775, whose intention was the destruction of New England's sea-borne commerce.

*Colonial resistance
at Lexington and Concord*

ALL THAT was needed in the spring of 1775 was an "incident" to transform the struggle from one

of boycotts to one of bullets. The radicals and the more militant colonists had been gathering military supplies and drilling militiamen, to the dismay of the conservative element and the anger of the British leaders in the provinces. Finally, General Gage, as governor of Massachusetts, decided to seize military stores that had been collected by the colonists at Concord and to arrest two of the radicals, Samuel Adams and John Hancock. A small force of soldiers was sent off to Concord on April 18, 1775. Early the next morning it encountered at Lexington a small band of American volunteers, or "minutemen," drawn up on the green. An order by the British leaders to disperse resulted in the shots destined to be "heard round the world." Adams and Hancock escaped, but the minutemen could not prevent the British from reaching Concord and destroying the stores there. On the way back, however, the British were under continual fire from "the embattled farmers."



Although Massachusetts Bay printed this note as a British colony, the reverse side indicates that it was intended to be "issued in defence of American Liberty" and of the Magna Charta.

Lexington and Concord drove both sides to more uncompromising positions. Lord North's government issued a proclamation against the "rebels," and the military authorities were ordered to deal appropriately with these "traitors." Meanwhile the colonists were marshaling forces against the "butchers" and "massacrerers of innocent people," and New England troops in great numbers began to congregate in Cambridge near Boston. "Patriot" forces elsewhere seized British strongholds.

*The Second Continental Congress
and the demand for independence*

ON MAY 10, 1775, the Second Continental Congress assembled in Philadelphia. It brought together an unprecedented number of able colonial representatives, including Franklin, Washington, Jefferson, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Hancock. Lord North's "olive branch" was rejected because the Intolerable Acts had not been repealed and because Parliament still maintained its right to tax the colonists. Once more the Congress petitioned George III to redress grievances, and when this appeal went unheeded, it directed its energies to more belligerent ends. The thousands of volunteers around Boston could not be supplied without aid from the Congress. Congress adopted them as "the Continental Army" and appointed George Washington its commander-in-chief.

Yet, as Jefferson was to write in 1782: "It is well known that in July, 1775, a separation from Great Britain and the establishment of a Republican Government had not yet entered any person's mind." In the fall of

1775, at least five colonial legislatures were still on record as opposed to separation, and as late as January 1776, the officers' mess presided over by Washington was still toasting the health of His Majesty. But outside the meeting hall of the delegates and the officers' mess, men at country crossroads, parsons in village pulpits; radicals in town taverns, and pamphleteers in city streets were expressing ideas and opinions whose general tenor represented a growing demand for national autonomy. Royal governors and officeholders in the colonies recognized the trend, and increasing numbers of them now took passage to England.

Paine's attack

on the British in Common Sense

THE TREND became a full-fledged conviction in certain quarters when Thomas Paine published his pamphlet entitled *Common Sense* (January 1776). Paine was a former exciseman who had been turned out of office in England, a social misfit newly arrived in America. With incisive logic and psychological insight, Paine based his appeal on economic reasons. He not only denied that American prosperity depended on union with Britain but went so far as to maintain that any prosperity in America had come in spite of British interference. "America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power taken any notice of her. The commerce by which she hath enriched herself are the necessities of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe." Then, to tear the colonists away from the sentimental ties that bound them to the mother country in spite of economic disadvantages, Paine dynamited the monarchical principle. With what must have been keen personal relish he exposed the folly and inadequacy of his former royal master in a manner that was convincing to those who were already prepared to believe that kings were an unnecessary evil. Finally, he turned on the sacrosanct British constitution. According to Paine, although the House of Commons was supposed to speak for the common people, it was in reality held in check by the "remains of aristocratical tyranny in the person of the Peers" and the "remains of Monarchical tyranny in the person of the King." There was no other course open, Paine argued, than separation. And so acceptable was the argument that within a short time a hundred thousand copies were being read in the homes of New York, the plantations of the Carolinas, and the already republican-inclined frontier settlements. Thousands of colonists could exclaim with Washington: "Sound doctrine and unanswerable reasons!"

A motion in Congress

for independence from England

THE CAUSE of independence was now taken up by the provincial assemblies. It was already quite clear that so long as Europe's monarchs hostile to George III did not intervene, the colonists would probably not prevail in their quarrel with the

British government. It was equally clear that so long as the quarrel remained one between the British government and insurgent Englishmen, other European monarchs would not intervene. Independence, however, might make a significant difference. Various colonies, such as Massachusetts, North Carolina, and Virginia, instructed their delegates at Philadelphia to assent with their colleagues to a separation from Britain. On May 15, the Continental Congress advised the colonies in turn to establish themselves into states with their governments reorganized on a basis of popular consent. Then, on June 7, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved in Congress that "these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." John Adams of Massachusetts seconded the motion, and although the conservative delegates were afraid to go along with his plea for an immediate declaration, a committee was appointed to draft a formal declaration. The committee included Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, and John Adams.

*The formal adoption of
the Declaration of Independence*

THEIR proposed draft of a declaration of independence was adopted on July 4, 1776. It was almost

entirely the work of Jefferson. In the introductory and final paragraphs of the declaration Jefferson seemed at times merely to paraphrase the natural-rights philosophy of John Locke. The Declaration of Independence held that in the relations of peoples with each other just claims were dependent upon the "Laws of Nature and of Nature's God," explicable in terms of self-evident truths. Among these truths was the existence of a God-given equality among men. This natural equality implied an inalienable claim to certain rights, among which are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." "To secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed." Violation of such "just powers" by a tyrannical government freed the governed from their obligation to obey it and enabled them to seek a new government. The treatises which Locke had written in the seventeenth century to justify revolution against the king in order to establish the sovereignty of Parliament were, with unpremeditated irony, used by Jefferson and his associates in the eighteenth century to justify revolution against Parliament in order to establish the sovereignty of a new nation. Realizing, in the words of Benjamin Franklin, that if they did not hang together, they would probably hang separately, the signers of the Declaration of Independence, by its final sentence, agreed to "mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

The portion of the declaration that intervened between the introductory paragraphs and the final pledge was more realistic and concrete. It sum-

marized colonial grievances, twenty-seven in all. George III was made to appear personally responsible for the actions of Parliament. The grievances enumerated were not equally significant or profound; some appear carping, others distorted, and only a few beyond the boundary of peaceful compromise. But the declaration was in part a propaganda document, distinctly aimed at crystallizing opinion at home and winning sympathetic support abroad among the enemies of England. Its influence, derived from the simple epitome of eighteenth-century political rationalism in its opening paragraphs, far outlived the immediate issues that called it into being. It has served as a verbal inspiration in all subsequent struggles for the rights of man, even in more empirical ages.

THE WAR

OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE

THE ADOPTION of the Declaration of Independence formalized the separation of the colonies from the mother country. It also signified the advent of that critical moment when the colonists had to align themselves in opposite camps, according to their loyalties and convictions. Those who chose to renounce their former loyalty to the British empire in order to establish a new nation were called "Patriots"; those who considered themselves alone patriotic by remaining true to the empire became known as "Loyalists" or "Tories." Considered in this light, the American Revolution was not only a war between a nation-in-existence and a nation-in-formation; it was also a bitter civil war. And it rapidly involved England's European enemies, thereby becoming a world-wide war.

*The War of Independence
as a domestic conflict in America*

THE ADOPTION of the Declaration of Independence, together with its commitment to conflict, had been

a victory for the radicals, because of their positive program, efficient organization, and skillful propaganda. Nevertheless, as is generally true of the militant factions in significant revolutionary movements, they were only a minority. About a third of the population were either indifferent to the struggle or cautiously noncommittal. Generally speaking, the Patriots were much more powerful in New England and Virginia than in the middle colonies, and in the deep South, they achieved only parity in strength with the Loyalists.

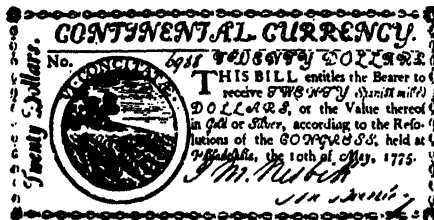
As might be expected, political affiliations tended to follow social and economic cleavages among the colonial population. Thus, the mechanics, yeoman farmers, and small tradesmen in the commercial North were strong supporters of the Revolution, for in such a victory they saw a chance for a new political, economic, and social order. The well-to-do northern mer-

chants, on the other hand, wanted freedom from mercantilist regulations, but they feared control by the radicals. In Virginia the most elevated group, the landed proprietors, favored the Revolution—and furnished many of its most important leaders—largely because many of them, badly indebted to London merchants or disapproving of the way in which the British government had handled the western lands, hoped for freer trade and lands in a regime under their own direction. On the frontier the settlers generally favored the Revolution. The frontiersman was often a recent immigrant with small wealth or social prestige. He had little use for either British imperialistic pretensions or the rising economic power of the colonial merchants and planters on the Atlantic seaboard. In the Revolution, he challenged the imperialists of London; later, he was to challenge the domination of his American antagonists.

*The emigration
of the persecuted Loyalists*

THE LOYALISTS, looked upon as counter-revolutionaries and traitors, suffered bitterly from the

Revolution. Where the Patriots were in power, the Loyalists found themselves disfranchised, deprived of court protection, and denied free speech, if, indeed, they were not banished and their lands confiscated. Since the Declaration of Independence was a repudiation not only of the English crown but, as a consequence, of the Church of England as well—rebellion compounded with heresy—the Loyalists comprised many outstanding conservative colonists. Landowners, lawyers, doctors, college officials, and a large part of the Anglican clergy were to be found among them. In addition the Loyalists had their quota of rich merchants and, of course, the crown officials. While large numbers took ship to England or the West Indies, something like 60,000 Loyalists migrated north to Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Quebec, the upper St. Lawrence, and the lands around Lake Ontario. This migration of the "U.E.L."—United Empire Loyalists, as they are known in Canada—laid the foundation of the English-speaking population of that commonwealth. In this respect, the American Revolution was a great blessing to Canada—and to be a "U.E.L." there is as respectable as to be an "S.A.R." (Son of the American Revolution) in the United States. ✓



In addition to the paper money issued by the Continental Congress, many of the states issued their own currency. Left: a twenty-dollar bill issued in 1775 by the Continental Congress. Right: a one-sixth of a dollar note issued in 1777 by the State of Virginia.

*Financing
the War of Independence*

IN A WAR against the mightiest
imperial power in the world, the
obstacles confronting the Patriots

were well-nigh insurmountable. Wars cannot be won without heavy expenditures of money—and the Continental Congress had been granted no power by the separate colonies, now self-styled “states,” to levy taxes. It had to rely on paper money, requisitions upon thirteen sovereign and none too cooperative states, and foreign loans. Having virtually nothing to back it up, this Continental currency depreciated so completely that a new expression of contempt passed into our speech: “not worth a Continental!” In the end the situation was so chaotic and ridiculous that Continental bills were used in jest as wallpaper and as material for masquerade costumes. Congress also requisitioned funds and supplies from the states, but without a great deal of success.

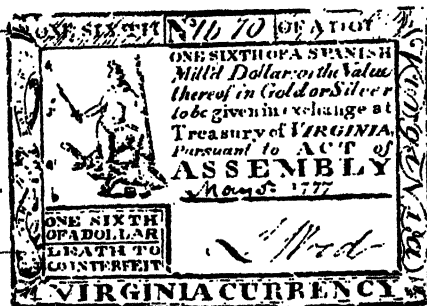
*Defeatism
in the American army*

IF THE finances of the colonists
were in an almost impossible
state, their military preparations

were fully as deplorable. Washington never had a sufficient number of soldiers at his command. Throughout the war, he had only a small fraction of the available manpower. In 1776, at its greatest peak, the total force at his disposal numbered not more than 90,000—or approximately one eighth of the men of fighting age. But in the years 1779-1780, the army had dwindled to half that number—or not more than one sixteenth of the potential soldiers. Furthermore, the majority of the American forces were militia, and for them the commander-in-chief had little use, complaining that they “come in, you cannot tell how; go, you cannot tell where, consume your provisions, exhaust your stores, and leave you at last at a critical moment.”

The suffering of Washington’s pitiful army in the winter’s encampment at Valley Forge in 1778-1779 and the defeatism of 1779-1780 have become part of the American saga. But sacrifice, treason, and mutiny could have been lessened if the coun-

try at large had supported Congress and the army with something of the ardor exhibited in subsequent national wars. The Continental forces lacked clothes, shoes, blankets, tents, and other equipment. The shortcomings of the medical and hospital facilities beggared descrip-



tion. When the soldiers did get their pay, it was generally in depreciated currency. War profiteers abounded everywhere, and more than one American farmer sold his produce to the English for gold, which the Continentals did not have. As early as 1775 Washington had stated bitterly: "Such a dearth of public spirit and want of virtue, such stock-jobbing, and fertility in all the low arts to obtain advantages of one kind or another...I never saw before, and pray God I may never be witness to again...Such a dirty, mercenary spirit pervades the whole, that I should not be at all surprised at any disaster that may happen."⁴⁰

*Advantages
on the side of the Americans*

due to the leadership of Washington himself, and the quality of his motley but unconquerable followers. Washington was able to keep something of an army

YET, DESPITE heart-breaking conditions, Washington managed to win out. In large measure this was together despite the necessity of being regularly on the defensive against larger and better trained forces, to win occasional dashing victories of great importance to morale, and to keep the confidence of most of his generals and Congress through a long period of despair, until finally an alliance with the French turned the tables in his favor.

Another important reason for ultimate American success lay in the generals and armies opposing Washington. As one of the most powerful imperial nations in the world, England certainly had the naval and military resources to bring the colonists to their knees, had those resources been properly utilized. That they were ineptly employed was due in part to the divided attitude in London toward



This cartoon, entitled "News from America, or the Patriots in the Dumps," shows American sympathizers in England who did not rejoice to hear the news of General Howe's victories in America.

⁴⁰George Washington, *Writings*, ed W. C. Ford (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1889), III, 246-247.

"D'Estaing at Spa or the French Admiral in all his Glory," an unflattering English political cartoon of Admiral D'Estaing, who headed the first French naval expedition to help France's American allies.



the prosecution of the war—thus preventing Britain from making the all-out effort of which she was capable. The British had little ardor for this civil war. The redcoat uniforms were worn by wretched volunteers and criminals pardoned "on condition of their enlistment in his Majesty's army."

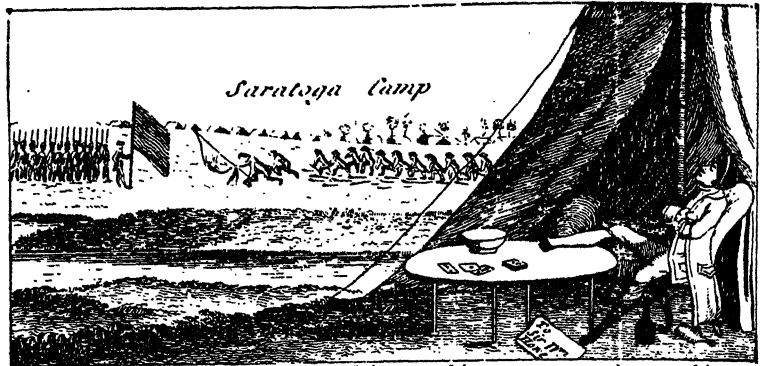
When insufficient numbers were forthcoming, several thousand mercenaries were hired from German princes. The most inspired soldiers on the British side were the Loyalist Volunteers, who fought to defend their homes and principles. One of the most important English generals, Sir William Howe, was a commander of genuine ability, but his heart was not in his work. He had opposed the imposition of coercive measures prior to the outbreak of hostilities; he preferred gay society in Boston to a strong campaign in the field; and he made peaceful overtures to persuade the colonists to give up the struggle, hoping that the war would terminate without his having to press home the smashing defeats he inflicted on the Americans about New York in 1776. Other British generals, like Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, were mediocre leaders, who disputed with each other over strategy.

Geography also presented disadvantages to the British. The world's most powerful fleet was forced to operate three thousand miles away from its base. The results expected from a coastal blockade proved disappointing, especially when the French fleet joined the colonists' privateers. Then, too, the British soldiers were harassed and overcome in the forests of the interior. They captured and held some of the largest ports such as New York, Charleston, and Savannah until the end of the war, but they were unable to capture, or to hold for long, the interior—even in New York, where the Loyalists were strongest and the Indians mostly on the British side.

*The American Revolution
and the Anglo-French struggle*

ULTIMATELY the colonists' success was due to the intervention and aid of the French. At the outbreak

of war, even before the Declaration of Independence, Congress astutely sent Silas Deane as a secret agent to France, the traditional enemy of Britain, to secure aid. After independence was declared, Deane was joined by Benjamin Franklin and Arthur Lee. Had the conservative governments of Europe made common cause with the crown of England, the American insurgents might



The Generals in America doing nothing, or worse than nothing.

This unjust cartoon shows the British commander in America; his dispatches lying unopened on the ground, relaxing with cards and wine, while his defeated colleague surrenders at Saratoga.

have had eventually to consider reconciliation. But the desire for *revanche* and for a share of the trade with the prosperous English states in America proved stronger than the fear of rebellion. Secret funds were secured by Congress from France even before the French government formally recognized the United States, and afterwards from Spain and private Dutch bankers as well. These foreign loans were used to purchase supplies in Europe, and on occasion even to pay interest on domestic bonds. This secret aid from France proved to be one of the war's most decisive factors.

In addition to the desperately needed money advanced to the colonists, a steady stream of supplies and officers, of whom the Marquis de Lafayette was one of the least well trained, left French and French West Indies ports, even while France was still ostensibly neutral. An American victory in the interior of New York at Saratoga (now Schuylerville), in October 1777, proved the turning point of the war. It caused the English to renew efforts at reconciliation, and induced the French, out of fear that reconciliation might in fact occur, to make a formal pact of alliance with the United States. Treaties of commerce and alliance were signed in February 1778, whereby France recognized the independence of the United States, correctly expecting Great Britain to declare war in consequence.

Spain and Holland followed France in going to war with Great Britain. Thereupon London had an international conflict, and not merely a colonial revolt, on its hands. In 1780, because the British insisted on searching all vessels for shipments to their enemies, almost all the other large European powers, without declaring formal war, created a League of Armed Neutrality, pledged to defend themselves against British high-handedness on the seas.

The League of Armed Neutrality included Russia, Prussia, the Holy Roman Empire, the Scandinavian countries, Portugal, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.

*The War
of the Bavarian Succession*

Her erstwhile ally Prussia gave her no aid, not only because Frederick, rejoicing at the chance to repay England for her alleged desertion during the Seven Years' War, now joined the Armed Neutrality, but also because Prussia and Austria simultaneously engaged in another bout of their chronic struggle. They were involved in a war of succession over Bavaria in 1778-1779, which ended after one indecisive campaign with only minor territorial changes and without spreading beyond the confines of southern Germany, largely because the potential allies of the two protagonists were otherwise occupied. This War of the Bavarian Succession is sometimes called "the Potato War," because the chief casualties in it were the farmers' crops.

THUS ENGLAND paid the penalty of success; almost alone she faced a hostile Europe and America.

*The War of Independence
in America as a world-wide war*

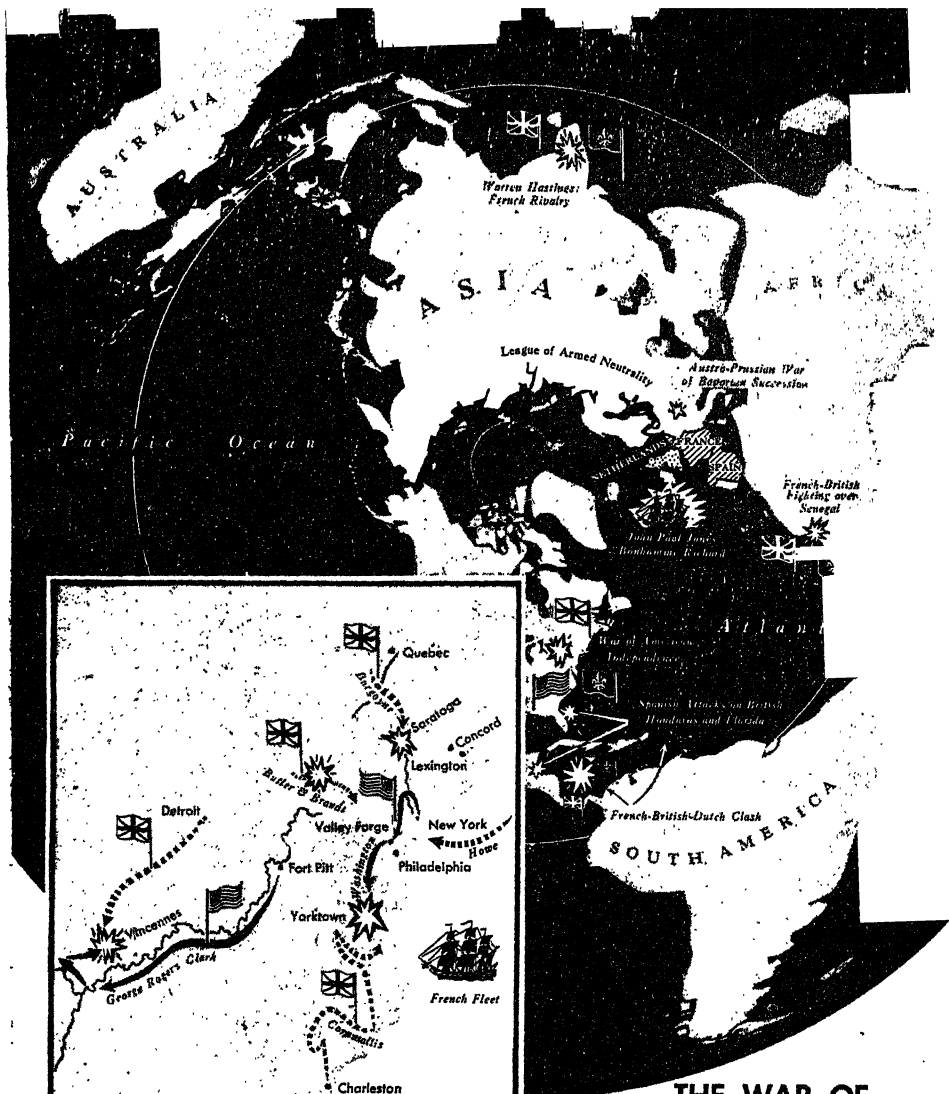
AFTER the Alliance of 1778 the French fleet and army participated increasingly in the War of

American Independence. When the Spanish were induced to join the alliance, the French and Spanish undertook a formidable but ultimately unsuccessful effort to invade England. They laid siege to Gibraltar and continued it until the peace was signed. France sent expeditions to challenge the English in the East and the West Indies, Africa, and South America. Huge loans were made to America and to France's other allies. French ships cooperated with the American Captain John Paul Jones in attacking British commerce, and a




Inside View of the Lona Room at the Custom House.

An English caricaturist pictures varying reactions to dying "Commerce" on the part of idle customs employees.



THE WAR OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE AS A PHASE OF THE SECOND HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

 AT WAR WITH ENGLAND

French fleet prevented sea-borne aid from reaching Cornwallis' besieged forces at Yorktown. And at Yorktown itself the Patriots' triumph was made possible because 5745 Continentals and 3200 militia were strongly reinforced by 7800 French marines and soldiers. Meanwhile the English government was faced with anti-Catholic riots at home and threats of rebellion in Ireland. The war continued for over a year after Yorktown because the French were at least as anxious to win control of the West Indies as to free the Americans from England and the Spanish were even more anxious to secure Gibraltar. In short, the War of American Independence was much more than the Revolutionary War in America. It was world-wide, fought on all the seas and all the continents—a significant phase of the Anglo-French "Second Hundred Years' War" for colonial and naval superiority.

"A MORE PERFECT UNION"

FOR THE United States, peace was to bring many challenges. Independence meant a readjustment of American institutions to a new status in relationship not only to England but to the entire world. The young republics had to achieve self-reliance, federal cooperation, and international standing, and to endure close inspection as they worked at such problems as modifying aristocratic land-tenure practices, disestablishing churches, and secularizing education.

Ideas and ideals, such as the social contract and the Rights of Man, which had spread far in Europe, were to be tested in actual application and not in theory, and the outcome of the American experiment provoked much speculation and excitement if not deep concern across the Atlantic. The methods that the new confederation was to use in solving the problems that arose from independence were to be keenly observed in Europe, and both the successes that the Americans encountered and the blunders that they made were to be watched just as keenly.

As Europe watched the American efforts to realize a political philosophy that was essentially European, she became increasingly aware of the new nationalism in the United States and of its growing importance in international affairs. European governments saw in the independent American states a chance to acquire new allies and new markets. And the young confederation became increasingly aware that it was in a position to affect the international

The War of American Independence touched off another mêlée in the British-French struggle for world power, and the years 1778-1782 saw fighting on five continents. In its Atlantic phase alone it reached from the shores of South America to the coasts of Ireland and Africa, and over the West Indies and the eastern areas of North America. Many of the other European nations took sides actively or in "armed neutrality." Spain in 1779 followed the French lead in aiding the American colonists; and when the United Provinces were drawn in a year later, action in the East and West Indies was intensified.

balance. Hence the United States not only served as a sort of laboratory in political experimentation for Europe and the rest of the world but also provided an additional potential pawn in the endless game of power politics. ✓

*Peace negotiations
and the Peace of Paris (1783)*

EARLY in 1782 the ministry of Lord North fell, and the Whigs came into office. Concerned with

fighting France, Spain, and Holland simultaneously, and keeping a wary eye on the Armed Neutrality of the North, the new government took a conciliatory attitude toward the Americans. The Patriots were offered all concessions short of independence, but they refused to accept. When, however, the Americans were finally offered full recognition of independence, Franklin and his colleagues made a separate treaty of peace with the Whig government, although their actions constituted a violation of the alliance treaty of 1778 wherein the Americans had promised not to make peace independently of France. The Americans, not recognizing that French delay in making a general peace was due chiefly to Spanish insistence upon the return of Gibraltar, were motivated by fear of possible secret understandings with regard to North America by England, France, and Spain. When the separate "preliminaries" of Anglo-American peace became known, the astute Franklin told the French minister that he hoped the Americans would not lose the friendship of France because of "a single indiscretion."

By the final terms of the Treaty of Paris, signed on behalf of England, France, and Spain, as well as the United States, on September 3, 1783, the independence of the United States was acknowledged, as were its territorial claims west of the Mississippi, north to Canada, and south to Florida. The Americans were also afforded the right to fish in Newfoundland waters. The United States agreed that there should be no further persecution of the Loyalists, British creditors would not be hindered in collecting debts in courts, and Congress would recommend to the state legislatures that the seized property of Loyalists be restored to them. All in all, the terms of the treaty were generous, largely because the British had already embarked upon a policy of winning the Americans away from France. Despite vindictiveness on both sides, the habits implanted by generations of interdependence, it proved, were not easily broken even though France also was willing to make generous concessions.

*The new land system
established in the United States*

THE VICTORY of the Patriots put an end to Britain's restrictions on the seizure and settlement of

trans-Allegheny lands. The process of breaking up large landed estates that often accompanies successful revolutions took place also as a result of the American Revolution. All the domains that had previously belonged to the crown now became the property of the states, and were eventually to be ap-

portioned on a more democratic basis than formerly. Furthermore, the old quitrents, which occupants had had to pay to the crown or a proprietor—ranging from a penny an acre to a shilling a hundred acres per annum—were now abolished by the colonists. Thirdly, former unpopular restrictions on land tenure, such as the reservation of appropriate trees for use by the royal navy, were now ended. Fourthly, many Tory estates had been confiscated or partly confiscated by state legislatures, generally at the height of the war. The largest of the confiscated estates, that of the Penns of Pennsylvania, was worth almost £1,000,000 sterling, but the Penns were paid \$650,000. Lastly the Revolution dealt a deathblow to certain feudal practices. Entails, which, on the ground that grants of land did not alienate the royal claim to it, prevented the holder of lands from selling or giving them away as he saw fit, were soon abolished by the states; so was primogeniture, the practice by which all lands were turned over to the eldest son if a father's will did not otherwise provide. More than the abolition of titles, the disappearance of entail and primogeniture, by permitting the breakup of large holdings, discouraged the rise of aristocratic estates in America.

Agriculture

and industry in the United States

her control of finance and coinage. The encouragement of manufacturing enterprises had been recommended to all colonies by the First Continental Congress, and in 1775 the "United Company of Philadelphia for promoting American Manufactures" was organized to make American woolen, linen, and cotton cloth on a large scale. The manufacture of munitions and guns was of prime necessity to the colonists, and in 1778 a government armory was founded in Springfield. Gunmaking was carried on in a number of places, and more than one state offered bounties to encourage production of steel, powder, and so forth. Paper mills increased from thirty-seven in 1776 to over a hundred in 1789. Noninterference and the impetus of the war stimulated the production of wool in the colonies, and especially cotton in the South. The Carolinas exported rice, but the indigo industry declined because of the cessation of British bounties.

The church

and humanitarianism in America

THE REVOLUTION also wrought far-reaching changes in religious affairs. Most affected was, of course, the Church of England, which had been the established church (and therefore tax-supported) in Virginia, Maryland, New York, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The Revolution stripped the Anglicans of their privileged position, although separation of church and state did not take place in Virginia until 1786. In New England the Congregationalists kept their established position until the nineteenth century. The Revolution tended to weaken the popular

hold of the churches and, at the same time, strengthen the movement toward greater religious tolerance.

The American Revolution, by making American court systems independent of English methods, was partly responsible for the reforming of penal codes in the last decades of the eighteenth century. In keeping with the current humanitarian spirit reflected by the famed European penologists Beccaria and Howard, penalties, prisons, and the treatment of debtors were ameliorated. While the reign of George III saw the list of offenses punishable by death mount in England until they exceeded two hundred, the opposite trend was taking place in the American states. Virginia, thanks to Jefferson, and Pennsylvania led the way. The Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons was founded in 1787, and in the 1790's Pennsylvania restricted the death penalty to punishment for premeditated murder only.

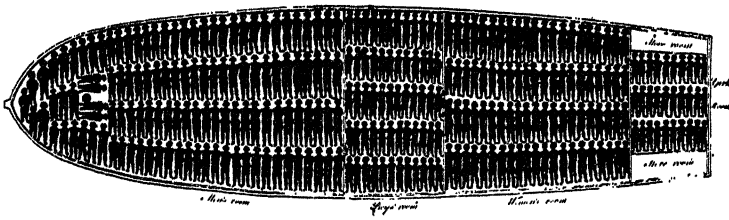
A little was done at this time also on behalf of the Negro slave. Vermont (not yet recognized as a state) declared slavery a violation of natural rights, and Pennsylvania provided for gradual emancipation. But the other states did not follow these examples. The citizens of Danbury, Connecticut, declared that it was "a palpable absurdity to complain of attempts to enslave us while we are actually enslaving others," but Connecticut's legislators preferred to ignore this anomaly. John Adams hoped that a proposed Massachusetts emancipation bill would "sleep for a time" since there were already "causes enough of jealousy, discord, and division."

*The effect upon education
of the War of Independence*

THE REVOLUTION also had a marked effect upon education in the United States. During the

Revolutionary War, public, private, and church schools often had to close because of military operations and demands for men and money. The colleges suffered especially. Sometimes they were occupied by armies. For example, the College of William and Mary was temporarily Cornwallis' headquarters, and, after his surrender, was turned into a French military hospital. Reduced enrollments and depreciation of public securities in some cases almost annihilated college revenues.

When they opened their doors again, the schools tended to be less religious and more secular in character. Statesmen like Jefferson, John Adams, and Madison had previously been concerned about the place of education in the preservation of liberty. During the war, Jefferson had drafted "A Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge," suggesting a public school system for Virginia. After the war he revised the curriculum at William and Mary by establishing chairs in modern languages and law to take the place of those in classics and divinity. Another by-product of the war was the founding at Harvard of a medical faculty. The Revolutionary period also saw a



This plan of a Liverpool slave ship appeared in *Remarks on the Slave Trade* (Philadelphia, 1788) by *Africanus* (pseudonym). It was published by Mathew Carey.

gain in the publication of textbooks. In 1783 appeared Noah Webster's spelling book, which was a sort of Declaration of Independence in the realm of orthography and vocabulary; over fifty million copies of it were eventually sold. A year later Jedidiah Morse, "the father of American geography," published the first of his textbooks.

*The effect
of independence upon letters*

ALTHOUGH lacking present-day machinery for turning out war propaganda on a mass scale, the

Revolutionary combatants added press and pen to their stock of weapons. As is usually true of propaganda efforts, most of theirs were mediocre and short-lived. Tory and Patriot newspapers denounced each other and reviled the opposing side's leaders. Thus the *Pennsylvania Packet* attacked King George as a "second Cain, true likeness of the first," and after the British Major John André's execution as a spy, the *New York Royal Gazette* denounced Washington as a "murderer."

A few Revolutionary poets were worthy of note. John Trumbull, one of the "Connecticut Wits," wrote the humorous epic "M'Fingal," treating the opening scenes of the Revolution and burlesquing the Tories. Another of the Connecticut Wits, Joel Barlow, produced a more serious, patriotic epic, "The Columbiad," telling the story of American growth. Philip Freneau, of New Jersey, was known in his own day as the "poet of the American Revolution." Freneau's poems are deeply emotional and patriotic. He commanded a privateer during the war and on returning from the West Indies was made prisoner by a British vessel. Upon his release in 1780, Freneau wrote "The British Prison Ship." He described his prison as a "slaughter-house" and cried:

Americans! A just resentment shew,
And glut revenge on this detested foe;
While the warm blood exults the glowing vein
Still shall resentment in your bosoms reign,
Can-you forget the greedy Briton's ire,
Your fields in ruin, and your domes on fire,

No age, no sex from lust and murder free,
And, black as night, the hell born refugee!

Freneau's indignant outburst was simply an expression of the new spirit of nationalism. However provincial these former colonists might appear when judged by the most advanced European standards, they were now at last their own masters—and they knew it. The new nationalism found expression in the formal annual observance of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, and its highest symbol in the figure of George Washington. His character and appearance, together with his indissoluble association with the victorious outcome of the conflict, enshrined him in the hearts of his countrymen, and provided them with a personified symbol of national unity.

The "Critical Period"
under the Articles of Confederation

NEVERTHELESS, the thirteen former colonies entered the postwar era as loosely united sovereign

states. Back in the fall of 1777, the Continental Congress had hammered out a document known as the Articles of Confederation, which had then been submitted to the individual states for ratification. Not until 1781, when the last state (Maryland) agreed to the proposal, had the Articles gone into effect. So jealous were the states of their prerogatives at this time that the Articles allowed each one to retain "its sovereignty, freedom and independence."

The years during which the nation lived under the Articles of Confederation have been popularly called the "Critical Period." The Articles permitted Congress to conduct foreign affairs, declare war, raise an army and navy, borrow money, fix weights and measures, control Indian affairs, and so forth. But the all-important right to levy taxes was restricted to the states, as was the regulation of commerce. In addition, certain legislation required the assent of at least nine states; and no amendments could be made to the Articles without the consent of every state. Congress was thus able to raise troops but could not raise taxes to pay them, and its "requisitions" upon the states for money were seldom effective. At the close of their campaigns, the Revolutionary armies faced a return to their homes with their accounts in arrears and little money in their pockets. Discontent reached the point where one band of Pennsylvania troops marched on Philadelphia, frightening the Congress into shifting its quarters to Princeton.

However inadequate the Articles of Confederation were from the standpoint of effecting and maintaining national unity, they reflected the political philosophy of the radicals of the period. The Patriots had rebelled against the centralized authority of London, and they were determined not to fall into the same error at home. And as they had overthrown a crowned executive, they made no provision for a joint elective executive, lest he become a dictator. The executive was vested in a committee of thirteen, composed of a

representative from each state's delegation to Congress, but its attempts to act when that body was not in session proved disheartening. Nor was any system of national courts provided for in the Articles of Confederation. At every point, the radicals were intent on having power decentralized and retained by state legislatures, which they then controlled. The pressure for a more centralized authority came from merchants, investors, land speculators, and other groups whose interests were not confined by the limits of their respective states.

*Difficulties
in trade with England*

THE VICTORIOUS Americans came out of the war hoping to supplement their political free-

dom with economic prosperity. They were rudely disillusioned from the outset. The republic was gripped by a period of depression and economic stagnation that lasted until 1787. The conflict had diverted men and money from peacetime agriculture and trade to wartime manufacturing and privateering—and the cessation of hostilities brought also the cessation of wartime economy. Men were thrown out of work, and only time could effect reconversion. Unfortunately much of the Americans' former prosperity had rested upon the export of raw materials to Great Britain—exports carried largely in American vessels. Not only was the preferential treatment that the British Navigation Acts had given the Americans before the Revolution now ended, but those very Acts automatically placed American commerce in the same category as that of all other foreign nations. John Jay's attempts to secure a reciprocal trade agreement with Britain at this time failed, while new Navigation Acts (1783, 1786, and 1787) sought to keep American vessels out of the British West Indies and to impose heavy tonnage dues upon American ships entering other British ports. Generous concessions made by the French government did not offset these blows, for the Americans preferred British manufactured goods, to which they had long been accustomed. John Adams, sent to London in 1785 as minister, tried to negotiate a commercial treaty, but powerful British mercantile interests killed his proposals, while the British government maintained that the economic advantage of the colonies that had remained loyal should be first protected.

Congress had no powers under the Articles of Confederation to regulate commerce, and therefore could take no retaliatory action against the British position. The states refused to grant Congress such powers, and finally retaliated individually against British imports. Between 1783 and 1788, ten of the states levied tonnage duties and discriminatory tariffs upon British goods and ships. But these duties differed from place to place and resulted only in the British merchants' seeking out the cheapest port. English goods continued to pour in but could not be counterbalanced by American exports, which continued to be excluded from England except on unfavorable terms.

*Complications
in the domestic economy*

NOR WERE economic problems confined simply to foreign trade. Each state was jealous of its sov-

ereignty and suspicious of its neighbors. As a result, bitter economic struggles ensued among them. For example, New York in 1787 levied import duties on the farm products of New Jersey and Connecticut—products required by the markets of New York City. In retaliation New Jersey levied an annual tax of \$1800 on the Sandy Hook lighthouse, which New York had recently acquired. New London businessmen agreed under pledge not to send goods to New York for a year.

The economic life of the new republic suffered grievously also from the plight of its public finances. Now that the war was over and France was having its own financial difficulties (pages 632-633), loans were no longer forthcoming from that source. As the Congress under the Articles of Confederation could not raise taxes and thus procure funds to pay interest charges on the national debt, securities depreciated to one sixth—even at times to one twentieth—of their face value. Naturally, the holders of these securities, both original subscribers and speculators, had every reason for wanting a firmer government.

The only currency of any real worth was the coins of foreign origin, but these proved insufficient to meet the country's needs, for the unfavorable balance of trade forced their export to help pay for the heavy imports from Europe. The depression of 1785-1786 brought matters to a crisis. Money was scarce, crops were rotting in the fields, and the poor people were in desperate straits. The people of Nantucket, deprived of their English market for whale oil, thought of moving to Halifax, and were checked only by a large order from France, wheedled by Lafayette. The demand swiftly spread for inflation through the issuance of more paper money. The conservative elements prevented this demand from succeeding in six states, but the other seven succumbed to pressure.

*Shays' Rebellion
in Massachusetts (1786)*

THE HEATED issue of economic reform came to a boil in Massachusetts. In 1786, a tax was voted

designed partly to pay off Massachusetts' Revolutionary debts. The tax proved hard on the farmers and the debtor class. They demonstrated for relief in vain. Then the farmers of western and central Massachusetts took stronger action. Under the leadership of Daniel Shays, a veteran of Bunker Hill, these farmers, demanding paper money, a reduction of taxes, and the elimination of special property privileges, prevented courts from meeting and eventually set forth to plunder the national arsenal at Springfield. Shays' Rebellion was put down at the cost of bloodshed, but this populist movement caused deep alarm among the propertied classes. Though not an alarmist

himself, Washington voiced the fears of the conservative groups when he wrote: "There are combustibles in every State which a spark might set fire to...I feel...infinitely more than I can express to you, for the disorders which have arisen in these States. Good God! Who, besides a Tory, could have foreseen, or a Briton predicted them?"

*The demand
for a stronger federation*

FOR A variety of reasons, a growing number of people were convinced by 1787 that the gov-

ernmental structure of the young republic must be overhauled. Among them were the mercantile and manufacturing interests, the holders of depreciated national securities, debtors, and small farmers. Some were also disturbed by the impotency of Congress in foreign relations. At this juncture the weakness of Congress was rendered especially conspicuous by its inability to take a strong stand against either Great Britain or Spain for still occupying western territory that had been ceded to the United States by the treaty of 1783. A rising young statesman, Alexander Hamilton, asserted: "We may...be said to have reached almost the last stage of national humiliation. There is scarcely anything that can wound the pride, or degrade the character, of an independent people, which we do not experience."

*The convention at Annapolis
and the Constitutional Convention*

THE MATTER was lifted from the rhetorical level by a dispute arising between Maryland and Vir-

ginia over the navigation of the Potomac and the Chesapeake. Delegates from Maryland and Virginia met on Washington's invitation at Mount Vernon in 1785 to settle this controversy. It soon became clear that the general problem of interstate commerce was too great for the two states to decide alone. So an invitation went forth from Virginia, calling for a convention to be held the following year at Annapolis, at which representatives from all the states would "consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common interests and their permanent harmony." Nine of the states appointed delegates, but those of only five showed up at Annapolis. Hamilton's skill, however, was equal to the occasion, and the delegates adopted his report, which, drawing attention to the critical state of affairs, suggested that another convention be called, to meet in Philadelphia in May 1787.

Hamilton's proposal was forwarded to the state legislatures and to Congress, and Congress issued the call for such a convention, carefully stating that its business would be restricted to the "sole and express purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation." Furthermore, all proposed amendments were to be submitted to the Congress and to the states for approval. To this convention came delegates from every state except Rhode Island, whose farmer government refused to participate in the deliberations.

*The composition
of the Constitutional Convention*

THE FIFTY-FIVE delegates who attended the convention's sessions included some of the recognized

leaders and most powerful men in the young republic. First among them was Washington, who, by unanimous choice, was chosen president of the convention. The venerable Franklin, young Alexander Hamilton, James Wilson, James Madison, and many other men of note were also present. Eight of the delegates had signed the Declaration of Independence; seven had been state governors. But there were also some prominent persons absent from the scene. Jefferson was in Paris as minister to France; John Adams was in London as minister to England; and Thomas Paine had left that year for Europe. Samuel Adams had not been chosen to represent Massachusetts or any other state, and although Patrick Henry had been elected, he "smellt a rat" and would not attend.

Although the Revolution itself had been largely the work of the radicals, the men who had come to stabilize the Revolution, it proved, were more conservative. They were propertied men in their own right and they represented propertied interests. Of the fifty-five delegates, no less than forty held national securities, fourteen had invested in lands for speculation, and most of them had investments in mercantile, manufacturing, and shipping lines, as well as in slaves, or in money loaned at interest. Not one of these delegates represented the small farming or mechanic classes, but rather towns and groups where wealth was concentrated. There were differences among the delegates, but these centered around the methods rather than the objectives of federal power. For virtually all agreed that the national government must be strengthened by giving it authority to levy taxes, provide for order and the common defense, regulate commerce, control the issue of currency, establish postal services, and assume the financial obligations of the confederation.

*Compromises
in the Constitutional Convention*

THE DELEGATES had gathered officially to amend the Articles of Confederation, but early in the

proceedings they took the stand that the needs of the republic demanded a completely new document. The question immediately arose as to the kind of new government that should be fabricated. The delegates, haunted by the example of state legislatures controlled by radicals, determined that untrammelled legislative supremacy held too many dangers, and so they devised an intricate system of checks and balances. It was agreed that governmental authority ought to be divided among legislative, executive, and judiciary branches, each with clearly stipulated checks upon the others. Two major plans were put forward regarding the structure of such a government. The Virginia plan, favored by the large states, conceived of a lower

house elected by the people, the lower house electing in turn an upper house, and the executive and judiciary to be chosen by the legislature. Countering this proposal was the New Jersey, or small state, plan, which proposed a plural executive and a unicameral legislature, in which each state, regardless of size, was to have an equal vote. The final draft of the constitution was a compromise between the two proposals, with a president chosen by electors from the states, and a bicameral legislature, in which the large states were favored in the lower house (Representatives), and the small states in the upper chamber (Senate).

The decision to elect the lower house on a basis of population brought up another problem in turn. The northern states were willing to have the slaves counted as property for tax purposes but not as people for electoral purposes. But the South demanded that slaves be counted in apportioning representation. The result was a compromise, whereby three-fifths of the slaves were to be counted in determining both taxation and representation. In various other ways, also, the constitution as finally shaped proved to be a set of compromises.

*The ratification
of the constitution*

THE ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION required unanimous consent of the state legislatures before an

amendment became effective. The delegates at Philadelphia, realizing the widespread opposition in several states to the proposed constitution, disregarded the existing legal machinery. Instead, they inserted in the constitution a provision that the states should signify their approval through special conventions, and that when nine of these state conventions had ratified it, the document would go into effect. No single state was to be given the chance to prevent the adoption of the constitution.

A storm broke over the ratification issue, and continued from September 1787 to July 1788. Those who favored adoption, known as "the Federalists," included the propertied and the professional groups, together with the army officers. "The Anti-Federalists" were composed largely of small farmers and nonpropertied groups. Thus, the Federalists had on their side money, prestige, and the most articulate voices in the republic.

The tenseness of the situation in New York led Hamilton to launch *The Federalist Papers*, in which he was afterwards assisted by Madison and John Jay. This series of eighty-five well-written and carefully reasoned essays set forth the political philosophy of the so-called "Founding Fathers." Published in other states, it played an enormous part in winning general ratification of the constitution and has since been a major source of constitutional interpretation. Wherever the problem of limiting central authority by federation and a system of checks and balances arises, *The Federalist* is still likely to be quoted. On June 21, 1788, the ninth state, New Hampshire, assented

to ratification. In the end, only two of the states, Rhode Island and North Carolina, refused to accept the constitution, but when the new government had gone into effect, they were forced by strong pressure to yield.

Whether the people as a whole desired the constitution is hard to say. About two thirds of the adult males failed to vote, either because of apathy or because of disfranchisement on account of property, tax, or religious qualifications. In the end, the affirmative vote comprised probably not more than one sixth of the adult male population.⁴¹ It is possible, but not certain, that if the vote had been heavier, the result might have been different.

*The adoption
of the Bill of Rights in 1789*

CONSPICUOUSLY, the new constitution contained no declaration of the rights of man, such as pre-

ceded the constitutions of the states. Samuel Adams and other radicals were induced to accept the proposed document only upon condition that a bill of "natural" rights would be added to it. Massachusetts and Pennsylvania as states made similar conditions. And so, at its first session (September 25, 1789) the Congress of the United States adopted a set of amendments that soon, in modified form, were ratified as the American "Bill of Rights."

The Revolutionary War had been a protest against centralization of power in London. The constitution now reintroduced a central legislative body, a strong executive, federal courts reminiscent of royal courts, and a system of taxes and tariffs beyond state jurisdiction. The radicals, it appeared, had won the Revolution, but the conservatives had now successfully taken the leadership away from them and had called a halt to further revolution.

THE YOUNG republic thus inaugurated a new and lasting form of government. The constitution was a compromise document, and its limitations dissatisfied great segments of the American public both in the 1780's and afterwards. The text of its amendments is now almost as long as that of the original articles. Many contemporaries, including some of the signers, had grave misgivings about the ability of the constitution to perform a good job or even to endure for any length of time. But it gave the country something that had been sorely lacking in the Articles of Confederation—a strong, workable national government, capable of insuring economic stability and political tranquillity at home, and increasing respect abroad.

The American Revolution had followed, in some significant regards, a pattern that historians and sociologists today find fairly characteristic of successful political revolutions. The original discontent had been created by

⁴¹Charles A. Beard, *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1944), p. 325.

political, social, and economic conditions (such as the growing nationalism of America), and by innovations (such as the Grenville and Townshend Acts) that had all been considered abuses by the general population. An active and articulate minority, led by intellectuals (such as Franklin, the Adamses, and Paine), had created a sense of solidarity and a dynamic organization where otherwise there might have been merely apathy or unorganized resistance. These intellectuals, reinforced by dissatisfied or idealistic merchants (like Hancock) and planters (like Washington and Jefferson), had provided leaders for the revolt. They had borrowed from current political theory a philosophy that both justified their rebellion and set forth a program for a better world. The failure of the mother country either to make timely concessions or to put up effective counterforce enabled the revolt to become a successful revolution—especially since crowned heads and conservative ministries of other countries failed to perceive that they had more to gain by supporting the status quo against revolutionary upheaval than by humiliating England. Seven years of revolutionary war and five years of political instability and change had led to a demand for “normal” and firm government, and a sort of political reaction under cautious leaders (such as George Washington and Alexander Hamilton) followed. The result was a stable regime with a conservative constitution, advocated now by a vested minority that was able to rally sufficient support from the rest of the population.

This pattern was one that, with many minor and a few major differences, has already been noted in the English Civil War and will be noted in the French Revolution (Chapters 13-14). These revolutions were more than analogous; they were interdependent. Just as the English upheaval could hardly have occurred if it had not been preceded by the Reformation with its doctrine of popular determination of religious faith, so the American Revolution might not have occurred if Americans had not learned from their background of the English Revolution and its apologists the doctrines of natural rights, social compact, and “just powers from the consent of the governed.” The American Revolution, in its turn, already had handed or soon was going to hand some of this “revolutionary tradition” over to France, which, however, had also derived much of its revolutionary spirit directly from the Reformation, the English Revolution, and its own *philosophes*.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1733 The Molasses Act passed by Parliament
- 1754 Adoption of Franklin's Plan of Union by the Albany Congress
- 1763 Pontiac's Indian rebellion
- 1763 The Proclamation of 1763 issued by the Grenville government
- 1764 The Sugar Act and Colonial Currency Act passed by Parliament
- 1765 Passage of the Stamp Act and convocation of the Stamp Act Congress
- 1766 Repeal of the Stamp Act, accompanied by a Declaratory Act
- 1767 Passage of the Townshend Acts
- 1768-1769 An economic boycott established by the colonists in protest against the Townshend Acts
- 1770 The "Boston Massacre" of March 5, followed in April by the repeal of a greater part of the Townshend Acts
- 1772 Organization of the first Committee of Correspondence by Samuel Adams
- 1773 Passage of the Tea Act, bringing radical protest in the form of the "Boston Tea Party"
- 1774 Passage of the "Coercive," or "Intolerable," Acts
- 1774 Meeting of the First Continental Congress and adoption of the Declaration of American Rights and Grievances and of the "Association"
- 1775 Firing of the first shots of the American Revolution at Lexington and Concord on April 19
- 1776 Formal adoption of the Declaration of Independence by the Continental Congress on July 4
- 1778 Signing of treaties of commerce and alliance between the United States and France
- 1779 Entry of Spain into the war against England
- 1780 Entry of Holland into the war against England
- 1780 Formation of a League of Armed Neutrality by Russia, Prussia, the Holy Roman Empire, Portugal, the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, and the Scandinavian countries
- 1782 A separate peace recognizing American independence made between England and the United States
- 1787 Meeting of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia and the drafting of a federal constitution to replace the Articles of Confederation
- 1788 The Constitution made effective in June with its ratification by the ninth state, New Hampshire
- 1789 Proposal in Congress of the American "Bill of Rights"



CHAPTER XIII

The collapse of the Old Regime

IN THE three centuries between 1500 and 1789 most of Europe had moved gradually from a medieval to a more modern culture. The rising power of kings diminished the political power of the aristocracy; the Reformation rent the religious unity of western Europe as the dynastic state system increased its political disunity; provincial separatism gave way to monarchical centralization; the agrarian economy was modified by the growth of commerce and industry; the monopolistic guild system declined before the inroads of royal and mercantile enterprise; the rise of the middle class unsettled the accepted medieval social pattern; science, invention, and natural philosophy challenged the authoritarianism of medieval scholasticism and politics; the growth of secularism turned man's attention from heaven to earth; and dramatic upsets of sacrosanct traditions effected by wars and revolutions accustomed men to instability and change in human affairs. The cultural pattern of Europe in 1789 looks much more familiar to the twentieth-century student than does the pattern of 1500.

And yet in 1789 still-powerful remnants of the medieval past persisted, anachronistic enough even in that day to be recognized as obsolete, yet so firmly entrenched that it was to take a world revolution to root them out. The aristocracy, still clinging to their honored position as a warrior caste and as a political power, not only retained privileges and exemptions deriving from their historic functions but also continued to dominate the social life of their countries. In the face of a rising clamor for representative government, the king maintained his absolute power, at once a culmination and a defiance of the feudal system. The church remained something of a state within the state in an era when absolutist dynasties sought the unity and centralization of their realms. The guild system and government regi-

mentation of economic activity endured, along with ancient systems of customs duties, local tolls and royal taxes, to hamper the freedom-seeking businessman. Countless variations in provincial loyalties, laws, privileges, customs, and administration blocked the achievement of national unity and centralization. Serfdom and slavery lingered on, and men were arbitrarily deprived of freedom and possessions in an age in which it was nevertheless often devoutly stated that all men were equally endowed with the natural rights of life, liberty, and property.

All these overlapping and contradictory institutions made up the "Old Regime," as the European cultural pattern before 1789 eventually came to be called. They were the result of a profound lag in the adaptation of customs, attitudes, and institutions to the current philosophical and technological challenges. The paramount victims of this lag were the wealthy, aggressive, economically powerful, literate, and self-conscious middle class, whose commerce, industry, and political ambitions were becoming a dominant force in the life of the age. In terms of that class's activities and aspirations, medieval survivals were quite outmoded. The aristocracy monopolized the political and social positions that the bourgeoisie craved. Government regulation of trade and industry interfered with the bourgeoisie's business, now reaching an unprecedented scale with the speeding-up of the industrial revolution. The social inequalities from which they suffered made them especially receptive of the philosophy of natural rights. Religious intolerance, special privilege, and political and social abuses offended their reason, particularly if they were themselves the sufferers. Absolutism—even a reforming absolutism bent upon wiping out the evils of the Old Regime—stood squarely across the road to the representative government that they desired, at least for themselves. The evils of the Old Regime were thus painfully apparent to this large and articulate class of people who suffered from it. Joined by a number of those who benefited from the existing order but had other reasons for wishing it changed, the middle class helped to produce the French Revolution.

The French Revolution began because the absolute government of Louis xvi proved both unwilling to make timely and sufficient concessions, although it made some, to forestall the rising demand for limited government and unable to prevent that demand from growing. This inadequacy was the consequence of the collapse of effective authority under Louis xvi. That collapse was the culmination of the old three-cornered struggle of king, aristocracy, and middle class for power. As we have seen, the middle class had generally tended to side with the king against their common enemy, the aristocracy, but during the eighteenth century that alliance was no longer reliable, chiefly because the middle class had become strong enough to switch sides according to its advantage. We are about to see how this three-cornered fight led to a rivalry between the two conservative forces

(king and nobles) for the support of the third force (essentially the middle class), and hence to the collapse of the ones favoring the status quo and of the Old Regime.

The pattern of revolutionary causation already indicated above (pages 594-595) becomes visible here, too. The various shortcomings and abuses of the Old Regime have been described in Chapter II. These provocations led to an abstract philosophy of reform articulated by the intellectuals, the *philosophes*. We are now about to see how that philosophy became a program of direct action, especially after the example of American revolutionary success was provided. Leaders arose not only among the discontented and the intellectuals but among soldiers who took part in the American War of Independence. The demand for reform, we shall find, at first took shape along the lines of Montesquieu's proposals for a powerful nobility to check royal absolutism. We shall witness the growth of a moderate reform movement, largely the result of the efforts made by "enlightened despots" to become reformers themselves, thus postponing the full development of "reform from below." In France, this moderate policy was destined to prove "too late and too little," and to lead to a full-blown revolution.

EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY

DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

IT MIGHT have been expected that the crowned heads of Europe would have rallied, in sympathy if not in actual military support, to the cause of King George III in suppressing the revolt of his empire across the Atlantic. They not only failed to do so but they actually aided the revolutionaries. George III was to have his revenge, however. Louis XVI and Catherine the Great, at least, were to live long enough to regret the American success, along with the heirs of other aiders and abettors of revolution in America who had meanwhile died.

Europe

and the American Revolution

TO EUROPEANS the American Revolution had a twofold spiritual significance. It was, first of all,

a violent challenge to the traditional European order, characterized by the authority of kings or aristocracies, the mercantilist economic system, the class structure of society, the established church, and the survivals from the old feudal order of Europe. Secondly, it embodied the philosophy of Nature and Reason, which had been developed so eloquently by the political philosophers of eighteenth-century Europe. The ringing phrases of Jefferson's Declaration of Independence and the declarations of rights in the new constitutions of the separate states of the United States reëchoed some of the

most popular themes of European thought. The American Revolution seemed to many European intellectuals to be translating into action the "Laws of Nature and of Nature's God" that they had long been preaching. Sympathy among Europeans for the cause of the rebellious colonies had been widespread, especially after the alliance with France made the success of that rebellion appear likely.

*Power politics
and the American Revolution*

IT WAS not, however, public opinion that had sent European forces to the support of the colonies so

much as it was the old competition for empire. Anti-English interests had outweighed anti-revolutionary sentiments in the governments of France, Spain, and other countries. England, in attempting to put down the American revolt, had faced alone a hostile Europe in a war fought all over the world and on all the seas. The major reason for this general European hostility to Britain lay in the latter's predominant colonial and commercial position. To France, the War of the American Revolution had been simply another round in the long colonial match between the two powers—the so-called "Second Hundred Years' War." Bested in the Seven Years' War, France had turned to an indirect attack upon the British empire. If she could not have the British colonies for herself, she could at least encourage the colonies to revolt so that Britain would not have them either, and could hope thereby to increase her own trade with them at the expense of British commerce. To that end France had secretly supplied the American rebels with officers, money, rifles, powder, and shoes, even before an open alliance was concluded.



The United States claimed entrance into the family of nations in 1776. France in 1778 was the first to recognize its claim. England did so provisionally in 1782. General international recognition did not come until 1783. England lost territory elsewhere to France and Spain but won some advantages from Holland in the East.

This apparently imaginative etching of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, done by the German artist Daniel Nicolas Chodowiecki (1726-1801), reflects the interest in the American Revolution of peoples who were not directly concerned.



Other nations had opposed England for similar reasons of commercial or colonial rivalry. Holland was annoyed at British attempts to exclude Dutch traders from the American trade. The Spanish hoped to regain Gibraltar and Minorca. The League of Armed Neutrality was formed to maintain "the freedom of the seas" in response to the British practice of seizing neutral vessels trading with America or searching them for contraband of war. Diplomacy during the

War of American Independence was primarily another application of the balance-of-power principle, which came into play whenever one nation grew overly strong and threatened to subordinate the others.

The American War

as one of Europe's world-wide wars

THE WAR of the American Revolution, as already indicated, was fought all over the world. French and Hessian armies sustained the faltering protagonists in the American colonies. British, French, American, and Dutch forces clashed in the North Sea. Spanish and French forces unsuccessfully attempted to invade England, and attacked Gibraltar and the British possessions in the Mediterranean. The French and British navies battled in the Caribbean, the Channel, the Bay of Biscay, and along the North American coast. The British position in India, Africa, and South America was once more challenged by the French. This far-flung attack on Britain was one of the reasons for the ultimate success of the American Revolution. Unwittingly, the monarchies of Europe, by pursuing political and commercial power, furthered the movement toward popular government that was soon to threaten their rule at home.

The Treaty

of Versailles of 1783

ASIDE from the loss of the American colonies, the treaties that ended the war were not so disastrous for Britain as might have been supposed. This development was due largely to British naval successes after the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. At the Battle of the Saints (1782) the English West Indies fleet administered a resounding defeat to the French fleet and once more restored rule of

the waves to Britannia. As a result, England lost to France only minor colonies in the West Indies (Tobago) and Africa (Senegal). To Spain she conceded Minorca in the Mediterranean and the territory in America known as "Florida," which at that time was larger than the present state of Florida. From Holland, by a separate peace concluded in 1784, she secured mercantile privileges in the Malayan area and trading stations in India.

England emerged from the war still the strongest commercial and imperial power in the world. But it was a chastened England that now faced a hostile world. She was isolated, her empire was split, and grave doubts existed whether empires were worth the effort they cost to build up if they were destined to break away when they became strong. If France had not strained her treasury to the cracking point in the effort to break up the British empire, and if Vergennes had not died shortly after the Peace of Versailles, depriving his king of his masterful diplomacy (1787), France, emerging victor from the War of American Independence, might have put an end to English hegemony in Europe.

*The leadership
of Britain in economic practice*

BRITAIN'S speedy recovery from her defeat was attributable not only to success in diplomacy but

also to her more effective economic system as compared with that of France and other countries. Nearly all the nations of Europe had experienced during the eighteenth century an astoundingly rapid increase in the volume of commerce—especially of colonial commerce—and the output of industry. But commercial and industrial growth was greater in England than anywhere else. While the Holy Roman Empire was hampered by its hundreds of internal political and tariff boundaries, while France was handicapped by domestic tariffs, its still-powerful guild system, and its strict royal regulation of economic affairs, and while the free flow of European trade was interrupted by numerous invading armies, England was comparatively free of these restraints of trade. Her guild system was all but impotent, supplanted by individual or corporate capitalistic enterprise and relatively free competition. Her navy, still supreme on the seas, had kept her commercial lanes open even in times of war. Her government, in the hands of a commercial-minded oligarchy, pursued tariff and taxation policies intended, despite their mercantilist bias, to help rather than to hinder commerce and industry; and the trend of her economic thinking was already beginning to turn away from mercantilism toward the free-trade policy for which she was to become famous in the next century. In such an atmosphere, the industrial and agricultural revolutions, which were more advanced in England than anywhere else in the world before the American revolt, continued uninterrupted despite imperial disruption and military defeat.

LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

IN AN UNSETTLED SOCIETY

NO GREAT popular revolution had occurred in Europe since the Glorious Revolution of 1688, and that one had been isolated in England. When in 1776 the American people brazenly dissolved "the political bands which have connected them with another" and assumed "among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God" entitled them, it was the first effective display of revolutionary spirit in nearly a century, and it was not isolated. Essentially conservative European governments found themselves entangled in the American disquiet, and some of their less conservative subjects readily accepted the entanglement in a spiritual as well as in a political sense. The American Revolution encouraged a trend already visible in political philosophy because of the impact of recent technological developments—a trend away from the abstract toward the concrete, toward speculation about real people like the Americans rather than about "natural man."

*The refutation
of mercantilism by Adam Smith*

IT WAS not altogether coincidence that Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, the classical British state-

ment of laissez-faire economics, appeared in the same year as the Declaration of Independence, the classical American statement of natural rights. Smith's book was at once an expression of the individualistic, competitive, commercial spirit of the English middle class and a translation into economic theory of the popular idea that human affairs were governed by the same sort of natural order as prevailed in the universe. Reversing the old mercantilistic view that a nation's best interest lay in strict government control of production and trade, Smith argued that it served its interest best by a policy of free enterprise—freedom of the individual to buy and sell, to lease and to rent, to hire and be hired, without government interference or regulation. If each individual were thus allowed to pursue his own rational self-interest, Smith contended, free competition for land, capital, labor, and commodities would automatically produce a balance between demand for goods and services on the one hand and their supply on the other. In that way, the allocation of limited resources and the production and distribution of the world's supply of goods would be achieved in the best and most efficient way possible. To Smith, the old guild system, the fixing of prices, government monopolies and controls, and taxes which restricted the free flow of goods were all impediments to the working of those natural economic laws whereby each man, inspired by self-interest, contributed to the general welfare. The wealth of

nations, which lay not in the amount of bullion a nation possessed, as the old mercantilist theory had it, but in her accumulated and potential goods and services, of which money was merely a measure, would thus be increased by the noninterference of government and the free play of individual tastes.

As we have already seen, this policy of "government hands-off" had already come to be called "laissez faire." It held an enormous appeal for the business-minded English middle class. *The Wealth of Nations* was to become in the nineteenth century the cornerstone of English economic policy. Much had been written on economic theory before Smith's time, especially by the French Physiocrats (page 515). But whereas the Physiocrats had appealed for freedom from governmental regulation because of their interest in land, Smith was the first to insist in a systematic treatise upon the automatic interplay of land, labor, capital, and risk as factors in the production of wealth. He regarded the landlord's rent, the worker's wages, the moneylender's interest, and the entrepreneur's profit as all necessary incentives to take part in the creation of wealth. His ideas remain an important part of the modern science of economics.

*Bentham
and the utilitarian test*

SMITH's younger contemporary,
Jeremy Bentham, another giant
among the English philosophers,

published his first work in the same year in which *The Wealth of Nations* appeared. In his *Fragment on Government* (1776) and more systematically in his later *Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789), Bentham expounded the principle of enlightened self-interest as the criterion by which human institutions ought to be judged. Like Smith and some of the French rationalists, Bentham had derived this philosophy from his concept of the nature of man. Bentham's reasoning was more like Helvétius' and Holbach's than Rousseau's—more materialistic than moralistic. Men naturally seek happiness and avoid pain, he argued, but fortunately one of the measures of the individual's happiness is the number of persons who share in it. Hence, a high correlation between the desires of the individual and the welfare of the public may be expected, and society and its institutions can be so ordered as to enable the greatest number of human beings to enjoy the greatest possible amount of happiness. Rejecting the French rationalists' insistence upon "natural right," he emphasized rather the concept of "public utility." Himself a lawyer, Bentham was most concerned with the reform of English law and judicial institutions. But his influence extended far beyond his immediate work through the efforts of his disciples, known as the "Utilitarians"; and his philosophy of "the greatest happiness for the greatest number," borrowed from other eighteenth-century writers, permeated the whole of nineteenth-century thought.

*Rationalism
in English historiography*

THE ENGLISH rationalists were mainly political theorists and economists like Bentham and

Smith. Nevertheless, historians like Edward Gibbon also revealed the rationalist trend of the times. The first volume of Gibbon's monumental *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* appeared in the eventful year 1776, the twelfth and last in 1788. Thus, chronologically at least, it fits neatly into the period between the early stages of the American Revolution and of the French Revolution. Gibbon's masterpiece attributed the decay of Rome's classical and rational culture to the rise of anti-rational and mystical Christianity. Thus he belonged to that school of didactic historians like Voltaire whose conception of history was of a "philosophy teaching by example." Those eras of man's past where human reason was allowed the freest scope, they taught, were the eras of greatest cultural creativeness and human happiness, and conversely, those eras where superstition was triumphant were the eras of decline. Gibbon's friend, the Scottish historian William Robertson, though less of a rationalist than Gibbon, shared the dislike of the Middle Ages as a period of superstition and decline in his *History of Scotland* (1759), *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles the Fifth* (1769), and other lesser works on America and India that appeared after the Declaration of Independence. Together with David Hume (page 504), whose pro-Scottish *History of England* (1754-1762) had made him contemporaneously more famous than his philosophical dissertations, Robertson and Gibbon brought historiography in England to a high point. All three men, in addition to avoiding a supernatural interpretation of history, made generous, if sometimes incomplete, use of the best historical sources edited by earlier scholars.

*The interpretation
of rationalism forwarded by Kant*

IN GERMANY, the philosophers were especially preoccupied with the role of the rational in human

affairs. The Königsberg philosopher Immanuel Kant gave to eighteenth-century rationalism a new orientation. His so-called "critical" philosophy was a fresh attempt to examine the relations of knowledge and action. More clearly than the French rationalists, he discerned the different modes by which the human mind operates. In his *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781), he sought especially to examine the grounds of scientific knowledge and proceeded to demonstrate that rational arguments cannot be used to construct a satisfactory cosmology (or explanation of the universe), since equally good arguments can be found on either side of such questions as whether space and time are finite or infinite; whether matter is divisible or indivisible; whether the will of man is free or determined; whether God exists or does not exist. These arguments are the famous *antinomies* of Kant. They led him to the conclusion that

there are certain realms of thought which cannot be usefully examined by pure reason—among these the problem of freedom of the will, immortality, and the existence of God.

Nevertheless, in his *Critique of Practical Reason* (1786), Kant argued that freedom of the will, immortality, and the existence of God must be assumed as “postulates of Pure Practical Reason” in order to provide a foundation for moral law and moral action. Science and morality therefore became for Kant separate branches of knowledge, each with its own domain. The necessary laws of the sciences applied in the “phenomenal” world, and the prescriptions of morality in the “noumenal” world. Critical philosophy became the method by which to learn both the “metaphysics of nature,” which treats the rational principles of physics, and the “metaphysics of morals,” which treats the rational principles of morality.

*Kant's theories
of religion and politics*

KANT'S concept of ethics, admittedly influenced by Rousseau's moralism and probably by his own

Pietist background, was largely free from formal theology. He held that morality “leads ineluctably to religion, through which it extends itself to the idea of a powerful moral Lawgiver, outside of mankind.” These religious problems he treated especially in his *Religion within the Limits of Reason Alone* (1793). His ethical argument runs through his several works. Morality has reference, he pointed out, not to objects but to rational creatures; not to the necessity in nature but to the freedom of the will; and it depends, therefore, on prescriptions that should be universal. The fundamental precept of his ethics was his often-quoted *categorical imperative*, which called upon man “to act as if the principle upon which you act is to become by your will a universal law of nature.” In other words, “act as you would have others act”—which is a rationalist, depersonalized form of the Golden Rule. Thus he provided room again for the religious concept of *duty* in human behavior.

Kant, like Rousseau, was much concerned with the problem of international peace. His famous essay *On Perpetual Peace* was not to appear until 1795, in the midst of the wars of the French Revolution. Nevertheless, he earlier tried to raise the question of international morality. In his *An Idea for a Universal History with Cosmopolitan Intent* (1784) Kant asserted that the latest problem for mankind, the solution of which nature forced him to seek, was the achievement of a civil society to administer law universally. He argued that this end could be attained only through arrangements among the states that would preserve the maximum of freedom for the individual and for the various parts of society. But this was a political problem and, as such, was merely “technical” and dependent not upon the “categorical imperative” but upon its own “hypothetical imperative.”

Kant thus carefully differentiated between the various applications of reason. In the realm of objects, a scientific necessity obtains, and that realm can be understood by the "theoretical" use of reason; in the realm of morals, freedom of the will forms the basis of action, and that realm can best be ordered by the "practical" use of reason; but political problems are "technical" and depend upon "hypothetical imperatives," and disaster results from confusing them with moral problems involved in the "categorical imperative." The effect of Kant's philosophy was, in his own words, a "Copernican revolution." He abandoned the earlier supposition, held notably by the sensationalists, that our knowledge must conform to its objects, and, placing man at the center of his analyses, assumed that objects must rather fit within man's ways of knowing. His analyses served to emphasize the place of reason in both the "theoretical" and the "practical" sciences (in his use of those words) and the controlling importance of the "practical" in the whole scheme of knowledge and action.

*Kant's theories
of perfectibility elaborated*

IN THE same year that the
Franco-American Alliance was
formally signed (1778), Voltaire

and Rousseau died. The mantle of Voltaire, after resting briefly on the shoulders of Diderot († 1784), passed to the mathematician, the Marquis de Condorcet. Condorcet borrowed much from Voltaire and a little from Rousseau. In numerous political tracts, he set forth the theory that the accumulation of knowledge through sensation, reason, and man's inner sense of morality would lead inevitably toward the betterment of man's social institutions and perhaps even the biological improvement of the human race. The American Revolution gave him great encouragement. In several essays, particularly one entitled *On the Influence of the American Revolution on Europe* (1786), he called the attention of his countrymen to the benefits of natural law as applied in America and, with few philosophical abstractions about mankind in general, argued for concrete reforms in France in particular. Eventually he developed a theory of inescapable progress that received classical expression in his major work, *Outline of a Historical Presentation of the Progress of the Human Mind*. Written at a time (1793) during the French Revolution when he was proscribed by his political opponents, he argued that nevertheless the Revolution was to lead the world from the eight preceding stages of history through the ninth, which had begun with Descartes's rational philosophy, into a tenth where "the perfectibility of man is ...henceforth above the control of every power that would impede it."

In a sense Condorcet was the last of the *philosophes*. He had come to the conclusion that man was inescapably destined for continuous improvement of his intellectual and moral faculties—even his biological traits—

because his predecessors had made it possible for him to start out with the assumption that man is "a being endowed with sensation, capable of reasoning...and of acquiring moral ideas." Thus Locke's sensationalism, Descartes's rationalism, and Rousseau's moralism added up at the end of the eighteenth century to the secularistic perfectionism of Condorcet.

*The emergence
of the new romanticism*

WRITERS like Kant and Condorcet exhibit the influence of a double intellectual trend during

their generation. They were largely rationalistic. Yet they rebelled against the rationalists' stifling of instinct and emotion, and they recoiled from the dreary prospect that men had no inner responsibility or sense of goodness. This rebellion against sheer materialistic naturalism, this insistence that man's salvation lay in the fullest development of the individual through his instincts and emotions no less than his reason, came to be called "romanticism."

Romanticism, stemming largely from Rousseau's and Goethe's reaction to the more naturalistic *philosophes* (pages 502 and 504), was in effect complementary rather than contradictory to the rationalist movement. Playing upon the *sensibilité* current among the reading public, it often depicted in terms of high emotion the plight of the oppressed and the poor. In the Abbé Raynal's *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlement and Commerce of Europeans in the Two Indies* (1770), the natives of the East and the West were described as naturally good men corrupted and exploited by the extension of European civilization. Beaumarchais's plays, *Barber of Seville* (1775) and *Marriage of Figaro* (1784), made a popular hero out of their leading character, Figaro, a barber-valet, whose lowly birth and lordly master frustrate his ambitions to better himself. Figaro was put into opera by Mozart in 1786 (as well as by Rossini in 1816).

The appearance of the unhappy common man in literature was a relatively new thing, for the literature of the Augustan Age had been usually peopled with kings and court figures, rich bourgeois, or glamorous rogues. Notably in some of the romances of the period like *Pamela* and *La nouvelle Héloïse* (pages 517 and 530), the new literary genre was illustrative of the growing wave of humanitarianism, of the new bourgeois idea that the poor and exploited were the responsibility of the wealthy. Romanticism also expressed itself in a sentimental regard for the beauties of nature, in contrast with the stark materialism of the *philosophes*' "natural order."

As was to have been expected, Beaumarchais's satires of aristocratic society encountered royal censorship but eventual box-office success; and Raynal's work, parts of which were written by other *philosophes*, was one of the most popular books of the day. Nor was it accidental that Beaumarchais published the first edition of Voltaire's complete works, or that he was one of those adventurers who had engaged in trade with the American rebels

even before France recognized the sovereignty of the United States, or that Raynal's *Europeans in the Two Indies* in its successive revisions gave more and more space to America. For philosophy, drama, novels, poetry, romanticism, humanitarianism, cosmopolitanism, and America were all mixed up in the growing protest against the Old Regime.

*Weimar
as a German cultural center*

PERHAPS the most notable manifestation of romanticism was the *Sturm und Drang* movement in Germany, exemplified by Goethe's *Sorrows of Young Werther* (page 532). Its participants were young men, inspired by the romantic faith in the full expression of individuality, who had declared war against both the tyranny of the *philosophes'* nature and the conventions and injustices of aristocratic society. Much of their output was mere personal protest. During this period, because of the patronage of the Grand Duke Charles Augustus, Weimar became the "Athens of Germany." Here came not only Goethe and Herder but also other famous men of letters, including in 1787 Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller.

*Schiller
and the Sturm und Drang*

SCHILLER was a young Württemberg army doctor who five years earlier had absented himself without leave from his post to see his first play, *The Robbers*, produced in a nearby town. *The Robbers* soon came to share with Goethe's *Werther* a leading place in the romantic movement in Germany. It tells the story of a young nobleman named Karl Moor, who is driven by injustice to become an outlaw but in the end is reconciled to law and order. Because of the success of his play and his subsequent imprisonment for absence without leave, Schiller decided to quit the army and medicine for letters. By the time he was invited to make his home in Weimar, he had written some



Outlaws were often popular figures in the literature of the romantic movement. At right is an illustration from an early edition of Schiller's play, *The Robbers*.

poetry and several new plays, of which *Don Carlos* (1787) was the most significant. *Don Carlos* centered around the legend of the son of King Philip II of Spain, who, somewhat unhistorically, is portrayed as heroically sympathizing with the Dutch in their revolt against his father. The theme of heroic revolt was further developed when Schiller, at Weimar, published his *History of the Revolt of the Netherlands* (1788). This work led to his appointment to the chair of history at the University of Jena (1789).

*The national spirit
in German literature*

THE *Sturm und Drang* movement at first was characterized by inexperience and youthfulness. Ger-

man writers, as they grew older, however, tempered their literary illusions with more sober and conservative contemplations of history and philosophy. Out of this transition grew the beginnings of a German national literary revival. The French influence so long dominant was carefully eschewed, and writers turned to their own national past for inspiration. German folk songs and medieval epics were revived, and the Middle Ages, so long mistaken by rationalists throughout Europe as a long night of unredeemed barbarism, were now idealized as an era of heroic nobles and sturdy peasants. Mozart cried out, "If only we Germans would seriously begin to think in German, to act as Germans, speak German, and even to sing in German!"

The most influential figure in the national revival was Herder (page 531). Herder's *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind* (1784-1791) supplemented the rationalists' view of history as a continual war between reason and superstition with the romantic concept of history as organic growth and change. Under the influence of Montesquieu (pages 505-506), Herder conceived of the behavior, thoughts, and institutions of intuitive, emotional, and irrational man as shaped by inexorable historical forces toward a destiny beyond his own making. But the impersonal nature of Montesquieu's philosophy of history was largely offset by the more prominent place given in Herder's work to national folkways and national culture as a mold of man's destiny. In part, this readiness to subordinate the individual to the national group reflected the intellectual's sympathy with the enlightened systems of government in the Germany of Frederick II of Prussia, Joseph II of Austria, and Charles Augustus of Weimar, and in part it was a reaction to the cosmopolitanism of the *philosophes*.

*Classicism
modified by romanticism*

ANOTHER literary cross current in the decades preceding the French Revolution was the renewed in-

terest in classicism (page 521). In Germany, Weimar was the center of this movement. Here Goethe, earlier identified with the *Sturm und Drang*, had been since 1775 not only the leading literary figure but also the principal

minister in an enlightened regime, and here he attracted other men of genius. In Weimar, Goethe had come under the influence of Winckelmann's *History of the Art of Antiquity* (page 521) and had written his *Iphigenia in Tauris* (published 1787), telling in classical form but with modern ideas the story, familiar in drama and sacred literature, of the innocent child sacrificed to a stern god by an overzealous father. A trip to Italy in 1786-1788 enhanced his respect for classical culture. From it came his *Torquato Tasso* (1790), a drama classical in form and Renaissance in background, but with the romantic theme of the poet in conflict with the world. Goethe's influence gave to the neo-classical style and form in literature a temporary lift that somewhat counteracted the contemporary tendency to irregularity and Gothic form.

PRE-REVOLUTIONARY

MUSIC AND OTHER FINE ARTS

IN MUSIC and the other arts, too, were to be found the strands of both classicism and romanticism. The two great composers of the period were Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. In sculpture the outstanding figure was Houdon, and in architecture, Soufflot. Goya, even though some of his finest work was yet to come, was already a great artist. Altogether the generation that flourished on the eve of the French Revolution did not lack genius.

*New elements
in musical style and form*

WHILE still using the graceful eighteenth-century idiom, Haydn and Mozart both introduced ele-

ments of naturalism and emotion that carried music from the mathematically precise wizardry of Bach (page 523) and the rococo delicacy of Rameau (page 524) further along the way toward a full-bodied romanticism. Through Haydn's measured music ran the strains of Austrian folk songs; in Mozart's were to be found harmonies that sounded startlingly "modern" to his contemporaries. Both men were among the early exponents of the symphony form, in which so much of the later romantic music was to be cast. Haydn, who also contributed significantly to the string quartet and the sonata form, is sometimes called "the father of the symphony." Mozart is one of the few musical geniuses who wrote surpassing works of opera as well as great symphonies, sonatas, concertos, and chamber music. Although he died in poverty at the age of thirty-five (1791), he had composed more music that is still regularly played by great performers than perhaps any other composer, with the possible exceptions of Bach and Beethoven (page 734).

New musical forms reflected a new trend in instrumental music. It was becoming a "platform art" in its own right instead of the mere accompani-

ment to church service, opera, or the dance. "Chamber music," played in courts and aristocratic salons, was of increasing variety, as strings, woodwinds, and brasses were combined to produce new and more full-bodied effects. Thus the modern orchestra developed alongside the modern symphonic form. Technological improvements were also transforming the wooden-framed, brass-stringed harpsichord, whose strings were plucked by quills of different size and texture, into the modern piano with steel frame and strings, producing sounds by percussion. The piano developed into an instrument of greater tonal depth, variety, volume, and color than could be achieved by the delicate tones of its predecessor.

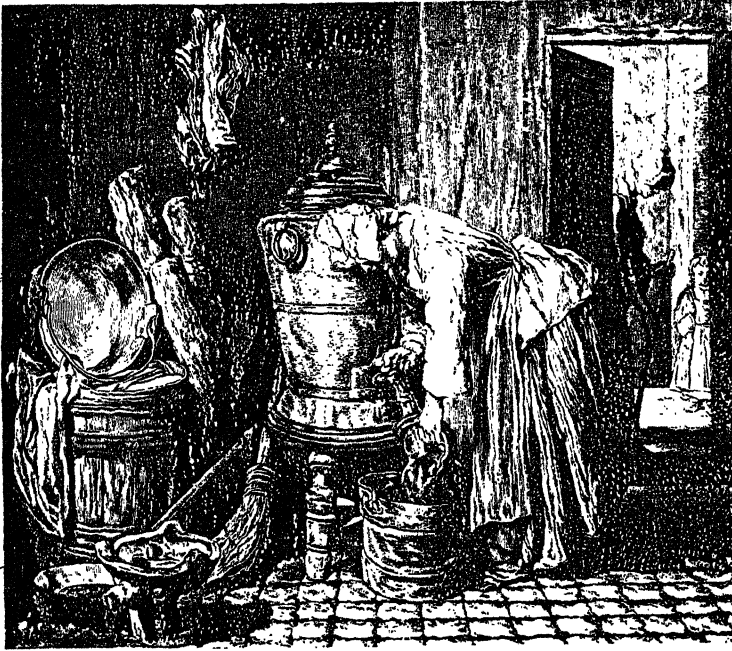
*Neo-classicism
in the fine arts*

IN THE other fine arts, as well as in literature and music, broadly similar changes were taking place.

The rococo vogue was superseded by a return to classicism, severe in form but tempered by a certain naturalism of expression. Simplicity of composition, as well as the affectation of classical costume and detail, distinguished the painting of Jacques Louis David from that of Watteau and Boucher (pages 493 and 521), but a certain realism in the delineation of character raised David's work above mere imitation of the classical. Some of his paintings were on classical themes—for example, his well-known "Death of Socrates"—but his greatest work was to be the portrayal of episodes and figures of the



612 One of the four etchings that make up the "Jeux de Satyres" (1763) by Fragonard.



An engraving of Chardin's painting, "La Fontaine."

French Revolution, in which he was to be both by law and by prestige the "art dictator." Likewise, the portrait sculpture of Houdon, best known for his busts of contemporaries like Louis XVI, Lafayette, and Washington and his statue of Voltaire, is imbued with a vitality and freshness which sets it apart from its classic models. He undertook a journey all the way to Mount Vernon in order to make his study of Washington.

In architecture, neo-classicism resulted largely in imitation of classical temples and public buildings. Soufflot's domed church of St. Geneviève in Paris so vividly recalled the Roman Pantheon that by the time it was finished (1790) it was set aside, by a revolutionary generation which thought more of *philosophes* than of saints, as a Pantheon for honored Frenchmen like Voltaire and Rousseau. Meanwhile the Church of the Madeleine was also under construction in Paris, destined not to be completed until 1842, but looking meanwhile so much like a Greek temple that the Emperor Napoleon thought of making it his Temple of Glory. In the crafts, the classical ideals of simplicity and proportion replaced rococo ornateness. The

restrained elegance of the "Louis Seize" (Louis XVI) style of furniture with its rectangles, arches, and simple lines reflected a reaction to the curves and ornateness of the "Louis Quinze" (Louis XV) period and revealed the revived interest in classical art forms.

*Realism and satire
in eighteenth-century painting*

SEVERAL artistic geniuses stand apart from the neo-classic vogue of the period. In 1779, Jean

Baptiste Siméon Chardin died. Unlike the contemporaneously more esteemed Jean Honoré Fragonard, he had been no decorative artist depicting scenes of fancy and portraying the pleasures of the nobility. The son of a carpenter, he had been practically self-taught and without powerful friends or patrons. Having no models, he painted still-lives and the everyday episodes about him. Thus he became a great genre artist, reflecting the lower middle-class life of his street and his home. His most famous picture is the "Bénédicité"—a little girl saying grace in the midst of a middle-class home. Jean Baptiste Greuze, another contemporary of Chardin and David, likewise set forth everyday scenes, sometimes displaying the *sensibilité* of his day in his pictures of the blind, the sick, and the unhappy, but he also painted portraits of the famous and an occasional scene from classical history.

In Spain, Francisco José de Goya, like the earlier Hogarth in England, recorded in realistic satire the life he saw about him. He first attracted at-

tention as a designer of cartoons—that is, preliminary studies or sketches—for the tapestries of Santa Barbara. He chose contemporary subjects for his designs, developing a style reminiscent of Hogarth's caricatures. He also painted some pictures on religious subjects, which likewise revealed a vigorous, realistic quality. In 1785, he became director of the Academy of Arts and, in 1786, a court painter. His penetrating portraits of the decadent palace life he saw about him are as broad a social commentary as are



"A Prisoner," etching by Goya.

his smaller sketches and water colors depicting the life of the lower classes. One wonders why the overdressed royalty, whom he painted with degenerate faces against ostentatious backgrounds, continued to employ him. Caricaturing the Spanish court of the Old Regime proved excellent preparation for Goya's most famous works—his collection of drawings known as "The Disasters of the War," bitter and gruesome protests against the atrocities committed by the French when, under Napoleon Bonaparte, they invaded his country (pages 723-724). As a realistic social commentator, Goya was to have a wide following among the painters of the later nineteenth century.

HUMANITARIANISM

IN THE OLD REGIME

THE CROSS CURRENTS of classicism, romanticism, and rationalism of the Old Regime give a superficial effect of going in conflicting directions at once. They were nevertheless all expressive of the new standards of human values. Classicism and rationalism were two methods of search for order and lasting values in human affairs; romanticism reflected the search for the fullest expression of the individual. All these movements were manifestations of the widespread conviction that human institutions could and should work for the betterment of mankind.

*Literary currents
and the humanitarian movement*

THAT CONVICTION expressed itself also in a striking growth of humanitarian sentiment and in

numerous reform movements directed against poverty, ignorance, injustice, and oppression. Reformers, in a day when all was obviously not well with the world, attacked the imperfections that they detested, sometimes in the name of "Classical Tradition," which enabled them to hope again for "the eternal verities," sometimes in the name of "Reason," which taught how things *ought to be*, and sometimes in the name of the "Romantic Individual," whose full life would necessarily be "the good life." Theirs was not the first or the last generation to seek salvation through conflicting philosophies.

*Proposals
for the reform of education*

REGARDLESS of the conflicts among these schools of thought, education played a prominent

part in all their schemes to better society. In the pre-Revolutionary age, the education of underprivileged children attracted the interest of religious and social groups. The first Sunday school was founded in England in 1780 for the benefit of children whose daily employment in the new factories prevented them from going to school during the week. Rousseau's *Emile* (page 517) influenced the theories of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, a Swiss

reformer. By modifying Rousseau's concepts of individual self-expression and adapting them to group education, Pestalozzi laid the foundations of modern progressive education. The essence of true education, he thought, was experience rather than rote learning. In experimental schools and in a number of writings, the most famous of which was a novel called *Leonard and Gertrude* (1781), Pestalozzi upheld education rather than political revolution as the best means of social betterment for the working classes. In the nineteenth century, his theories of education were to gain a wide influence through his pupil Friedrich Froebel, founder of the kindergarten.

*The beginnings
of the abolitionist movement*

ANOTHER cause inspired by liberal and humanitarian ideals was the movement for the abolition of

the slave trade. Led in England by the eloquent evangelist William Wilberforce, an antislavery league was formed in 1787. The movement was eventually to bear fruit in the abolition of the British slave trade in 1807, although slavery as a whole was not to be abolished in the British empire until 1833. In France a corresponding movement crystallized in the formation of the Society of Friends of the Negroes in 1788, of which Lafayette was the most prominent member. Similar societies grew up in America, where Franklin and John Jay became active in the antislavery societies of Philadelphia and New York respectively. The French and the American abolitionists made progress even more slowly than the English.

*The development
of anticolonialism and pacifism*

HUMANITARIANISM, reinforced by the antimercantilist views of the Physiocrats and Adam Smith,

also brought a reaction against the restrictive colonial policies left over from an earlier age. "Plenty of good land," wrote Smith, "and liberty to manage their own affairs their own way, seem to be the two great causes of the prosperity of all new colonies."⁴² This antimercantilist sentiment had nourished the popularity of the American cause. Now it produced in England a movement to reform the government of India and lesser colonies (pages 790-791) and in France a series of commercial treaties. The Physiocrats and Adam Smith also figured in humanitarian protests against war, adding their calculations of the cost of war to the pleas of the *philosophes*, who counted on reason and enlightenment to persuade humanity of war's futility.

*The growth
of religious toleration*

THE ENLIGHTENMENT ideals of religious toleration and the equality of all men fostered a move-

ment for religious emancipation. The Jews in some areas of France and Austria were no longer required to live in ghettos and be disbarred from

⁴²Adam Smith, "Causes of the Prosperity of New Colonies," *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, Bk. IV, Ch. VII.

Entitled "Tolerance," this etching by Chodowiecki shows the European sects at peace. Infidel and heretic are included in the new blessing.



civil and legal rights. Lessing (page 531), in his plays *The Jews* and *Nathan the Wise*, had made sympathetic figures of his Jewish characters. Among the Jews themselves the writings of the German-Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn, the friend of Lessing, and sometimes thought to be the prototype of Lessing's *Nathan*, contributed to this movement. Mendelssohn insisted that Judaism and modern Christianity were identical in their essentials—God, immortality, and the law. He translated the Jewish Torah (the Pentateuch) into German and had the translation printed in Hebrew letters so as to acquaint Jews more effectively with German. In this way he performed for German Jews and Yiddish somewhat the same service that Luther had done for Christians and German. The growth of capitalism also aided the movement for emancipation, for the talents of Jews in business and finance were welcomed in some outstanding instances—notably, the so-called "court Jews" of the German princes. In France in 1787 the Protestants were granted the right to worship in private as they pleased and were regranted some of the civil rights that Louis XIV had taken from them. Lafayette wrote to Washington how pleased he was to introduce to some of Louis XVI's ministers "the first Protestant clergyman who could appear at Versailles since the Revolution of 1685" (by which he meant "since Louis XIV's Revocation of the Edict of Nantes").

The increase

in the cost of living

THE GROWTH of the factory system, the enclosure movement, and the drift to cities from country

—trends that we have already noted (pages 525-527) as especially marked in England—were increasing the poverty of the worker and the dispossessed peasant even while the wealth of the nation and of the bourgeois classes was growing. The tendency for prices to rise was especially marked in the decade before the French Revolution, and wages generally failed to keep pace with the rising cost of living. The peasant, although better able to provide himself with food than the city proletarian, nevertheless found himself, as the value of his feudal obligations mounted because of increasing prices, obliged to pay more for the lands he rented. At the same time he

was further frustrated in his land-hunger because the price of good farm land mounted. Such reform measures as work relief and the dole mitigated rather than solved the growing problem of poverty, but they were indicative at least of a favorable attitude regarding the responsibility of society (rather than the church alone) for the needy.

*Advances in medicine
and the care of the sick*

BECAUSE of the crowding in the cities and the increasing hardships of workers, public health received increased attention. The poor, the sick, the aged, and the insane benefited from the new humanitarian spirit and the interests of governments and laymen in philanthropy. In several countries improvements were made in antiquated relief systems and more humane treatment was accorded the mentally ill. In Lyons and Vienna, hospitals were erected that were regarded as models of modern methods; and in Paris the Jacques Necker family (page 633) won an enviable reputation as friends of the sick and the poor, founding a hospital that still exists. In England, likewise, new hospitals and clinics ministered to the urban poor, and new maternity hospitals and improved standards of care reduced infant and maternal mortality rates. Improved water, sewer, and street-lighting systems made English and French cities more healthful, more easily policed, and less offensive to eye and nose.

Preventive medicine came into being with the new practices of inoculation, quarantine, and disinfection, reducing the ravages of smallpox and typhus epidemics. On the Continent, prominent families submitted to inoculation. Catherine II introduced it into Russia by offering herself as the first to receive the new treatment there. Dr. Edward Jenner in 1775 first noticed that those who had had cowpox frequently were immune to smallpox, but it was not until 1796 that he was able to test his theory. He inoculated a boy with matter from the hand of a milkmaid who had cowpox, introducing the mild disease

into the human system so as to build up its immunity to the more virulent smallpox. Thus he discovered the process now known as vaccination.

Disease prevention and sanitation neverthe-



An English cartoon of 1770 pictures a popular demonstration against low wages and high prices.

less lagged. In Paris' hospitals a shocked English traveler found patients four in a bed and, in a later generation, the French scientist Cuvier was still able to observe that "the sufferings of hell can hardly surpass those of the poor wretches crowded on each other, crushed, burning with fever, incapable of stirring or breathing, sometimes having one or two dead people between them for hours."

SCIENCE AT THE TIME OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

JENNER's introduction of vaccination into medicine was one of the most important scientific improvements of the day. It reduced the appalling incidence of a disease that up to that time had killed many, from Louis xv to the humblest peasant, and had disfigured those who survived; and it afforded a solid basis for the study of immunity, or the science of immunology. Other significant improvements were, however, being made in the practical applications of medical science and in industrial technology as well. Scientific theory also moved forward along lines previously marked out.

Continuation of scientific progress

IN CHEMISTRY, Lavoisier carried on the work of Priestley (page 525). He separated water into its elements, hydrogen and oxygen. He explained the phenomenon of combustion as rapid oxidation. He demonstrated chemically the law of the conservation of matter: that is, that although matter may change form, it can be neither created nor destroyed. To Lavoisier, too, is due our modern nomenclature in chemistry.

In astronomy Sir William Herschel, with highly powerful instruments created by himself, contributed much to the existing knowledge of the solar system. He ascertained, among other things, that certain distant stars circulate around each other according to the same law of gravity as controls the movements of the planets of our solar system around the sun.

The geologist James Hutton studied fossils and rock strata and speculated upon a theory regarding the earth's origin that had already been tentatively advanced by philosophers like Descartes and Leibnitz and scientists like Buffon. In his *Theory of the Earth* (1785), he explained the formation of the earth's surface by the gradual operation of cooling processes still at work. According to this conception, the creation of the earth was not a comparatively recent event, but an evolutionary process thousands of centuries old. This theory gave additional ammunition to deists and *philosophes* by casting further doubt on the story of creation in the Book of Genesis.

The apparent struggle between science and theology was further enhanced by the theories of Pierre Simon Laplace. Appointed professor of mathematics in the famous Ecole Militaire of Paris while still in his teens, he eventually became known as "the Newton of France." A series of memoirs in the 1780's enhanced his reputation as an astronomer and was to lead ultimately to his books, *Explanation of the World's System* (1796) and *Celestial Mechanics*, begun in 1799. This last-named work is said to rank second only to Newton's *Principia* as a monument of mathematical genius applied to celestial movements.⁴³ In these memoirs and books, Laplace expounded his "nebular hypothesis"—that our solar system evolved from a vast, hot mass of slowly moving, rarefied matter from which smaller masses gradually separated and, upon condensation, became planets, the central mass remaining as the sun. This "nebular hypothesis," until recently generally accepted as a satisfactory scientific explanation of the origin of the planetary system, placed a culminating touch upon eighteenth-century skepticism regarding the literal interpretation of Revelation.

*Scientific discovery
during the French Revolution*

AS OPPOSED to the developments already suggested in politics, economics, and the arts, these scientific

achievements stemmed from the work of earlier specialists in the field and were less reflective of the concurrent social atmosphere. Indeed, even such an upheaval as the French Revolution (if we may look ahead a little) was to have little effect on scientific progress beyond the distraction of some scientists like Carnot (page 667) from their laboratories and the abrupt termination of the career of Lavoisier by the guillotine because he was a tax farmer. During the Revolution Sir William Herschel was to continue his celestial observations and Laplace to write his great books, rounding out the Newtonian system and synthesizing the existing knowledge of science. Luigi Galvani, whose name is commemorated by such electrical terms as "galvanizing" and "galvanometer," experimented with electricity, including experiments with animal tissues as conductors; and Count Alessandro Volta, from whose name is derived the "volt" as a unit of electricity, succeeded (1798) in constructing an electric battery.

There is discernible, however, a certain change in the emphasis of scientific enterprise, perhaps related to the general climate of opinion. The generation of the French Revolution was to defy, more generally, openly, and violently than previous generations, accepted institutions and articles of faith in the religious and political sphere. Whereas Newton and his successors had been interested in the mechanical operation of energy, matter, and celestial bodies, scientists in Lavoisier's and Laplace's day raised questions

regarding the nature of matter, its origin and its evolution. This was a reflection of the full-grown materialism of the age—the conviction that, as Laplace was to put it one day, all events, whether physical or human, could be predicted if only enough could be known about them.

STAVING OFF

THE REVOLUTION

THE DEMAND for “rational” human institutions was now an old one, and each new scientific theory, casting its modicum of doubt upon ancient beliefs, further weakened the hold of tradition upon the minds of men. The attack on obsolescent customs and institutions, especially those which were thought to impinge on the natural liberties of man and to substitute social privileges for natural equality, had gained momentum since the days of Louis XIV. It even infected the palaces of the leading rulers of Europe.

The “vogue”

of American thought in France

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, it has already been noted, translated theory into action. The English

philosopher Dr. Richard Price, friend of Franklin and American independence, in 1784 wrote his *Observations on the Importance of the American Revolution and the Means of Rendering It a Benefit to the World*, and Condorcet made similar observations in France in 1786 (page 607). The Americans had in fact become the vogue in France. The Declaration of Independence, the American state constitutions, Benjamin Franklin, and the young General de Lafayette had come just in time to fill a void in the popular clamor for heroes. Voltaire and Rousseau had just died; the *Encyclopedia* was coming to an end; the expulsion of the Jesuits, expositors of Confucianism, had diminished the interest in Far Eastern philosophy; the war with England had reduced “the English mania.” In the places vacated by these disappearing idols came Franklin, among others, promoting interest in America both by his reputation and by deliberate intent. He used his talents as writer, printer, and publisher to embark upon a skillful propaganda campaign. Before long the royal press of France was flooding the country with documents of American origin casting doubt upon the validity of royal sovereignty. With the example of the American states to point to in support of a real program of reforms, surviving *philosophes* like Condorcet, Chastelux, Raynal, Mably, and Turgot now spoke less of Man and the Universe, and more of Frenchmen and France. They talked less about abstract systems and more about concrete projects for reforms. They debated with John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and other Americans in Europe the validity of

American practices and laws, and the pamphlets in which these debates were set forth were widely published and read. ✓

*The spread
of the demand for reform*

THE DEMAND for reform was not merely crystallizing in program; it was also making a more general

appeal among the various classes of the population. In Germany a secret society of liberal thinkers known as "the Illuminati" flourished briefly, numbering Herder and Goethe among its members. In France the ideas of the *philosophes* gained currency beyond the salons of the rich and were discussed with fervor in literary clubs, Masonic lodges, and the cafés of Paris and other cities. Such Frenchmen as Mirabeau, Robespierre, Brissot, and Marat, who might have become a younger generation of *philosophes* if events had not conspired to make them leaders of a radical revolution, had already begun to clarify their views, for themselves and their countrymen, in numerous speeches and pamphlets about the need for reform. Thus privately and publicly the "social contract" and "the rights of man" came to be discussed along with more concrete proposals of reform.

Thus, and no longer gradually, the revolutionary spirit was reaching the danger point. All classes of the population—whether clergy, aristocracy, or commoners—felt aggrieved, for reasons we have already analyzed (pages 355-358, 532-533, and 597-599). A general awareness of this dissatisfaction existed, largely because of the work of the *philosophes*; and even if the aristocracy tended like Montesquieu to look to the history and older institutions of France for its answers while the middle class preferred with Voltaire the rules of Reason and the laws of Nature, public opinion was in general favorable to reform. Old writers like Condorcet and young heroes like Lafayette were ready and willing to lead the movement toward change if the opportunity should present itself. Thus the forces in favor of revolution in the 1770's and 1780's were constantly growing more irresistible.

If revolution did not come until 1789 it was not because the revolutionary forces were weak so much as because the conservative forces were still strong and still wise enough to make the necessary changes and concessions. The government of Louis XVI reflected the enlightenment of his day, and this so-called "enlightened monarchy," until its natural allies, the aristocracy and clergy, proved unwilling and too divided themselves to render effective support, was able to stave off revolution.

*The development
of "enlightened despotism"*

THE LEADING monarchs of the eighteenth century were proud of their enlightenment. They did not,

to be sure, go along with the radical reformers. They had their own philosophy of law, corresponding more closely with that of the political philoso-

phers who visualized a monarch as the father of his people. Still, it was a long step from the divine-right monarch of the seventeenth century to the "enlightened despot" of the later eighteenth. These enlightened despots were, in fact, limited both in their enlightenment and their despotism. They undertook reform more in the hope of increasing their power as rulers of a prosperous and contented people than out of interest in the people themselves or out of respect for the theories of



Frederick the Great.

philosophes; and their despotism was tempered by their obligations to church, aristocracy, towns, guilds, local custom, and other corporate privileges. Still, they were generally well-meaning, paternalistic rulers—conforming to the ideal of the *philosophes* if not directly influenced by them.

*Frederick of Prussia
as "enlightened despot"*

PROBABLY the most dazzling of the "enlightened despots" was Frederick the Great of Prussia.

The brilliance and efficiency of his conduct of war and diplomacy (pages 499-512) were matched by the thoroughness and energy with which he attacked the internal problems of Prussia. By building canals, reclaiming waste lands, introducing new farming and breeding methods from England, and extending credit to farmers, Frederick enormously increased the output of Prussian agriculture. Similar encouragement to industry through government subsidies, the granting of monopolies, the importation of new industries from other countries, and the improvement of communications turned Prussia from a poor country into a prosperous nation producing a remarkable diversity of goods. The new territories of Silesia and West Prussia were welded into the nation by extension of the Prussian system of administration and by extensive government-sponsored colonization. Many of the colonists were non-German, encouraged to settle in Prussia by the king's liberal policies.

In the last decades of his life, Frederick studiously cultivated international peace. The only war he fought after 1763 was the War of the Bavarian

Succession (page 581) with its one bloodless campaign of 1778. By the Treaty of Teschen in 1779 Frederick not only kept Bavaria out of Austria's control but also acquired Ansbach and Bayreuth, as well as a generally recognized leadership among the princes of Germany.

Frederick also reorganized the tax system. This change was made ostensibly to lighten the burdens of the peasantry (which the reorganization really did little to accomplish) but actually to produce greater revenue for the crown. The feudal burdens of serfdom were somewhat lightened by Frederick, but he stopped far short of abolishing that institution altogether. Furthermore, his new system of taxes perpetuated the old aristocratic exemptions. A well-known story illustrates both Frederick's enlightenment and the sternness of his tax measures. One day Old Fritz, as he was now popularly called, encountered a crowd of his subjects craning their necks to look at a caricature of the king grinding a coffee mill with one hand while carefully picking up fallen coffee beans with the other—a none too subtle reference to his grinding and penny-pinching tax methods. Frederick ordered his groom merely to hang the picture lower “so they won't have to hurt their necks.” The crowd thereupon tore up the caricature and followed Frederick with cries of “Long live the King!”

*Frederick
and the philosophes*

FREDERICK thought of the king as
“only the first servant of the people.” This phrase he had used

himself in an early book, *Anti-Macchiavel*, brought out under the patronage of Voltaire in 1740. It was written in French, for Frederick preferred that language to his native German and did little to promote the German literary lights of his day like Lessing or Goethe. His famous Berlin Academy of Sciences was crowded with French *philosophes* including, for several years before they openly quarreled, his friend Voltaire. Although he was also under the influence of German philosophers like Thomasius and Wolff (page 531), Frederick was somewhat of a *philosophe* himself. In addition to writing books in French on political problems, he reformed the law code by his *Codex Fridericianus*; and, though it was completed only after his death, his *Allgemeines Landrecht*, or civil code of Prussia, became the outstanding German code of law, combining the law of nature with Roman and German ideas of justice. Frederick also promoted education and religious toleration within his lands.

Yet most of Frederick's reforms had a conservative cast. His agricultural and tax policies favored the great Junker landowners and tended to extend the system of large estates rather than to provide any great benefit to the peasantry. His encouragement of industry, while furnishing a great incentive to capitalist development, hedged in that development with old

mercantilist regulations at every turn. The truth was that Frederick, well versed though he was in the ideals of the Enlightenment, was loyal to the tradition of the dynastic, self-sufficient, bureaucratic state that he had inherited from the Prussian monarchs of the past. The cameralists (pages 478-479) as well as the *philosophes* were his source of inspiration, and his aim was an obedient bureaucracy as much as the popular welfare. No class as such opposed Frederick, nor did he favor one class above the other. All were required to serve the state obediently and faithfully. In Prussia, the three-cornered struggle that went on in France, for example, between king, aristocracy, and middle class was not well defined and barely existed at all. Whatever liberal reform Frederick effected was due only in part to the current political philosophy. It was also a result of the Hohenzollern concept of rigorous and efficient monarchy. The *philosophes* admired in Frederick the prototype of the "legal despot" at least as much as he admired in them the advocates of enlightenment; and it would be hard to prove that they molded his ideas any more than he molded theirs.

*Maria Theresa's program
of expedient enlightenment*

FREDERICK's rival for German leadership, the Empress Maria Theresa, pursued a middle course

between tradition and reform. While consistently opposing the more radical measures of her son and co-regent Joseph, Maria Theresa, assisted by her able adviser Kaunitz, did much to unite the diverse elements of her domains and to better the condition of her people. The Austrian movement toward centralization and efficiency was instituted after the mortifying defeat of 1740-1748 in the hope of regaining Silesia by a victorious war. Maria Theresa was impressed by Frederick's successes as an enlightened ruler. Her program was the pragmatic one of strengthening the unity and resources of her state and establishing a nice balance among the various elements which made up its society, without encouraging any movements for reform from below. Reducing the powers of the local assemblies and instituting a system of royal provincial agents after the French model, she strengthened the Habsburg administration and made it more efficient. Favorably inclined toward physiocratic doctrines, she abolished many internal customs barriers and reduced crown participation in industry. In order to create a class of peasant proprietors loyal to the crown and able to pay taxes for its support, she did much to lower the feudal obligations of the serf and to make it easier for the peasant to acquire land. She was, however, devoutly Catholic and averse to the religious skepticism of the Enlightenment. She successfully exerted her influence to keep Joseph, on his visits to his sister Marie Antoinette in France, from seeing Voltaire, and Voltaire was apparently more disappointed than Joseph that they never met.

*The economic reforms
attempted by Joseph II*

THE EMPRESS' son Joseph, who became Holy Roman emperor on his father's death in 1765 and in-

herited the Austrian crown upon his mother's death in 1780, was perhaps the most thoroughgoing example of the "enlightened despot." He, too, however, owed more to the royal tradition of paternalism than to the writings of the *philosophes*. He admired the domestic policies of Frederick and Catherine, both of whom he visited personally, more than he did Maria Theresa's. Long impatient over the palliative measures of his mother, Joseph attempted to abolish serfdom completely throughout his realms and launched a program designed to break up large estates and enable the peasant to own his own land. Following with greater conviction his mother's physiocratic economic policies, Joseph abolished the craft guilds and reduced to a negligible remnant the crown controls over industry and commerce, retaining only a protective tariff to encourage native industries. He tried to abolish the existing internal revenue system with its inequalities and exemptions, and established in its stead the single land tax so dear to the hearts of the Physiocrats. Even the tithe of the church was a victim of his reforming zeal. His tax modifications were short-lived, however, for they aroused so much opposition from vested interests that Joseph was forced to suspend their operation, and upon his death they were revoked by his successor.

*Joseph's program
of judicial and political reform*

JOSEPH also sought to remake Habsburg law in accordance with equalitarian ideals. He set forth in

various codes promulgated in the 1780's the equality of all classes before the law and abolished the death penalty for most offenses. He centralized the judicial system and saw to it that only those were appointed judges who had had intensive training in the principles of "natural law."

The most rigorous of Joseph's reforms was the centralization of government. Eliminating all vestiges of autonomy in Hungary and other hitherto semi-autonomous provinces, he imposed the Austrian administrative system and control by Viennese officials on all parts of his realm, even the remote Netherlands and Lombardy. The realm was divided into thirteen districts administered from Vienna, and royal authority replaced local self-government even on the municipal level. This policy met with violent opposition, and the well-meaning emperor's reign was clouded by constant unrest in Hungary and, in its last years, by actual revolution in Belgium.

*Joseph's program
of church-state relations*

IN PART, the revolt in Belgium was due to the thoroughness of Joseph's religious reform, which

many Belgians resented not merely because they were devout Catholics but also because they opposed Joseph's disregard of their claims to local au-

tonomy. Joseph thoroughly accepted the ideas on the relation of the church to the state promulgated by the German ecclesiastic "Febronius" (pseudonym of Johann Nikolaus von Hontheim). In 1765 Febronius had set forth for Germany a doctrine closely resembling Bishop Bossuet's idea of Gallican Liberties, subordinating papal authority to the national church. Febronius found ready listeners among the German princes. About the very moment, therefore, that the pope felt obliged to suppress his most loyal cohorts, the Jesuits (page 516), his political power was being challenged in Germany.

Joseph took advantage of this wave of "Febronianism" not merely to assert his adhesion to the theory of Austrian clerical autonomy but also to diminish the power of the church in his realm. By a series of acts culminating in an Edict of Tolerance in 1781, he confiscated hundreds of monasteries and their properties, releasing thousands of their members, and reorganized the surviving 27,000 monks and nuns (less than half of the original number) in the remaining 1324 monasteries. He created state-supported schools on former church properties. He loosened the restriction on Protestants and Jews. He attempted to diminish the political bonds of the Austrian clergy with Rome. His characteristic thoroughness in the application of Febronianism gave to his policy the name of "Josephism," and furnished a precedent for less royal revolutionaries in France within a few years (pages 648-649). At home, and especially in devout Belgium, his toleration and anti-clericalism encountered resistance.

*The failure
of Joseph as a reformer*

BEFORE his death, Joseph's "legal despotism" proved, in fact, as much a failure as Frederick's was a success. Most of what he had done was repudiated by his successors because of the opposition that it aroused from all classes. Even the peasants were confused by his reforms and in numerous revolts forced abandonment of his program. A well-meaning emperor, it would seem, cannot force reforms upon an unprepared people, particularly when there is good reason to believe that his purpose is to enhance royal power by overriding local customs. When Joseph died, leaving to his brother the suppression of the revolt in Belgium and the displeasure of the privileged estates elsewhere in his realm, he asked that his epitaph should read: "Here lies a prince whose intentions were pure but who had the misfortune to see all his plans miscarry." But when his statue was erected in Vienna it described him as "a performer of great things" and "a planner of greater ones."

*Enlightenment
and despotism in Italy*

JOSEPH'S brother and successor was Leopold II, who had earned an enviable reputation as the enlightened ruler of Tuscany, which he had inherited upon his father's death in 1765. Leopold in Tuscany, like Joseph in Lombardy, had done much to

mitigate the evils of feudal aristocracy and clerical conservatism. He had also improved the laws and the prisons in keeping with the principles laid down by Beccaria, Italy's outstanding criminologist (page 495). Improvement of roads, the draining of swamps, and the promotion of agriculture made Tuscany a more prosperous state than it had been since the days of the great Medici.

Elsewhere in Italy, the petty princes did not play the role of enlightened despot. In Sardinia and Naples, the reigning princes proved more despotic than enlightened. The republics of Venice and Genoa continued in their aristocratic lethargy, the latter having been obliged in 1768 to cede Corsica to France in time for Napoleon Bonaparte to be born (in 1769) a Frenchman. The suppression of the Jesuits in 1773 diminished the order's influence in the Papal States, but Pope Clement XIV, though the Jesuits were especially unpopular in Rome, acted out of political and not "enlightened" considerations in that regard. Little sense of national solidarity arose among the Italians despite their linguistic and religious unity and their natural pride in the great contemporary figures of Beccaria, Volta and Galvani. Such national spirit as did arise found expression chiefly in the lofty poetry of Count Vittorio Alfieri, whose nineteen tragedies, modeled upon the French classics, revealed a profound devotion to liberty. Overshadowed by great foreign reputations in his own time, Alfieri means more to Italy today than he meant to Italian contemporaries.

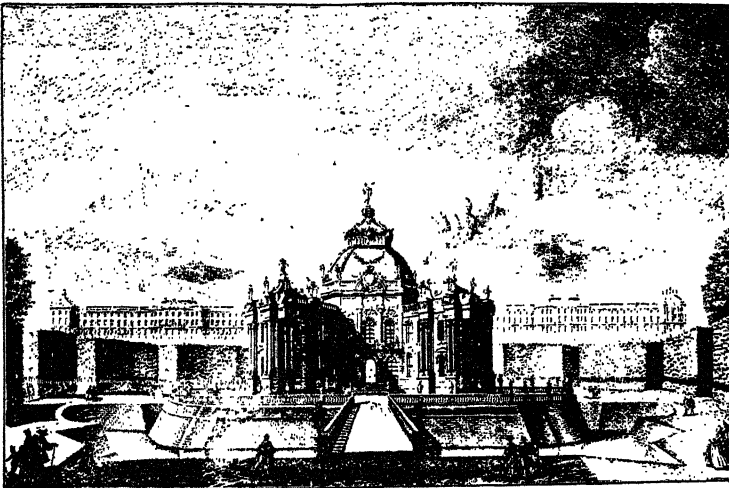
*Catherine's lip-service
to western ideas of enlightenment*

CATHERINE OF RUSSIA also paid deference to western theories of enlightenment. Diderot and other

philosophes visited her, she corresponded regularly with Voltaire and other Encyclopedists, she befriended them when they were in need. She succeeded in establishing many superficial reforms, but she granted to the nobility even greater exemptions from taxes and other burdens of state, without making the least concession of her own autocratic powers. A reorganization of local government resulted chiefly in a cementing of the alliance between the empress and the nobility. The Russian gentry became, like the Prussian Junkers, loyal but unpaid local agents of the crown, and received, in return, increased powers over the peasantry. Revision of the tax system, extension of free trade within Russian borders, abolition of state monopolies, and, within limits, greater freedom for private business were likewise achieved. By restricting factory enterprise to the nobility and at the same time encouraging the bourgeoisie in commercial enterprise, she won the support of both groups. An effort to lay the foundation for a program of reform along the lines expounded by Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois* led in 1767-1768 to the convocation of a legislative commission, but it talked much and did little. The peasantry continued to suffer until in 1773-1775 they

revolted under the Cossack Pugachev, only to be ruthlessly suppressed. Though Catherine played with the idea of emancipating the serfs, she ended by increasing their obligations to the nobility and implanting still further the institution of serfdom into the Russian social fabric.

Catherine was a genuine patron of arts and letters, however. She brought the French theater and French art to St. Petersburg, notably in the person of Falconet, who there executed his well-known equestrian statue of Peter the Great; and she began the justly famous art collection at her palace called "the Hermitage." She bought Voltaire's and Diderot's libraries. She also founded the famous Smolny Institute for the education of the daughters of the nobility and other secondary schools in other leading cities, and encouraged Russians to go abroad for their higher education. Under her, St. Petersburg, which Peter had left an overgrown village, became a capital city of nearly three hundred thousand with magnificent houses and paved streets. Voltaire called her "The Semiramis of the North," after the legendary queen of Assyria who was believed to have founded Babylon. Moscow showed distinct signs of "what has sometimes been called "the French invasion"—the upper classes affecting French manners, French clothes, and the French language. A reaction against French influences came with the shock of the French Revolution, and was all the more marked because of the thoroughness of the earlier "invasion."



Catherine's rococo Hermitage at St. Petersburg was only a pavilion palace. Catherine began the collection that makes the modern Hermitage, reconstructed in the nineteenth century, one of the greatest art museums in the world.

*A brief Spanish revival
during the reign of Charles III*

IN WESTERN EUROPE, home of the Enlightenment, benevolent despots were no more successful

than Catherine in rooting out the fundamental evils of the Old Regime. In Spain the Bourbon King Charles III and a number of enlightened advisers attacked the numerous local privileges in government and law, sought to weaken the power of the great guilds, expelled the Jesuits, rebuilt the Spanish navy, refilled the royal treasury, and tried, by breaking up the vast landed estates, to make it simpler for the peasants to buy land. Agriculture, industry, and commerce experienced a remarkable revival after generations of torpor. Royal funds were expended on schools, hospitals, and orphanages. Spain regained Minorca, Florida, and some of her lost prestige by her participation in the War of American Independence. Altogether, the reign of Charles III was one of the brighter eras in the history of a declining nation.

*The younger Pitt
and enlightenment in England*

IN ENGLAND George III thought of himself as a "patriot king," along the lines laid down in *The Patriot*

King written by the famous Tory, Viscount Bolingbroke. If George was more enlightened than despotic, it was because the royal prerogative in England had long ago lost the independent strength required for despotism. George, however, by his ability to manipulate a parliamentary majority through his control of the patronage was for the most part successful in carrying through his policies. The defenders of the representative system nevertheless fought against a possible return to royal predominance, and this struggle occupied much of George III's reign before the French Revolution. The success of the American struggle for independence was a defeat for George's policy in the mother country no less than in the colonies. The king's henchmen were driven from power with Lord North in 1782 (page 584), and George's effort to recover the powers of the crown failed.

But George's reign was not barren of reform, though it was not of his making. The tariff was lowered, fiscal reforms balanced the British budget, and certain liberal changes were made in the colonial system including a new constitution for the East India Company (page 777). All these measures were largely under the guiding hand of Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger. Pitt came to power after the Peace of 1763 and was to remain prime minister, with one significant gap, until his death in 1806.

*The Eden Treaty
and England's renewal of alliances*

PITT WAS also able to restore much of England's lost prestige in international affairs. In 1786 a

630 treaty (named after the British special envoy to Paris, William Eden) permitted a freer exchange, as recommended by the newer trade theories, of

English manufactured articles against French agricultural products, particularly wines. This treaty soon appeared to be of greater benefit to the English factory than to the French vineyard. In the 1780's Pitt similarly took advantage of two diplomatic crises that arose over the Netherlands to break the isolation of England and to diminish the prestige of France. In 1788 he formed with Prussia and the stadholder's government of Holland an alliance aimed at the preserva-



This political cartoon shows the "Triumph of Virtue." Pitt the Younger, supported by the Pillar of the Public, tramples upon his political opponents, who are depicted as crushed serpents.

tion of the status quo, which had been threatened by Joseph II's ambition to make Belgium a great commercial center and by France's support of the anti-stadholder party in Holland.

Thus, just before the French Revolution, England was well on the road toward recovery of her leadership both as a liberal government and as an international force. The French Revolution and its bursts of violence were, in fact, to lead to so much fear and unfavorable reaction in England as to check the more radical elements. The basic changes for which the reformers of Pitt's day clamored—the abolition of the slave trade, fuller representation in Parliament, and a more liberal franchise—were therefore left for a later age to accomplish.

ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM

IN FRANCE

IN FRANCE, home of the *philosophes*, who had most vigorously preached the Enlightenment, the accession of Louis XVI in 1774 augured well for the cause of reform. He quickly appointed a group of enlightened ministers

and recalled the parlements that Louis xv had exiled. Those who hoped for reform rejoiced. They were soon, however, to learn that they could not count fully upon the good will of their king. Louis xvi, though well-intentioned and by no means stupid, was too easily influenced by his conservative court to play the full role of benevolent despot or to support consistently a reforming minister.

Turgot's reform IN LOUIS's first reform ministry,
checkmated by court opposition the comptroller-general was the friend of the *philosophes* and

Physiocrats, Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot. Turgot planned a broad program including equitable taxation, the abolition of the *corvée*, freedom of the grain trade from onerous restrictions, reduction of court expenditures, and a network of local elective assemblies culminating in a freely elected national assembly. Within a few years, however, he aroused so much opposition within the royal court that the king reluctantly dismissed him from office. Turgot was admired by Voltaire and many other *philosophes*. His failure convinced them that the restored parlements, which had blocked Turgot's proposals, were more anxious to assert their own prerogatives than to effect true reform.

Calonne AFTER Turgot, various ministers
and the Assembly of Notables tried various reforms. Most of them were directed frankly toward

staving off bankruptcy rather than reforming society. For Louis xv's legacy of debt, augmented by enormous French expenditures in the War of the American Revolution, was fast ruining the French government's credit. Palliative measures by a succession of finance ministers failed to restore the credit of the royal treasury. Finally Comptroller-General Charles Alexandre de Calonne adopted a radical measure—the convocation of the Assembly of Notables. The Notables, designated by the king, had sometimes in the past been called together, in preference to the Estates General, to advise the throne when the opinion of the three estates (clergy, nobility, and commoners) had been sought. Calonne proposed (1787) to place the financial crisis before such a body, though it had been in abeyance for over a hundred and sixty years. He desired to get from them approval for a series of new taxes that the parlements had consistently blocked, and in return to make some political and social reforms. The measure was a bold one, since it opened an avenue to public censure through the Notables, but Calonne realized that it was necessary to make this concession in order to avoid greater ones.

The Notables, however, proved, like the parlements, more concerned with asserting their power than with effecting reform. They made a scapegoat of Calonne and induced the king to exile him, but refused to sanction the major features of his tax program. They did, however, propose toleration

for Protestants, which the king now granted (page 617), as well as the creation of provincial assemblies where they did not exist.

*The convocation
of the Estates General*

THESE new provincial assemblies, controlled like the parlements and the Notables by the aristocracy,

soon joined the general opposition to new taxes. They also voiced the now insistent demand for reviving the Estates General, in the hope of diminishing the royal power through various agencies dominated by the nobility. The king's new minister, Loménie de Brienne, yielded, but without fixing a definite date for the meeting of the Estates General. Brienne could not maintain himself against steadily growing opposition and finally was obliged to give way to the banker and philanthropist, Jacques Necker (page 618). Necker had previously, as a government official, shown himself a friend of reform, but the king had hitherto been unwilling to name him a minister because he was a Protestant. Late in 1788, Necker fixed the date of the Estates General's meeting for early in 1789.

*Abbé Sieyès's
What is the Third Estate?*

MEANWHILE the clamor of reform sentiment had grown louder. As we have seen (pages 603-611),

the literature of the *philosophes* had steadily become more radical and more concrete, and had reached into the more remote corners and underprivileged classes of the realm. It now centered upon the anticipated revival of the ancient representative body, the Estates General. Old *philosophes* like Mably and new writers like the Abbé Sieyès argued that the new Estates General must be something different from the old Estates General, last convoked in 1614, and must become rather a modern body. The old Estates General had been controlled by the aristocracy, who had made up the upper two estates and dominated the Third Estate. What these writers wanted was a Third Estate that would be as numerous as the other two orders combined, with the Estates General so reorganized that the Third Estate could, if necessary, outvote the other two orders. Sieyès, a member of the clergy but a supporter of the Third Estate, asked three questions and gave three answers that have remained famous: "(1) What is the Third Estate? Everything. (2) What has it been hitherto in the political order? Nothing. (3) What does it ask? To become something."

*The opportunity
for constitutional reform*

SIEYÈS's questions and answers were indicative of the general trend of liberal and radical opin-

ion. The articulate public generally held that the Third Estate, which comprised numerically almost the entire nation, ought to be allowed political influence in some proportion to its numbers. This trend of thought broke with tradition, wherein conservative reformers sought to find their remedies,

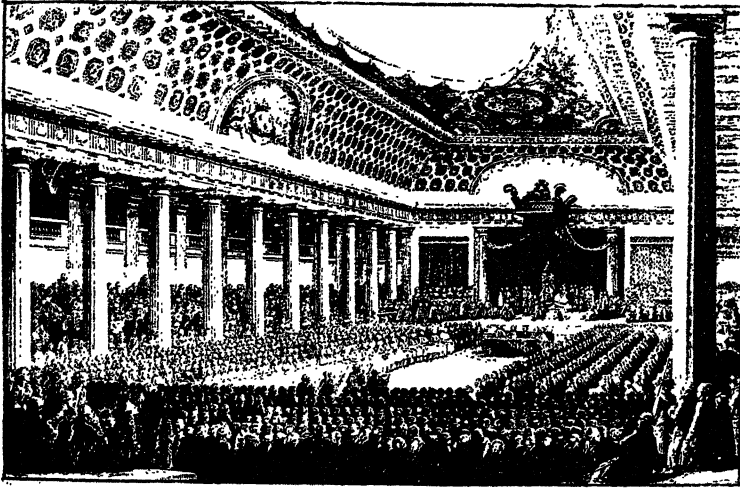
and turned toward reason as the source of political truth. It was significant in two ways: (1) It aimed at curtailing the time-honored powers of the privileged groups, and (2) it revealed a popular movement to change the Estates General from an assembly controlled by the aristocracy and merely advisory to the king, as was traditional, into the voice of the sovereign people of France. The Third Estate alone, some openly declared, could and should vote changes in the "fundamental law" of the land, if the privileged orders refused to do so.

*The insufficiency
of enlightened despotism*

THE GROWING demand for popular participation in solving the nation's problems reflected a general

apprehension that what enlightened despotism was ready to offer was too little. And, indeed, the weaknesses of the Old Regime could not readily be reformed from above, even when—as was the case for Louis XVI but not for Joseph II—confidence in the ruler was widespread. The privileges and exemptions of the clergy and nobility, and the preference for aristocrats in high civil, military, and ecclesiastical office could not be obliterated without great loss to the very groups that monarchs were most inclined to befriend. The confusing varieties of local government, the numerous and often conflicting systems of law and justice, and the inequality of taxes and administration among the provinces were frequently based upon charters and royal grants that kings felt honor-bound to respect. The inefficiency, inertia, and corruption of government bred by office-holding through heredity and purchase, and the tensions between the more and the less honored groups within the same classes of society were due to a caste system of society that could not well be questioned without calling into question the very principle of kingship. The iniquities arising from ministerial usurpations in the name of an absolute monarch could be remedied only if the problem of ministerial responsibility were squarely faced. The impediments to industry and commerce from guilds and royal controls, and the numerous and high customs duties were economic abuses that probably could not be corrected without raising some doubts regarding the extent of the king's economic authority. The antiquated feudal obligations of the peasantry, and the poverty and degradation of the unorganized and disfranchised city proletariat could hardly be relieved without adding some great burden to already hard-pressed royal treasuries and officials. Few of these evils were likely to be swept away by a reforming monarch, no matter how well-intentioned, so long as he considered, to use a phrase of Joseph II, that "kingship was his business."

Much had indeed been accomplished by the despots, the nature and extent of the changes varying greatly with the personalities and aims of the rulers and the characters of the institutions they had tried to change. But the enlightened monarchs were dependent upon the privileged classes, especially the upper clergy, who governed their churches, and the military aristocracy,



The first session of the Estates General at Versailles on May 5, 1789. This room was the Salle des Menus Plaisirs, which no longer exists. At the front of the hall under the baldachin sit the king and the court, the Clergy on his right, the Nobility on his left, and the Third Estate in the rear (foreground). Visitors are in the galleries.

who ran their armies. They recognized with Montesquieu that monarchies could not survive without an especially honored class. And so, in the end, they failed to provide the answer to the needs of the times, for they were caught on the horns of a dilemma. Reforms aimed at increasing the royal power by centralization and the reduction of privileges would alienate those who had a stake in maintaining the status quo and thus would turn the aristocracy, the natural defenders of monarchy, against the king. At the same time the partial reforms that the enlightened monarchs did effect did not go far enough to suit the bourgeoisie, the peasants, and the city workers, who could benefit very little without a thorough remodeling of the existing system.

*The doubling
of the Third Estate*

IN FRANCE, the groups favoring change grew in power and numbers while the conservative forces

began to betray cleavages between classes as well as within the separate classes. The king hoped to win middle-class support away from the aristocracy and even the support of the lower clergy away from the upper clergy, and perhaps even that of the liberal nobles like Lafayette away from the more conservative nobles. This maneuvering of the king and the aristocracy for popular support led to a great victory for the Third Estate. Necker, hoping to avoid responsibility for a radical decision, called the Assembly of Notables together again and asked them to consider whether the Third Estate should be

double the size of either the Clergy or the Nobility. The Notables, however, insisted on the old forms and traditions, and at the year's close, the minister decided to issue what a grateful nation soon dubbed "Necker's New Year's gift to the people." The Third Estate was granted by royal decree double the number of representatives allowed each of the other two estates, but it was also intimated that only on occasions when the upper two orders consented might the three estates vote as a single body. Thus when they were to vote "by head" and when they were to vote "by body" remained essentially unsettled.

*Optimism
of the French people*

BY THE time the Estates General met in May 1789, other concessions had been made to the Third

Estate. Necker had announced a program of reform—conservative enough, since it advocated caution with regard to changes in aristocratic privileges, but nevertheless granting the Estates General control of taxation and the annual budget. The Third Estate was to be elected by nearly universal male suffrage among the *roturier* (i.e., common) classes, and the lower clergy were to be directly represented in the First Estate. The reform elements might thus get a clear majority. This was considerably further than any enlightened despot had yet gone, and had Louis continued in this program, enlightened despotism might still have proved itself capable of solving its problems. In addition, each member of the Estates General was invited to bring from his constituency a *cahier de doléances* (list of grievances). The people of France were thus encouraged to feel that at last the government was going to undertake a general reform. Hence the Estates General was to open its meeting in an atmosphere not of rebellion and hatred but of confidence and hope. Yet out of this promising situation was soon to develop a whole series of revolutionary crises, accompanied by bloodshed, tyranny, and war.

AS EARLY as 1778, Frederick the Great had lamented "the spirit of sedition" that was spreading throughout the world. It was, he said, a sort of epidemic, which had begun with Pugachev in Russia and had passed from there to George III's colonies, Joseph II's realms, and finally to Louis XVI's France. Geographically, at least, Frederick's chart was correct. And by 1789, what he called "the spirit of sedition" had become an unmistakable revolutionary wave, most discernible in France but only somewhat less so in other parts of Europe. Discontent was widespread. The land-hungry peasants resented the inadequacy of the little farms they owned or were allowed to cultivate and the heavy payments that landlord, church, and state demanded. The bourgeoisie resented the social dominance and political influence of the

aristocracy, the restrictions on their own enterprise imposed by government regulations and tax policies, and the exemptions from taxation enjoyed by the clergy and nobility. The working classes resented their own disorganization and the increasing cost of living. The lower clergy, mostly of peasant origin and sympathetic with the poor, resented the political control of the church by the upper clergy, mostly of aristocratic origin. Country nobility resented the predominance of the court nobility, and the bureaucratic nobility (of the gown) resented the alleged superiority of the nobility of the sword. And the nobility as a whole resented the king's claim to absolute political power, to the exclusion of courts and estates controlled by the nobility.

By 1789 all this resentment had become an articulated public opinion largely through the efforts of the *philosophes*. The philosophy of nature and reason had reached far and wide through the media of books, pamphlets, newspapers, political and social clubs, learned and semilearned academies, Masonic lodges, and street-corner polemics, and was sponsored by a prosperous and influential middle class. The *philosophes* not only helped to turn dissatisfaction into a formulated demand for reform, they also set forth a program—or rather several programs—based upon their several interpretations of the laws of nature. Recognized leaders had also arisen—men who could utilize and direct public opinion into channels of action, as events were to show. In France they came from the *philosophes* and the parlements, from soldiers who had fought in America and there had imbibed the ideals of liberty and equality, from lawyers, writers, and disconsolate or idealistic noblemen and clerics. And the opposing forces—king, aristocracy, and clergy—were weak, vacillating, divided, and without an attractive program either of reform or of reaction.

Only an incident was needed to precipitate the deluge which Louis xv had cynically predicted would follow his reign. That occasion had been provided by the financial crisis, which a number of government expedients had so far failed to solve. In the effort to solve it Louis xvi had finally consented to consult his people on a fairly wide representative basis, hoping to win popular support against the parlements and Notables that had so far blocked his attempts at fiscal reform. By making the Third Estate in the forthcoming Estates General as big as the other two estates combined, and at the same time not indicating whether they would vote "by head" or "by body," he apparently hoped to determine himself which measures would pass and which would be voted down. Vote by head would mean a majority for the Third Estate; vote by order would mean superiority for the Nobility and the Clergy. In that way the king and not the aristocracy would control the Estates General. Events were soon to show, however, that the Third Estate would be the real victor in this conflict of the king with the aristocracy.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1699-1779 Jean Baptiste Siméon Chardin, French *genre* painter
1732-1809 Joseph Haydn, "father of the symphony"
1740 Accession of Frederick the Great of Prussia, Elizabeth of Russia, and Maria Theresa of Austria
1748-1825 Jacques Louis David, French painter
1756-1791 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Austrian composer
1767-1768 Meeting of a legislative commission to discuss reform under Catherine
1773-1775 Pugachev's revolt
1774 Accession of Louis XVI
1776 Publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*
1776 Publication of Jeremy Bentham's *Fragment on Government*
1776 Appearance of the first volume of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*
1776 Dismissal of Turgot from the office of Comptroller-General under Louis XVI
1781 Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*
1782 Appearance of Schiller's first play, *The Robbers*
1782 The law of the conservation of matter demonstrated chemically by Lavoisier
1784-1791 Herder's *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Mankind*
1785 Appointment of Goya as director of the Academy of Arts in Spain and court painter to Charles IV
1785 James Hutton's *Theory of the Earth*
1786 The Eden Treaty signed by England and France
1787 Formation of an antislavery league in England under the leadership of Wilberforce
1787 The Assembly of Notables called by Calonne
1788 Arrangements made by Necker, Louis's minister of finance, for the calling of the Estates General early in 1789
1788 Abbé Sieyès's pamphlet, "What is the Third Estate?"
1788 Kant's *Critique of Practical Reason*
1788 Formation by England, Prussia, and Holland of an alliance dedicated to the preservation of the status quo
1790 Goethe's *Torquato Tasso*
1793 Condorcet's *Outline of a Historical Presentation of the Progress of the Human Mind*
1796 Discovery of the process of vaccination by Edward Jenner
1796 Laplace's *Explanation of the World's System*
1798 Construction of an electric battery by Volta

*The first
world revolution:
the French phase, 1789-1799*



BY THE time the Estates General of France met at Versailles in 1789, they had behind them a "revolutionary tradition." They could look back not only to the struggles of the ancient Hebrews and Christians for righteousness and to those of the ancient Greeks and Romans for the good, true, and beautiful, but also to recent centuries of change.

Since the Middle Ages, Europe had experienced extraordinary shifts in its prevalent modes of thought. The Renaissance had tended to secularize the European's thoughts and work, thus fixing his attention upon the here and now rather than upon a paradise lost and to be regained. The new science had helped turn his speculation to the practical from the ideal. The Age of Discovery had brought him into contact with peoples, cultures, religions, and commodities he had scarcely known before, had challenged his accepted beliefs, and had altered his economic practices. New lands and new technologies had led to a commercial revolution first and then to revolutions in industry and agriculture.

The Reformation, despite its bitter disputes over the ways of God with man, had taken another step in the direction of secularizing men's minds. It had secularized even religion. For Protestants now placed great emphasis upon the individual's own responsibility for his eternal salvation; God would help him only if he would help himself. And the deists and *philosophes* doubted divine intervention in human affairs altogether. Meanwhile the religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had taught that, although a supposedly divinely inspired ruler might establish a nation's creed by force, its choice might sometimes depend upon the consent of the worshipers. Moreover, quarrels among the rulers made it possible for groups of nonconformists within a state to find allies from without. Religious

revolt and political change thus went hand in hand, and were often best articulated or most conspicuously led by those whom the new thought and the new technologies had unsettled or made rich. By 1789, those who accepted the new thought were persuaded that change meant progress, for a benign nature ordered the universe, and all was, or was someday to become, right with the world.

The revolutionary tradition, we have seen, had within it not only an ancient ideological background but also a long history of successful resistance to misgovernment and tyranny. The Old Testament's Moses and Pharaoh, the New Testament's Jesus and Pilate, Plutarch's Demosthenes and Philip of Macedon or Brutus and Caesar entered into this history along with William of Orange and Philip of Spain, Cromwell and Charles I, Washington and George III. Not merely outworn beliefs but also selfish men might tyrannize over peoples and interfere with the benignity of nature. Hence man could be set free and kept free only by a benevolent state's discovery and enactment of the laws of nature, and not by ancient creeds and traditional institutions.

Ancient creeds and traditions derive strength, however, from their very antiquity; nor are they devoid of rational grounds for existence. Thus the French Revolution, we shall find, was a period of conflict between those who, suspicious of the new, wished to keep the Old Regime with as little modification as was expedient, and those who, despising the old, wished thoroughgoing change. We shall witness waves of political, economic, and social destruction and construction, with counteracting forces always at work and sometimes victorious; and violence will result when one or the other of the opposing forces becomes dissatisfied with political means alone. We shall watch a definite revolutionary creed—"the principles of 1789"—grow and crystallize in France and gradually spread by revolt and war to nearby countries. As France herself will seek to still her conflicts and stabilize her new institutions, "a man on horseback" will emerge in the person of General Napoleon Bonaparte.

This chapter will end before it will become clear whether Bonaparte will prefer to out-Cromwell Cromwell rather than to follow the examples of William of Orange or Washington. In a subsequent chapter we shall examine how his efforts to build a great world empire carried the new revolutionary creed not merely to the rest of Europe but also to the European overseas empires as well, affecting the East only indirectly but the Americas directly and markedly.

THE FIRST REVOLUTIONARY PHASE

640 **W**HEN LOUIS XVI called the Estates General together, he was absolute monarch of France. The Estates General owed its existence to his will and

This cartoon represents the hopefulness of the early Revolution. It shows a lofty and beautiful chariot, drawn by a pair of doves and carrying the symbols of the monarchy, in which the three estates ride in friendly accord.



had no more authority than he was willing to grant to it. He was to find, however, that even absolute monarchs, if they do not derive their power from the consent of the governed, must have sufficient force to control dissent. Louis XVI proved to have neither the consent nor the control of the governed.

*The National Assembly
created by the Third Estate*

WHEN THE deputies to the Estates
General assembled at Versailles
on May 5, 1789, the important

matter of the method by which they were to vote was still undecided. The Third Estate—for whom the decision would mean a minority if they voted by “order,” or “body,” and a majority if they voted by “head”—determined to force the issue. For over a month they refused to organize as a separate body. Instead, they formally invited the members of the other estates to meet with them. A few members of the upper orders joined the meetings of the Third Estate. Thus encouraged, on June 17 that body declared itself to be the “National Assembly,” denying the claims of any other body to represent any of the nation; and this self-styled “National Assembly” proceeded to pass laws as though it were in fact the constitutional legislature of the nation.

*The Tennis Court Oath
and temporary royal submission*

ALARMED by the powers that the
Third Estate was assuming, the
court now decided to demand

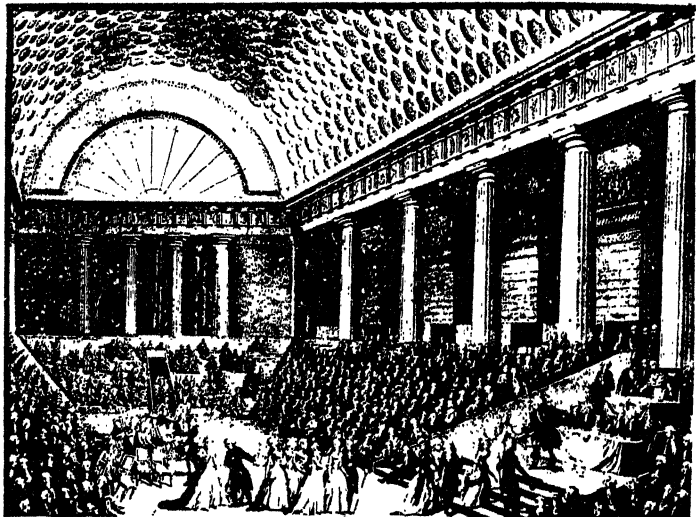
separate meetings of the three estates. When the members of the “National Assembly” met on June 20, they found the door of their meeting place barred by the king’s order. Betaking themselves to a nearby tennis court, the “National Assembly,” amidst much excitement, swore a solemn oath “never to separate and to reassemble wherever circumstances demanded until the constitution of the realm be established and affirmed upon a solid basis.” This stroke was open defiance of what was assumed to be the royal will. With some historical inaccuracy, the scene was commemorated in one of David’s most famous paintings.

The royal will became explicit three days later. In a solemn "Royal Session," Louis XVI personally ordered the three estates to adopt the procedure of separate meetings. But, perhaps under the influence of Mirabeau's oratory, they refused categorically. In the following days their numbers were augmented by deputations from the other two orders, many of whom were probably only yielding to the unconcealed sentiment of the crowds in the streets. On June 27 the king surrendered his point—temporarily, he thought—and formally permitted the three estates to meet together. He did not yet, however, formally recognize them as the "National Assembly."

*Revolution in Paris
and the fall of the Bastille*

THE MORE conservative advisers of Louis XVI considered these concessions dangerous. They pro-

posed the use of force to make the deputies comply with the royal will. During July an unusual number of troops was concentrated in and around Paris and Versailles. Many of them were foreign mercenaries, whose loyalty to the king who paid them could not be suspected of corruption by revolutionary fervor, as was true of some native French troops. Whether the king was summoning them to protect himself, or to overawe the "National Assembly" and its supporters, or, as he claimed, to preserve order amidst



642 *The Salle des Menus Plaisirs on September 7, 1789. A group of Parisian women are shown presenting to the National Assembly the first "patriotic gift" (page 648).*

A caricature showing two people of the lower classes toasting their new-found dignity as members of the Third Estate.



heated political unrest, their presence looked suspicious. Popular uneasiness was increased by the dismissal of Necker, the popular finance minister, whom both the people and the court regarded as being on the popular

side. The conviction grew rapidly that some sort of violence against patriots in and out of the "National Assembly" was being planned. In Paris political demonstrations, which began peacefully enough with a parade carrying wax figures of Necker and the popular Duke of Orleans, ended in a search for arms, the ringing of the tocsins of alarm, and the looting of shops.

To meet the emergency, the electoral assemblies of Paris, which had continued to assemble though they had long since completed the election of their deputies, engineered a municipal revolution. Choosing new officers to supplement the old municipal council, they also created their own Paris citizen guard, recruited from the bourgeoisie of the various districts. But even this measure could not stop the popular agitation and the search for arms. The search culminated on July 14 in an assault on the Bastille, a venerable fortress in the heart of the city. The Bastille was attacked because it was believed to contain arms, but it was also regarded as a symbol of tyranny and of the Old Regime. It had served as a prison for Voltaire and other champions of reform. The Bastille fell after some resistance, yielding, besides its arms, only five ordinary criminals and two lunatics instead of the numerous patriot prisoners popularly supposed to have been secreted there by arbitrary *lettres de cachet* (royal orders of arrest).

The upshot of the Paris uprising was that the king recalled Necker, agreed to dismiss the extra troops, and at last gave full recognition to the National Assembly. Lafayette, one of the outstanding champions of a constitutional monarchy, was soon made commandant of the Parisian citizen guard and became the most powerful figure in France. The reorganization of Paris under bourgeois control was also given royal sanction. "The Fall

of the Bastille" rapidly became a symbol of the Revolution. Parisian participants in the attack appeared in club meetings and theaters as revolutionary heroes, pamphlets and songs glorified the event, and stones from the Bastille were cherished throughout France as tokens of liberty. July 14 was made the great national holiday and remains so today.

*Revolution
and not revolt*

THE STORY goes that when Louis XVI was awakened in order to be told about the fall of the Bastille, he cried, "But this is revolt!" One of his advisers is supposed to have replied, "No, Sire, it is revolution!" No longer was the popular representative body of France to be the Estates General, convened at the royal pleasure and regarded simply as an aid to the king in solving such problems as he chose to place before them. No longer was the struggle for power within France to be between king and aristocracy, with the commoners siding now with one and now with the other of the principal antagonists. It had instead become a struggle of the commoners for control, resisted by the king and the aristocracy combined. The National Assembly, fully recognized, was to be a regular part of the government. Thereby France had changed in principle from an absolute monarchy to a government resting upon the consent of the governed. As pledged by the "Tennis Court Oath," the Assembly, it was now confidently believed, would give France a new constitution formally specifying this change in black and white.

So far the Revolution had been relatively peaceful, marked by only one serious outbreak of violence, and it augured well for the future. The time seemed at hand when Popular Sovereignty, sanctioned by Nature and Reason, would at last control the law of the land. The widespread enthusiasm within France was echoed throughout Europe. Foreign observers generally agreed that the French Revolution was practically over and that it had been a good and necessary thing.

*The growth
of revolutionary opinion*

AS IT turned out, the Revolution was not to be simply a matter of peaceful accord between the king and the National Assembly. The course of events at Versailles had been followed with extraordinary interest in cities and provinces throughout France, and public opinion was developing into a force of such potency and such extent as had never before been known in Europe. Among the impatient people, rumors and prejudices deepened antagonisms and suspicions against the court and the aristocracy. Patriotism and enthusiasm for the new France gave birth to a desire for action. Newspapers, clubs, political committees, and public meetings became common, and gave the people of France a chance to become an active element in the revolution. A series of popular

outbreaks during the summer and fall of 1789 took the remodeling of the Old Regime temporarily out of the hands of the Assembly.

The "Great Fear"
in the rural districts

IN THE provinces an extraordinary phenomenon known as "the Great Fear" roused the peasantry to vio-

lence in many places. Engendered partly by rumors of an "aristocratic plot" at Versailles and Paris, sometimes by dread that foreigners or their own landlords might take shrewd advantage of the confused situation inside of France, and in a few cases by the news of the fall of the Bastille, the "Great Fear" expressed itself in a conviction that "the brigands" were coming. Frequently, when "the brigands" failed to materialize, the peasants, armed against imaginary bandits and impatient over the slowness of the National Assembly to do anything about relieving their feudal dues and burdens, vented their feelings by going to their local châteaux and demanding that the records of their obligations be destroyed. Occasionally such boldness ended in armed conflict and the destruction of châteaux; more often it led only to the burning of the feudal records. Thus the peasants added to the political revolution at Versailles an economic and social revolution that struck at the roots of the old feudalism. Meanwhile, the glorious news of the municipal revolution in Paris encouraged imitation in other municipalities, and by the summer's end, throughout the provincial cities, the old royal system of local government had given way to new, bourgeois governments.

The "August Decrees"
and the "abolition" of feudalism

AT VERSAILLES the news of the rural uprisings brought a quick response from the National As-

sembly. In a dramatic, all-night session (August 4-5) individual nobles and clerics, representatives of privileged towns and provinces, and spokesmen for corporate institutions one after another enthusiastically made the sacrifice of feudal privileges and exemptions (which sometimes, however, belonged to others or had already been destroyed in fact in the peasant uprisings). The nocturnal rapture ended with fifteen minutes of cheers for the king as "the Restorer of French Liberty." In a single night at the capital, centuries of feudalism and privilege had been destroyed in principle as the peasants in the villages had been destroying them in fact. A few days later, soberer legislation embodying the new principles stipulated certain conditions such as compensation to nobles and clerics for some of the dues they had so magnanimously surrendered, and thus prolonged the feudal burdens for a few years more. But feudalism in theory and some of the most abusive feudal privileges in practice vanished forever, and in their place equality in the eyes of the law seemed about to become a reality through these "August Decrees." Louis XVI, however, hesitated to accept them.

*The king's resistance
to the Assembly's proposals*

THE NEW constitution now engaged the attention of the National Assembly. In August a Declara-

tion of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen was adopted and sent to Louis for his approval. The Declaration began: "The representatives of the French people,...considering that ignorance, forgetfulness, or contempt of the rights of man are the sole causes of public misfortunes and the corruption of governments, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration the natural, inalienable and sacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, constantly before all members of the social body, may recall to them at all times, their rights and duties." It was a hopeful document embodying, explicitly or implicitly, the revolutionary principles of liberty and equality—liberty of speech, press, and worship; freedom from arbitrary arrest, punishment, or confiscation of property; equality of taxation, political opportunity, and legal rights. It reaffirmed some of the *philosophes'* tenets—the sovereignty of the "general will," the sanctity of private property, the separation of powers, society's responsibility for "the common utility," and the rights of "liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression." Louis, who had so far refused to accept the August Decrees, also refused to give his approval to the Declaration of Rights.

In September the Assembly decided on the first features of the new government. After bitter debate an aristocratic upper house was defeated in favor of a one-house legislature of two years' duration; and the absolute control of the king over legislation was destroyed by granting him only a suspensive veto, whereby he could block a bill for the duration of two legislatures, after which, if passed by the third, it would become law. Thus a unicameral elective legislature replaced the king and the aristocracy as the ultimate source of law in France. Louis also refused his assent to these provisions of the proposed constitution.

*Popular protest
and the eclipse of Versailles*

IT LOOKED as if Louis were going to use his traditional veto power to prevent the very modification

of the veto power and thence of the Revolution itself. Once more suspicion of the king arose. It came at a time when unrest was already prevalent over the rising cost of living, the scarcity of bread, and the generally unsettled political condition of the country. Together, civic suspicion and economic distress produced a new popular outbreak. Paris had followed closely the debates over the Declaration of Rights and the constitution. A mushroom press, which had sprung up as the royal censorship collapsed during the summer, had kept people agitated, and the issues had been as much debated in clubs and on street corners as in the National Assembly.

Moreover, an undercover concentration of royal troops was again said to be going on. Panic was once more produced among the Paris populace, perhaps more carefully fostered by politically minded men this time than in the attack on the Bastille. On October 5 two waves of protesting Parisians, the first made up largely of housewives seeking bread and the second made up of men seeking political advantage, marched upon Versailles. The demonstration was outwardly successful, for Louis agreed to take special measures to relieve the bread situation and to accept the abolition of feudalism, the Declaration of Rights, and the new constitutional provisions. The Parisians camped all night outside the palace gates. The next morning, they broke into the palace, cut off the heads of two of the king's bodyguards, and threatened the royal family. To restore order, the king agreed to go to Paris to live—away from the aristocratic influences of Versailles. So the bread-hungry crowd returned to Paris, bringing with them "the baker, the baker's wife, and the baker's little boy" (king, queen, and dauphin). They were followed a few weeks later by the Assembly, which had voted thenceforth to meet in Paris. Versailles, symbol of Bourbon grandeur, ceased for a time to be the capital of France, and Louis lost his liberty of action.

THE CREATION

OF A BOURGEOIS MONARCHY IN FRANCE

THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY had set up a unicameral legislature and had defined its relations with the king by means of the suspensive veto while it was still meeting in Versailles. Now that it was situated in Paris, it had a harder job to do. Demolishing the Old Regime was but one aspect of the task of the National Assembly. It had also to create the framework of a government for the future.

*New channels
of public opinion*

IN PARIS more than at Versailles
popular sentiment could reach
and sway the Assembly. The gal-

leries of its meeting hall were open to an often noisy and articulate public. Jean Paul Marat's *Ami du peuple* and other radical newspapers crusaded on questions that were before the Assembly, and their popular appeal could not be denied. Numerous political clubs—among them the radical Jacobins, with a network of sister societies in the provinces, and the even more radical Cordeliers, under the leadership of Georges Jacques Danton—could influence the Assembly directly through members who were deputies, as well as indirectly through the pressure of public demonstration and protests. Conservative clubs and a conservative press, sometimes financed by royal funds, also

struggled to influence public opinion, but they did not win the same popular backing.

*The confiscation
of church property*

IN THIS mêlée of public pressure, the Assembly, during the next two years, completed its work on the

constitution of France. A problem that early engaged its attention in Paris—one that it had originally been called together to settle—was the growing financial crisis. To add to the already critical deficit, the system of collecting taxes had completely broken down during the revolutionary confusion of the summer. New loans and patriotic gifts to the government had failed to solve the situation, and it was as difficult to collect new taxes as old ones. The Assembly finally consented to the expedient of confiscating the immense wealth of the church and using it as security for new loans. A limited amount of bonds called *assignats* was then issued, backed by the confiscated church properties as security.

*Further secularization
of everyday life in France*

IN THUS dealing with the financial situation, the Assembly also radically modified another institution

of the Old Regime. Church independence and privileges of centuries were wiped out, and the clergy, for the time being, disappeared as the separate and foremost estate of the realm that it had hitherto been. The church was firmly subordinated to the state and made financially dependent upon it. This step reached a high point in the movement toward nationalization of the church, which dated back to the time of the agitation for the Gallican Liberties of the Church (page 369).

The details of the new relationship of church and state were gradually worked out and were formulated in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790). This amazing document introduced the doctrine of popular sovereignty even into ecclesiastical affairs, providing for civil elections of priests and bishops of a "Constitutional Church" and for their payment by the state. Matters of faith and doctrine remained as before, but the pope was to have no voice in any but purely doctrinal matters.

Eventually still further changes in the same direction took place. For example, the civil registration of births, marriages, and deaths was required by law, thus making them state as well as church affairs. When divorce as well was permitted by the civil courts and greatly simplified, the control of the Catholic Church over the family and the crucial events of the individual's life was considerably weakened. A Frenchman became more of "a citizen" and less of "a Christian" than before, and his career from birth to death was more conspicuously secularized, its critical stages marked in government statistics rather than by sacraments.

*Effecting
new property arrangements*

THE NEW status of the church, its clergy, and its property produced serious complications. Marked

opposition to the Revolution arose among the conservative Catholics. The peasants, already disturbed by the Assembly's failure to destroy feudalism root and branch, were often completely alienated by the interference with their local churches. The secularization of church lands, nevertheless, produced some new allies for the Revolution and cemented the ties with old supporters, since the former church property gradually passed into private hands and its new owners feared to lose their gains if the Revolution failed. To the lands of the church were shortly added those of the king; and, as more and more nobles, having fled France out of hostility and fear, gave aid to the foreign enemies of the Revolution when war broke out (page 658), the property of these *émigrés* was added to the nationalized funds as well. Eventually the mounting costs of revolution and war made necessary the outright sale of this "national wealth," for more and more assignats were printed and were accepted as payment for private purchases of these properties. The lands frequently went to persons of means and to speculators, who preferred real estate to the less stable assignats.

Only a few peasants benefited from the sale of the "national wealth." Anxious though they were to become independent proprietors, sale by public auction and restrictions upon combinations for the purpose of bidding often kept poorer men from securing the lands they preferred. The trend toward a large class of small proprietors, already discernible before 1789 (page 358), nevertheless proceeded rapidly during the Revolution—in small part because the French peasant acquired new lands as the larger estates of church, king, and *émigrés* were broken up but, more significantly, because he was gradually freed of all feudal obligations upon the lands he already claimed. For complete freedom from feudal payments the peasant had to await further revolutionary developments in 1793, and since then the small freeholder has remained a significant figure in French peasant life.

*The nobility
temporarily abolished*

THE ASSEMBLY also abolished the nobility as a separate order of society. Titles and coats of arms

were prohibited, but ex-nobles were allowed to keep their estates and the claims against the peasants that had been imposed by the National Assembly in return for the abolition of feudal dues. These latter, it proved, were in fact largely uncollectible, for recurrent peasant revolts and refusals to pay rendered the law unenforceable even before the dues were eventually abolished in 1793. Many of the aristocratic estates, by this process, were diminished in size. They sometimes disappeared altogether; for their owners emigrated and

turned enemy of the Revolution, and such conduct resulted, after war broke out, in the confiscation of their property by the Revolutionary government. The *émigrés* were to regain their titles after the Revolution, but it proved harder to restore their properties if they had meanwhile changed hands.

*The abolition
of guilds and compagnonnages*

ANOTHER step in the liquidation of the Old Regime was the restriction of labor organizations.

The old guilds, long exclusively in the hands of the wealthy masters, were abolished in 1791. This change was in the best physiocratic tradition of freedom of trade. The embryo trade unions called *compagnonnages* were abolished also, ostensibly at least in the interests of free trade. This stifling of labor solidarity furnished another clear illustration of the essentially bourgeois character of the revolution wrought by the National Assembly, most of whose members were of the professional and employing classes.

*The new central government
controlled by the wealthy citizens*

ALTHOUGH its own "solemn" Declaration of Rights stated that "men are born and remain free

and equal in rights," the National Assembly divided Frenchmen into active and passive citizens. Active citizens were males of twenty-five or over who, among other qualifications, paid annually the equivalent of three days' wages in direct taxes. Only active citizens (about one sixth of the population of France) could vote for electors, who in their turn had to pay the equivalent of ten days' wages in direct taxes. The electors chose the clergy, local officials, and the deputies to the legislature. To be a deputy it was at first made necessary to pay the equivalent of about fifty days' wages in taxes. Since the number of qualified men was considerably less than the number of pre-Revolution nobles, the Assembly was actually substituting an aristocracy of wealth for an aristocracy of birth in the government of France. In fact, so few could meet this qualification that it had to be abolished before the first elections were completed.

*New reforms
in local government*

REFORMS in local government also reflected the bourgeois interests of the dominant groups in the

National Assembly. As we have seen, government of the towns had been democratically revised by the municipal revolutions of the summer of 1789. New reforms were now enacted, with an eye to efficiency as well as to bourgeois interests. The old overlapping and heterogeneous governments and provinces, once dominated by a feudal aristocracy, were abolished, and in their place eighty-three departments of nearly equal size were set up. Each department was subdivided into districts, cantons, and communes, much as the American state is divided by the county-township system. Each unit was to be self-governed locally, with elective officers subject to the suffrage and

office-holding restrictions mentioned above, but more or less subordinate to the next higher unit, up to the national legislature at the top. The department was also a judicial and an ecclesiastical unit, having its own elective courts and episcopal organization.

*Results
of the first revolution*

THE NEW constitution was finally completed in September 1791. It made the national legislature,

called the "Legislative Assembly," the real ruler of the land. The king, in addition to the suspensive veto, retained considerable authority in the appointment of army and navy officers and ambassadors, and in the conduct of diplomacy, but his powers were subject to limitation or regulation by the legislature. The new French government was a bourgeois state with a king as chief executive but with the greatest power in its unicameral legislature, and that body was controlled by the middle class. The overthrow of absolutism, the partial liquidation of feudal dues and privileges, the apparent elimination of traditional class distinctions, the choice of most officials by election, the nationalization of the church, the abolition of the old restrictive guilds and the *compagnonnages*, the systematic reorganization of local government, the establishment of political, social, and legal equality in theory if not always in fact—these were achievements in which the adherents of Enlightenment took an unconcealed pride.

EUROPE

AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

CIRCUMSTANCES not fully foreseen by the architects of this brave new France were to compromise the monarchical republic before it was fairly launched. One such circumstance was the estrangement of the king. Another was the unfriendly attitude of neighboring governments. At the outset the French Revolution was recognized as a threat to the rulers of Europe. In Great Britain, where an oligarchy of wealth was already powerful, the French example presented no major threat to internal stability except among the restless Irish. Elsewhere, though rulers were strong and the middle class weak, potential efforts to emulate the French seemed fraught with greater danger. Louis's attitude toward the Constitution of 1791 was thus not merely a domestic issue.

*The attempt
by the royal family to escape*

FOR A WHILE Louis had tried gallantly to play the role of "Restorer of Liberty." But, then, to

the annulment of his temporal power was added the threat to his spiritual salvation that, as a pious Catholic, he saw in the Civil Constitution of the

Clergy and in an oath of loyalty required of clergymen. After long hesitation, Louis, seconded by his Austrian-born wife Marie Antoinette, determined to flee from Paris. Months were lost in secret negotiations. Finally it was arranged that he would seek refuge in a French border town, from which, with some loyal French troops or, if necessary, with the aid of the armies of his brother-in-law, Emperor Leopold II, he would return to Paris, crush the Revolution, and restore his absolute power. In June 1791, as the new constitution was reaching its final stages, the royal family fled in disguise and almost succeeded in reaching the border before they were recognized and brought back to Paris amid a wave of antiroyalist sentiment.

A Jacobin (i.e., leftist) move to depose the king was summarily stifled, however, by Lafayette. A split among the Jacobins followed, leading to the creation of a new club known as "the Feuillants." Like the Jacobins and the Cordeliers before them, the Feuillants took their name from the nationalized monastery in which they met. The Feuillants believed that the Revolution had gone far enough and should now cease. Capitalizing on the reaction against the disorderly agitation to depose the king, they succeeded in swaying the Assembly to their views. Louis was permitted once more to become king of France upon accepting the Constitution of 1791. On September 30, 1791, the National Assembly met for the last time.

*The prospect
of foreign intervention*

BUT THE flight of the king had shaken the confidence of the Jacobins; who believed that

Louis's power would have to be curtailed. The king's dubious adherence to the Revolution was not the only factor that had led them to this view. The threat of foreign intervention was likewise rapidly making itself felt. In August, after the failure of Louis's flight, Leopold II of Austria and Frederick William II of Prussia had jointly issued the Declaration of Pillnitz, stating that if the other rulers of Europe would support them, they would use force to aid Louis "to lay down the basis of a monarchical government adapted to the right of sovereigns and the well-being of the French nation." They had been urged upon this course by a large number of influential French *émigrés* who had taken refuge at their courts. Since the two monarchs were satisfied that England would never join them in such a war, their joint declaration contained little real threat to the Revolution. Yet, within France, the declaration had the effect of increasing the apprehension about a king who was apparently in league with foreigners. Thus, when the new constitution went into operation with the meeting of the first (and, as it turned out, the only) Legislative Assembly, there was already considerable doubt, on the part of both friends and foes of the Revolution, whether the new government could be or

Early popular enthusiasm

abroad for the French Revolution

THE DECLARATION OF PILLNITZ,
however little its makers had intended that it be fulfilled, revealed

a departure from the earlier general friendliness toward the Revolution abroad. "Enlightened" opinion everywhere had accepted the events of 1789 with enthusiasm. France, long regarded as the leading nation of Europe, was now thought to be achieving the ideals of the Enlightenment. Especially the English received the French Revolution with enthusiasm, as an imitation of their own Glorious Revolution of 1688. "Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive," the romantic poet William Wordsworth later wrote of the early days of the National Assembly. Elsewhere in Europe the middle classes rejoiced at the overthrow in France of the restrictions and privileges that still made them legally inferior. From a German enthusiast came the words: "One of the greatest nations in the world, the greatest in general culture, has at last thrown off the yoke of tyranny... Without doubt God's angels in heaven have sung a Te Deum."⁴⁴ Intellectually, at least, Europe in the eighteenth century was cosmopolitan, and cultured Europeans everywhere were easily moved by the same sentiments that motivated their French confreres.

At first, only a few dissenting voices arose to counter the general enthusiasm. One of them was that of Edmund Burke. His *Reflections on the French Revolution* (1790) dourly predicted that the French revolt against constituted authority would lead not to the creation of an ideal society, as the enthusiasts expected, but to violence and excesses, and a dictatorship maintaining itself by force—predictions soon to come true. A host of pamphlets rejecting his contention, however, rapidly appeared, among them *The Rights of Man* written by Thomas Paine, whose polemics had already played a decisive part in the American Revolution (page 573).

The growth

of reform societies and clubs

IN THE years 1789-1792 the
French Revolution lent impetus
to the reform movements already

active in various parts of Europe. It led, especially in England, to the formation of a number of clubs having as their objective political reforms along the lines marked out by the National Assembly in France. In England a Society of Friends of the People, composed of well-to-do Whig reformers, and a workingmen's club called the London Corresponding Society devoted themselves to defending and spreading the principles of the French Revolution. Even as late as 1795, when governmental repression had already set in, the Scottish poet Robert Burns felt impelled to preach equality:

⁴⁴Quoted in Crane Brinton, *A Decade of Revolution, 1789-1799* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1934), pp. 65-66.

The rank is but the guinea's stamp,
The Man's the gowd [gold] for a' that,

and to forecast fraternity:

For a' that and a' that,
It's comin' yet for a' that,
That Man to man, the warld o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that.

In Belgium, agitated on the eve of the French Revolution by the revolt against Austrian rule (page 626), a bourgeois intellectual group known as the "Vonckists" modeled its program after the ideas of the radical group in the French Assembly. In Italy, revolutionary clubs were organized secretly in order to escape rigid police censorship. Poland, actively engaged in a desperate attempt to modernize her politics, was particularly receptive to French ideas and boasted a "Constitutional Club" in Warsaw, where ringing speeches were made about the Rights of Man. The revolutionary clubs were less influential in the Germanies perhaps than elsewhere in western Europe.

Membership in these clubs was everywhere drawn largely from the well-to-do and educated bourgeois classes, but with many aristocratic and sometimes prosperous artisan names on their rosters. All agog, they followed events in France, often maintaining close contacts with French liberal groups, and devoted their energies to drawing up constitutional drafts for their own countries on the French model. The movement toward the organization of liberal opinion was in the main confined to the countries of western Europe, partly because it was there that bourgeois groups were strongest, partly because in Austria, Prussia, and especially Russia conservative authority was still strong enough to insulate the people fairly effectively from French influence. Even in these eastern monarchies, however, articulate pro-French groups existed and followed the revolution in France with interest and hope.

*The French Revolution
and international complications*

FROM THE very outset the effects of revolutionary change in France could not be confined within her

borders. Alsace and Lorraine, for example, though parts of the French realm, were still largely German and some of their wealthiest landowners were princes of the Holy Roman Empire. The abolition of feudal dues in Alsace and Lorraine cost these princes some of their income. Outright annexations by the French Assembly of certain territories cost other foreign princes valuable territory. Patriots in Belgium, Hungary, and Bohemia, already in rebellion against the abortive reforms of Joseph II, derived encouragement from the developments in France, and those countries were not pacified by Leopold until 1791. In Poland a group of reforming noblemen under the

leadership of Thaddeus Kosciusko, a volunteer in the American War of Independence, tried to revive Poland's greatness and looked to revolutionary France for aid. On the other hand, the weakening of France's international position by her internal strife seemed to her rivals a splendid opportunity for intrigue and even territorial aggrandizement at her expense. In good eighteenth-century diplomatic style, Frederick William of Prussia, for example, schemed—unsuccessfully—with the French monarch for a cession of French territory in return for his help against the revolutionaries. But for several years, in spite of the plight of Louis and Marie Antoinette and the pressure of the French *émigrés*, no one was willing to go to war against France.

For one thing, the nations were occupied elsewhere in the quest for power. If France looked like a profitable arena for territorial bargaining, Turkey and Poland seemed even easier prey. In 1787 Austria and Russia had begun a new war of partition against Turkey, which was further complicated by a concurrent war between Sweden and Russia. Moreover, Leopold II, to whom most of the appeals from the French royal family were addressed, had inherited from his brother Joseph, in addition to the Turkish war, the rebellions within his own dominions. It was not until 1791 that Leopold, in order to devote fuller attention to the French situation, managed to quell all rebellion and to pull out of the Turkish war. Russia followed suit in 1792, having extracted from Turkey cessions that made the Dniester River the new Russian boundary.

*Revolution
attempted in Poland*

THE TURKISH war over, Austria, Russia, and Prussia preferred to turn their eyes toward Poland

rather than toward France. Kosciusko and his followers were making a valiant attempt to resuscitate Polish national fortunes and bring about internal reforms along semiliberal lines. After the partition of 1772 the leaders of Poland had begun a serious attempt to wipe out some of the feudal anachronisms that had made Poland impotent in the face of foreign pressure, notably her marked decentralization and the *liberum veto* that so frequently had made concerted action impossible. In 1791 a diet composed of patriotic leaders in Poland, with the example of France to inspire them, produced a new constitution for the nation. It embodied some of the more moderate western ideas, such as representative government and the modification of class distinctions. Russia, Prussia, and Austria viewed with alarm this renaissance of the Polish national spirit and renewed their joint intrigues with Polish reactionaries against the new constitution, while jockeying for position against one another. Thus Europe's crowned heads were kept from taking concerted measures against the success of the Revolution in France during the period of the National Assembly. Although the Emperor Leopold and

Frederick William II of Prussia had seen fit to issue the Declaration of Pillnitz (page 652), hoping that strong language would be enough to bring Frenchmen to their senses, they were willing to appear content when Louis made his peace with the National Assembly.

*The alliance
of Austria and Prussia*

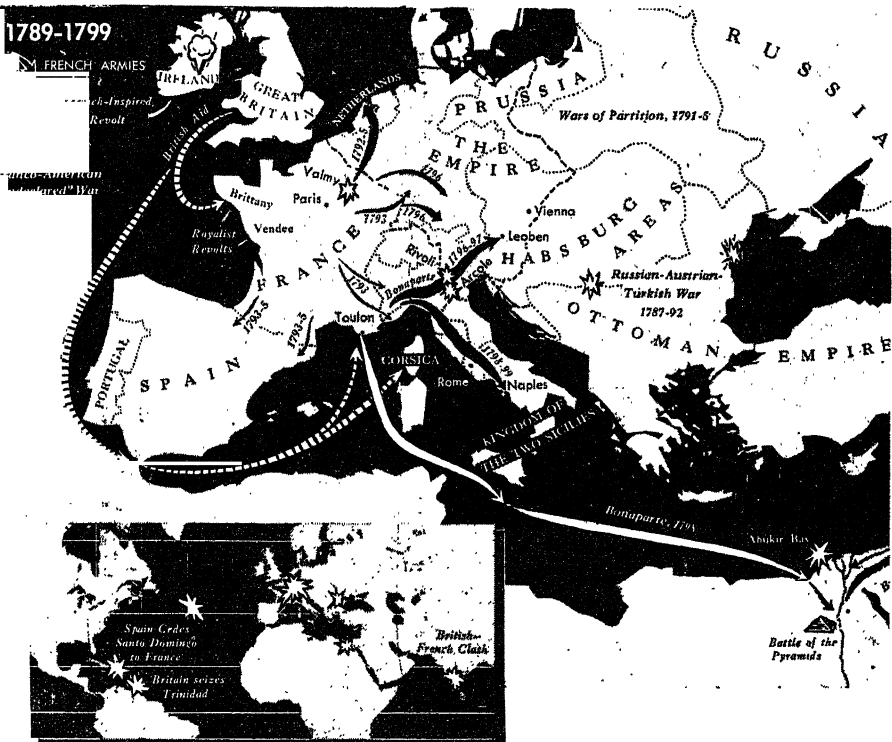
NEVERTHELESS, war against France grew more imminent. Catherine, inveighing against "the

hydra with twelve hundred heads," as she called the National Assembly, urged Austria and Prussia against France—partly in order to have a freer hand in Poland. In the winter of 1792 Austria and Prussia temporarily shelved their rivalry for German leadership, reversed the "Diplomatic Revolution" of 1756 (page 508), and formed an alliance in which the prospect of territorial compensations at the expense of France played an important part. Reasons for war were not lacking. The pleas of the German princes who had been deprived of their feudal privileges in Alsace and Lorraine by the decrees of the National Assembly were soon joined by those of the German princes who harbored French *émigrés*. For the Legislative Assembly of France, hoping to force the *émigrés* to return and accept the Revolution, demanded that they be expelled. Leopold, as Holy Roman emperor, espoused the German princes' causes against the French. As this issue was being pressed on both sides, Leopold died suddenly, and his son Francis II, less tactful and considerably more fearful of French radicalism than his father had been, fell heir to the Habsburg throne and pretensions.

*The Legislative Assembly
loyal to the Constitution of 1791*

MEANWHILE, in France all had not been going smoothly between Louis and the Legislative Assem-

bly. The majority of the Assembly's members were overwhelmingly in favor of the Constitution of 1791. They were by and large moderate men of some substance because of the property qualifications for voting enacted by the National Assembly. None of them had been members of the National Assembly, since that body, just before its adjournment, had decreed that its members would not be permitted to sit in the succeeding body. Many of them, however, had some political experience, having been active in local politics and in the various political clubs. As had become the custom in the National Assembly, the conservative group sat on the right in the new Assembly. They were the *Feuillants* (page 652), who opposed any further reform and favored an interpretation of the Constitution of 1791 that would leave the king the utmost authority within the law. On the left sat the Jacobin group, who favored such reforms as broadening the suffrage and wanted the constitution interpreted so as to limit the king's authority. Between these factions was the largest group, known as "the Center," who had no definite policy. The terms "Right" and "Left" and "Center" thus became



The first ten years of the French Revolution were a period of ever-widening military action. In the early part of the War of the First Coalition (1792-1797) France was on the defensive until the "Organization of Victory" in 1793. The French offensives of 1793-1795 led to a series of peace treaties, permitting France to concentrate upon an offensive against Austria. During this period (1793-1795) the British encouraged federalist and royalist revolts in France in order to harass the governments at Paris. Bonaparte's success in the triple-pronged offensive of 1796-1797 forced Austria out of the war; and in 1798 the Directory sent an army under Bonaparte's command to attack Egypt as an indirect but, it was believed, decisive assault on Britain's mercantile and colonial interests. Other French armies successfully invaded Switzerland and southern Italy, setting up a series of French-dominated republics. Bonaparte conquered Egypt in 1798 but was obliged to abandon his effort to conquer Syria in 1799. European hostilities reopened the British-French rivalry in India and in the Caribbean.

regular designations for conservatives, radicals, and moderates. If there were any outright republicans in the Assembly at all, they were very rare indeed.

*The continuation
of revolutionary instability*

CIRCUMSTANCES were to play into the hands of the Left, to bring about foreign war, and to

render a stable monarchical regime impossible. The Legislative Assembly began, in the autumn of 1791, in an atmosphere of unrest and dissatisfaction. Prices were rising, because of shortages and the decreasing value of the assignats, aggravated by repeated new issues. In the provinces an occasional

peasant uprising reflected continued agitation and disorder. Hostility to the Revolution centered around the "nonjuring" priests—those who refused to take the oath to abide by the constitution. *Émigrés* and other royalist groups also worked ceaselessly to foment and crystallize opposition. The king, already suspect because of his attempt to flee and suppress the Revolution, was again believed to be intriguing with foreign courts. In addition, he now used his constitutional veto power upon legislation intended to confine the activity of the *émigrés* and the nonjuring clergy.

*The reasons
for the War of 1792*

MOVED by the general unrest and Louis's uncooperative attitude, some of the Jacobins began to

favor a foreign war as a means of uniting the nation in a common cause, raising the value of the assignats, and forcing the king out into the open. They were also motivated by a growing missionary spirit, a fervent desire not only to spread the ideals and blessings of the Revolution beyond France and to wage war against tyrants everywhere but also to make sure that the neighboring states would be friendly to the Revolution. In this desire for war, the king was at one with them, though Louis's reasons were entirely different from theirs. Louis had come to believe that a foreign war was the best way to restore his power, reasoning that if the French were beaten, the Revolution would be discredited and the nation would rally around him, and that if France were victorious, at least part of the credit would accrue to him.

The more bellicose faction of the Jacobins was now known as the Girondins because some of their leaders came from Bordeaux, in the department of the Gironde. Persuaded by Girondin eloquence and supported by the royalists, the Assembly made haughty replies to the Austrian demands, which Francis II answered with considerably less diplomatic tact than his father had employed. The Assembly declared war on Austria on April 20, 1792, using the quarrel over the *émigrés* and Francis' belligerent manner as pretexts. The fundamental issue, however, was the success or failure of the Revolution. Prussia and Sardinia shortly joined Austria.

*French reverses
and internal crises*

THE WAR began very badly for the French. Training, experience, and loyalty were sadly lacking

because many officers of the old army were now *émigrés* and some of those who had stayed in the army were untrustworthy. The opening French offensive in Belgium rapidly proved a fiasco, and the Duke of Brunswick, commanding the German forces, had little difficulty in invading French territory. Inside Paris, the king now appointed a royalist ministry and spent large sums of money in fostering royalist sentiment. Factional quarrels became acute, and on June 20, 1792, the third anniversary of the Tennis Court Oath (page

641), a pro-Jacobin demonstration invaded the king's palace in Paris and forced him to don the red "liberty cap" of the Revolution. In reply to this insult the Duke of Brunswick, egged on by the French *émigrés*, issued in July a tactless manifesto declaring that Paris would be annihilated if the royal family suffered any further violence.

The "Brunswick Manifesto" only increased the tension inside France. It produced a wave of panic and opposition to the king. The Assembly declared "la patrie en danger," as Brunswick's armies moved closer to Paris. Volunteers rushed to the defense of their country. Bands of Jacobin volunteers paraded through the streets singing a new revolutionary song exhorting citizens to take arms, form their battalions, and march against the foul foe that was violating the soil of France. This song, first made popular by the volunteers from Marseilles and called, therefore, "The Marseillaise," was destined to be the song of antimonarchical revolutionaries all over the world for more than a century.

THE REPUBLICAN REVOLUTION

THE THREAT to the Revolution both from within and from without now pushed events to a crisis. In contradistinction to the popular movements of 1788-1789, the insurrection that now burst forth was the work of determined radicals, perhaps representative of only a minority public opinion. This group won control over the politics of Paris and hence were to dominate France until they were themselves overthrown in 1794.

*Radical agitation
against the French king*

EVENTS since 1792 had split the Jacobins in two. Under the leadership of Maximilien Robespierre,

a group of Paris Jacobins had opposed the war, foreseeing that it would lead to disaster, and were now in favor of fighting it only to rid France of its enemies, including the king, and to save the Revolution. They continued to control the Jacobin Club and to call themselves "Jacobins," and their opponents among the Jacobins had come to be called "Girondins." The Girondins gradually severed connections with the Jacobins.

The Jacobins, purged of the more moderate Girondin element, became increasingly outspoken as an antimonarchical group. In the days following the invasion of French territory and the news of the Brunswick Manifesto, they waged an intensive antiroyalist campaign and urged the Legislative Assembly to dismiss the king, threatening insurrection if the Assembly took no action. But they were numerically weak in the Assembly, which, following the leadership of the Girondins, was loath, in spite of plain warnings, to take irrevocable steps.

*The revolution
of August 10, 1792, in Paris*

AND SO, on August 10, 1792, the radicals of Paris, organized by the Jacobins, took matters into their

own hands. A committee of representatives from the various sections of Paris set themselves up as the commune (governing body) of Paris, ejecting the legal commune by force. The "Revolutionary Commune" then ordered the National Guard to attack the Tuileries Palace, where the king and queen lived. Joined by a crowd of "patriots" and sympathizers such as had attacked the Bastille in 1789, part of the National Guard advanced on the Tuileries. The king and queen, fleeing to the Assembly for refuge, were received there with Girondin protestations of loyalty. At the Tuileries the attackers precipitated a bloody battle with the Swiss mercenaries and volunteer noblemen who tried to defend it, and while Louis and Marie Antoinette dined in safety in a room adjoining the Assembly, their palace was captured and its defenders slaughtered.

With the fall of the Tuileries, the Assembly too yielded to the victors. They deposed the king, decreed the election by universal male suffrage of a constitutional convention, and created a Provisional Executive Council to replace the king and his ministry. Once more, as in 1789, the hand of a reluctant government had been forced by direct action. But whereas in 1789 the uprisings had been more or less spontaneous, the crisis of August 1792 was in the nature of a coup by a deliberate revolutionary effort planned by a group that perhaps was representative only of a minority. Despite the doubt and resentment in many quarters, it was accepted by the nation at large because of distrust of the court and fear of foreign invasion. The Revolution thus passed into the hands of a smaller and more determined group.

*Popular panic
and the September Massacres*

MEANWHILE Brunswick's armies moved nearer and nearer to Paris.

The panic following the fall of the monarchy was reinforced by fear of the invader. A series of lynchings occurred in September, in which mobs, going from prison to prison, summarily tried and executed many of the inmates on the grounds that they were conspirators against the Revolution, as indeed some of them were. However explicable these "September Massacres" might have been in terms of hysteria and



This caricature (1792) shows the king as a turkey-cock and his family as sheep driven off to prison by a revolutionary.

spontaneous mob violence, they justified Burke's most dire prognostications (page 653). Their effect was to reverse the sentiment of Europe, where hitherto the Revolution had been viewed more or less benignly. Within France the September Massacres heightened factional quarrels, as the Girondins sought to lay the blame for the excesses at the Jacobins' doorstep and the Jacobins sought to avoid responsibility.

*The establishment
of the First French Republic*

THE FALL of the monarchy meant the end of the Constitution of 1791 and a second revolution.

The new assembly, called the "Constitutional Convention," opened its sessions with a decree abolishing royalty and afterwards declared that September 22, 1792, should mark the beginning of the first year of the French Republic. So, by indirect steps, the First French Republic was launched—not because there was any widespread and deep-dyed republican conviction within France, but because events had played into the hands of the radicals, making the continuation of the monarchy impossible. Only on September 25 was the "Republic one and indivisible" formally declared. Thus France became the first large continental nation to become a republic. The war already in progress and destined to continue for many years was to test whether a great European nation so conceived and so dedicated could long endure as an unfederated republic.

*Factionalism
in the Constitutional Convention*

JUST BEFORE the first meeting of the Convention, Brunswick's march on Paris had been stopped

with a French victory at Valmy, removing one of the causes of unrest and fear in the French capital. The French Republic thus started auspiciously, in an atmosphere of hope and cooperation. The leading figure in the Provisional Executive Council was Danton, who tried to unite the warring factions. But in a matter of days factional quarrels broke the harmony of the Convention. The Girondins, the erstwhile radicals of the Legislative Assembly, now sat on the right, prepared to accept the Republic but opposed to any more innovations. Their place on the left was taken by the less numerous Jacobins, more radical than ever now that they derived support from the Revolutionary Commune of Paris. Between the Jacobins and the Girondins sat the Center, numerically superior to either of the other groups but voting with one or the other as issues and public pressures demanded.

*The trial
and execution of Louis XVI*

AN IMPORTANT issue upon which the Girondins and the Jacobins split was the question of what to

do with the king. The difference between them was not clear cut, for both sides generally agreed that Louis XVI had been guilty of treason. But for the most part the Girondins favored delay in the execution of the king and the

Jacobins did not. As the dominant party, the Girondins, still anxious to export the Revolution abroad, were primarily concerned with the war effort. They recognized that the execution of the king would have serious unfavorable repercussions in foreign countries. The Jacobins, with their attention more definitely fixed on perfecting the Revolution at home, were more willing to run the risk of foreign displeasure if need be. Louis was tried by the Convention itself and sentenced to death by a small majority. The efforts of the Girondins to delay execution failed and Louis was guillotined on January 21, 1793. This victory of the Jacobins had the effect of making the Girondins look like royalists, which only a few, if any of them, were in fact. But despite this major defeat, they were as yet the dominant party in the Convention. The Jacobins had been able to win enough support in favor of the king's immediate execution only by bringing great pressure to bear upon the Center.

*French successes
aided by Poland's partition*

THREE sets of problems now faced the Convention: (1) the conduct of the war, (2) the pres-

ervation of order and stability within France, and (3) the making of a constitution for the new republic. After the stemming of the German tide at Valmy, the war continued to go well for the French armies for several months. Defeats turned into conquests on the Rhine and in Savoy, and the conquered territories were set up as little republics under French protection. To the north the Austrian Netherlands were taken and annexed by the French. These French successes were due in some measure to the preoccupation of her enemies with the attempted Polish revolution (page 655). After the promulgation of the Polish Constitution of 1791 had threatened to revive Poland as a strong national state, Catherine of Russia sent troops to the support of the Polish opponents of the new regime. Frederick William of Prussia, alarmed at the prospect of a Russian protectorate in Poland, concluded a secret agreement with Catherine for a second partition of Polish territory; Austria was compensated by Prussia's promise of renewed efforts to regain Belgium for her. Accordingly, Prussia and Russia sent troops to occupy their respective shares of the spoils. In the remainder of the Polish state liberal reforms were refused and the old regime was restored, provoking a rebellion under the patriot General Kosciuszko, who, with the moral support of the French Republic, kept Russian and Prussian troops further occupied. Poland's struggles were France's opportunity, for the attention of Austria and Prussia was partly diverted from the French war.

*Revolutionary propaganda
seen as a threat to conservatives*

EVEN BEFORE the execution of Louis XVI, the French had consolidated their successes in the

662 form of little revolutionary states directly or indirectly dependent upon France. The Convention, under Girondin influence, had announced, at one

time, that "it would accord fraternity and aid to all peoples who should wish to recover their liberty," and, at another, that it would "treat as enemies the peoples who, refusing liberty and equality,...may wish to preserve, recall, or deal with the prince and the privileged castes." This was believed to be skillful propaganda appealing to radical elements in other countries and, at the same time, reminding neutral rulers that it was unsafe to meddle with the struggle within revolutionary France. The Girondins also sent an able envoy named Genêt to America to stir up American support for the French Republic (page 804). The monarchs of Europe now began to recognize in the French Revolution not so much a weakening of France to their benefit as a threat to their own internal security. As the Girondins had feared, the execution of Louis XVI intensified the suspicion of foreign governments at the very time that the victories of the French armies menaced foreign possessions, trade, and security. The reform movement that had been so promising during the period of enlightened despotism was now smothered in several countries for fear it would lead to outbursts of the French variety. In England, for example, a wave of anti-French sentiment resulted in policies of reaction and repression (pages 674-675), and preparations for war began.

*The First Coalition
of Europe against France*

ON FEBRUARY 1, 1793, the Convention, reading correctly these signs of the times, declared war on England and Holland. A month later Spain joined the anti-French forces. Thus a coalition, destined to be the first of several, was formed. France stood almost alone against the armed might or indignation of practically all of monarchist Europe. The force of her enemies soon made itself felt in a series of defeats in Belgium and along the Rhine. To meet the new emergency the Convention authorized a levy of 300,000 troops, sending deputies from the Convention into the provinces to supervise the enlistments. This huge recruitment program was the beginning of a national conscription program that was later to be extended still further in France and adopted in other countries. The principle of "the nation in arms" began to emerge from dire military necessity and from the revolutionary notion that, along with the right to govern, the sovereign people had inherited the duty to defend the country.

*Building
the machinery of repression*

SIMULTANEOUSLY with the waging of war against most of Europe, the Convention had to deal with pressing internal problems. The execution of the king had intensified the opposition of such counterrevolutionary groups as the royalists and the non-juring clergy. The food situation was uncertain, and the continued depreciation of the assignats caused distress and discontent. A series of anticonscription revolts, of which the most serious occurred in the Atlantic-bound department of the Vendée, once more threatened stability and order. In the

spring of 1793 the Convention decided, in effect, that liberty and equality must be defended by stern measures. A special tribunal was set up to try conspirators against the Revolution. Censorship of the press was instituted with the death penalty for the worst violations. A Committee of Public Safety was formed with extraordinary executive powers. The deputies who had been sent "on mission" to the provinces to supervise enlistments were vested with immense authority. A maximum price was put on grain, setting a bold precedent for eventually more complete government regulation of prices and markets. Thus was created a dread machinery of centralization and repression, wrested from reluctant Girondins by determined Jacobins, who were supported by Paris radicals. For the present, however, it was controlled by moderate men—mostly Girondins—and functioned accordingly.

*The purge
of the Girondins by the Jacobins*

AFTER the Convention moved to the Tuileries, the Jacobins came to be called the "Mountain," since

they there occupied the high seats. Throughout the debates on the institution of these repressive measures, factional quarrels between the Girondins and the Mountain continued unabated. An apparent social cleavage between the two groups now accentuated their hostility. The Girondins, drawing their strength from the provincial cities, stood for a moderate bourgeois republic. Though also made up largely of bourgeois representatives, the "Montagnards" (Mountaineers) drew their support from the Paris populace and found it politic to support the economic rights of the lower classes. To the Mountain it appeared essential, if the Revolution was not to fail, that a highly centralized authority be vested in the Convention. The Girondins opposed this centralization, because they feared the domination of France by the people of Paris and their Jacobin leaders. To these disagreements concerning social outlook and the relative weight that Paris and the provinces should carry in the new republic were added bitter conflicts over personalities, which tended almost to obscure differences of ideas. The Girondins tried to impeach Marat, the most ruthless of the Jacobins, and violent quarrels and reciprocal threats led to uproars. Cooperation between the two groups became impossible. Finally Marat and Robespierre engineered another Paris insurrection, which resulted in their getting control of the city government and the National Guard. The impeachment and house arrest of the Girondin leaders in the Convention followed, amid threats of insurrection and violence.

*The French government made
"revolutionary until the peace"*

THE PURGE of the Girondins left the radicals of the Convention in control. Once more the Revolution

had moved leftward. Unity in the Convention was thus temporarily achieved, but at the expense of the representative system. Some of the Girondins, refusing to wait for trial, fled and took their quarrel to the

Imaginative reconstruction of Marie Antoinette's farewell before her execution on October 16, 1793.



provinces, where they organized armed "federalist" movements. They were speedily repressed, however, and the measures deemed necessary for their repression ended the era of moderation in republican France.

Thus the making of a new constitution, for which the Convention had originally been elected, had been almost eclipsed by the conduct of the war, by internal unrest, and by factional rivalries. Before the fall of the Girondins, a proposal for a constitution had been drawn up by a committee including Condorcet and the internationalist Thomas Paine, but it had been shelved. The democratic Montagnard Constitution of 1793 was now accepted by the Convention and approved by France at large in a popular referendum. Nevertheless, on Robespierre's urging, it was suspended. For the duration of the war, it was agreed, the Convention would run France through a revolutionary emergency government.

*The organization
of the government of "the Terror"*

with war and counterrevolution. This reinvigorated by Montagnard personnel, replaced the Convention as the executive authority, though its power stemmed from that body as the only representatives of the sovereign people. The Committee of Public Safety became not only the administrative but also the policy-making organ. A Committee of General Security exercised supreme police authority throughout the nation, while the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris and special commissions in the provinces dealt out rough-hewn republican justice—via the guillotine for the more serious offenses against the Revolution. Departmental officials were deprived of most of their powers, and local affairs were controlled from Paris, at first through the "deputies on mission" and later through resident "national agents."

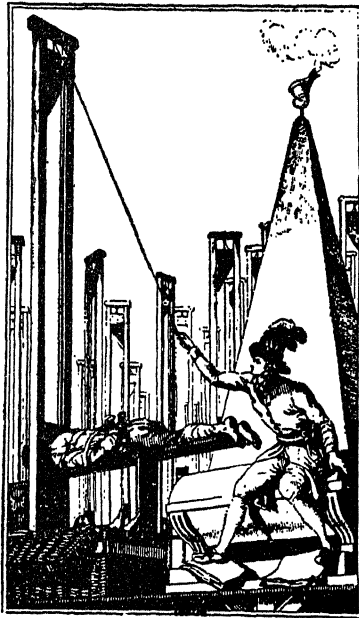
*The Terror
as "defense of the Republic"*

roughly from September 1793 through July 1794—during which some twenty thousand persons were officially executed, supposedly in defense of the

THE EMERGENCY government took its shape from the machinery set up in the previous spring to cope

machinery, revised and greatly replaced the Convention as the executive authority, though its power stemmed from that body as the only representatives of the sovereign people. The Committee of Public Safety became not only the administrative but also the policy-making organ. A Committee of General Security exercised supreme police authority throughout the nation, while the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris and special commissions in the provinces dealt out rough-hewn republican justice—via the guillotine for the more serious offenses against the Revolution. Departmental officials were deprived of most of their powers, and local affairs were controlled from Paris, at first through the "deputies on mission" and later through resident "national agents."

THIS WAS the government that ruled France during the period known as "the great Terror"—



This piece of anti-Robespierriest propaganda depicts Robespierre as an executioner with a forest of guillotines in the background.

Revolution. The Terror may be defined as the era of repression and centralized control under the Committee of Public Safety. It was implemented and enforced by the guillotine. In its origins at least, the Terror was largely defensive, but as the military crisis lessened in October 1793, it tended to become a political weapon for the destruction of opponents of the dominant faction. At the beginning of the reign of the Mountain, the need for defense was obvious and great. The armies of the First Coalition were pressing the French forces back against their own borders. La Vendée was in revolt; the Girondins were stirring up

armed rebellion in Bordeaux, Marseilles, Lyons, and elsewhere; Corsica struck for independence and welcomed the British as liberators; royalist uprisings, increasingly serious, led to the surrender of France's great Mediterranean naval base at Toulon likewise to the British. Coalition without and counter-revolution within seemed about to unite for the destruction of the Republic.

To meet this threat the Committee took drastic measures to organize the entire nation to fight its foes. The total man power of France, by a *levée en masse*, was made subject to conscription for its armies. "The young men shall go to battle; the married men shall forge arms and transport provisions; the women shall make tents and clothing, and shall serve in hospitals; the children shall turn old linen into lint; the aged shall betake themselves to the public places in order to rouse the courage of the warriors and preach hatred of kings and the unity of the Republic." Industry was organized on a war footing; scientists were pressed into service to provide better ways for making iron and steel; shoes and uniforms were manufactured by mass production; laborers were moved from other industries to work in war factories. These measures have the familiar ring of twentieth-century "selective service," for this was the first time in European history that all

666 of a nation's resources were deliberately and systematically geared to the

making of war. This *levée en masse* was largely the work of Lazare Carnot, later to be known as "the organizer of victory."

Further legislation aimed at mobilizing public opinion and repressing opposition. The army was remodeled more efficiently, and its discipline improved. A special Revolutionary Army to enforce price regulation was created, and the Revolutionary Tribunal was divided into four parts in order to speed its work. Persons who were regarded as counterrevolutionary were by a notorious "Law of Suspects" arrested on mere suspicion. The conduct of generals was pitilessly scrutinized, and defeat or even stalemate was sometimes punished with the guillotine. The slogan of "Victory or Death" became a stark reality for commanders.

*The revolution
in annexed territories*

THE FORTUNES of war turned in favor of the Revolutionary armies, and by October 1793 not only

had internal revolts been subdued but also the armies of the Coalition were turned back from the frontier of France. In the course of the next two years reinvigorated Revolutionary armies triumphantly pushed the territory of France to its "natural frontiers." (The phrase is Danton's and not Louis XIV's.) The borders long unsuccessfully sought by France's kings—the Rhine, the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Atlantic, and the Mediterranean—were reached by the despised Republic, and a series of "liberated" buffer states lay beyond.

According to the declared policy of the French, the annexations of territory that followed their military victories were intended to free the inhabitants from tyranny. The pattern of annexation was deliberately designed to eliminate the appearance of conquest. In each newly "liberated" region Jacobin Clubs were fostered in key cities, utilizing the native liberal movement that usually existed in nucleus, and these clubs would petition for annexation to France. Annexation was then followed by the imposition of the French administrative system and French laws, including revolutionary reforms such as the abolition of feudalism and the confiscation of church lands. In spite of the crusading zeal of the French republicans—no matter how much they might have thought they were doing these things in the spirit



A caricature (1793) showing an aristocrat (in breeches) brawling with a revolutionary (sans-culotte, or without breeches).

of "liberty, equality, and fraternity"—the net effect was sometimes the exchange of one form of tyranny for another. Though it was not at once apparent, the French propagation of their revolution in this high-handed manner eventually brought about in the annexed regions the growth of a national consciousness that became increasingly anti-French.

The Terror
as an organized war economy

AS A form of government in a military crisis the Terror justified itself by "organizing victory." A

second phase of the program of the Terror was economic. To meet the rising tide of inflation, a broad program of price and wage control was instituted, and assignats were forced into circulation at face value by the imposition of dire penalties. A system of rationing was set up with bread cards and meat cards, and a standard *pain d'égalité*, or "equality loaf," of coarse bread became the fare of loyal citizens. Foreign trade and foreign exchange were rigidly controlled. Laissez faire, never fully adopted by the early Revolution, was altogether eliminated by the exigencies of the war, and a pattern of strict government control of the nation's economy took a form that has found an analogue in the wars of the present century—with comparable successes and failures. On the one hand, in spite of the shadow of the guillotine, price fixing produced much grumbling and a flourishing black market. On the other, the assignats actually ceased to drop and even increased in value for a short period; the lower classes, who had nothing but their wages in assignats to give in exchange for food, were saved from actual starvation; and the government was enabled to feed and supply its armies with relative efficiency by means of paper money that in the end proved valueless.

The Terror
as an instrument of political power

IN SHORT, the Terror, by its violence and its dictatorial regulation of French economic life, actually

saved the Revolution. It suppressed counterrevolution, turned defeat into victory, and kept the nation's economy from crumbling under the stress of war. But another and rather more terrifying aspect of the Terror led to its continuation long after the desperate need for defense was gone. This was the policy of "purifying" the Republic, of eliminating via the guillotine all those who opposed or were suspected of opposing the Convention. This continual purging was the outcome of the trend by which the Revolution, from its popular and moderate beginnings in 1789, moved steadily into the hands of more determined revolutionary groups.

With the Girondins eliminated, the chief opposition to the dictatorship of the Convention and its Committee of Public Safety came at first from the "Ultra" revolutionary government of the city of Paris under the leadership of Jacques René Hébert. It was the Hébertists, as Hébert's followers were called, who, by well-organized public demonstration, had persuaded the Con-

vention to divide the Revolutionary Tribunal into four parts and to send out the special Revolutionary Army with a guillotine on wheels to punish hoarders and black marketeers. Yielding to their pressure, the Convention also consented to pay the poor for attending the meetings of their sections (or wards) and to create a republican Religion of Reason with which they hoped to transplant in the hearts of Frenchmen the still persistent Catholic Church and the unsuccessful Constitutional Clergy. But when the Hébertists openly began to plan insurrection, they were arrested. Hébert and his most prominent followers perished.

The turn of Danton came next. He and his followers became known as "Indulgents" and "Citra" revolutionaries, because they had begun to question the necessity of ruthlessness—some of them probably because they had offenses of their own to hide. When their help was no longer needed against the Hébertists, the Dantonists were accused of treason, tried, found guilty, and guillotined.

The Committee of Public Safety, having overcome all opposition inside and outside the Convention, was now the unassailed master of France—and thereupon split in two. Robespierre was the most popular man on the Committee, but a marked aversion to his philosophy had developed among his colleagues. The Robespierrists, and probably even the more politic Robespierre himself, were crusaders, idealists intent upon achieving in fact the ideal government of the mid-eighteenth-century reformers—the democratic "Virtue" of Montesquieu reinforced by the civic religion of Rousseau. That their method was the antithesis of their ends bothered them only moderately. "The despotism of liberty against tyranny," Robespierre called it. As we shall soon discover, a faction in the Committee of Public Safety, of which Carnot was the most conspicuous figure, felt that Robespierre's program would lead to a diversion of the Terror from its major purpose—the assurance of military success.

*Patriotic propaganda
during the period of the Terror*

UNDER the Terror the Revolution had assumed somewhat the character of a cult. Patriotism was

officially exalted and the government tried to make patriotic celebrations resemble religious rites, the painter David lending his art to enhance their pageantry. The republican, whatever his social standing, wore sans-culottes (the long, loose trouser of the workingman), a shirt open at the neck, a red "liberty cap," and wooden shoes (leather being badly needed by the army). Women affected the simple, loose, flowing robes of classical times. Wigs, breeches, and buckles became dangerous aristocratic anachronisms. The stately minuet of the old days was eschewed in favor of simple and lively folk dances like the "carmagnole." Theater and press were strictly controlled, confined to pro-republican propaganda. Mirabeau, Voltaire, Marat, and

Rousseau were made into "revolutionary saints" by being translated to the Pantheon with elaborate pomp.

Loyalty to the Republic was advertised in private homes by such slogans as "Liberty or Death" embroidered on linens or painted on tableware, and in cafés by signs announcing "Here everyone is Citizen." Stones from the Bastille functioned as paperweights, miniature guillotines were sold as souvenirs. The kings, queens, and jacks of playing cards were replaced with symbols of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. The system of measurements, which hitherto had varied from place to place within the same country, was replaced by the "metric" system; calculated by decimals and based upon the size of the earth, it proved so convenient and logical that it has since been widely retained. Even the calendar was remodeled, the Christian calendar being replaced by a Republican calendar beginning with our September 22, and our year 1792-1793 was its Year 1; it contained twelve months of thirty days, each named after some natural phenomenon, the remaining five days of each year becoming national holidays given over to celebration of the Revolution. Thus, it was hoped, republican patriotism would penetrate every aspect of the life of the faithful as once Catholic Christianity had done.

*Robespierre
and the Republic of Virtue*

had been fighting the "Ultra" revolutionary Hébertists. He had induced the Convention to pass the famous "Ventôse Decrees," which envisaged a redis-

tribution of the property of the "unpatriotic" rich among "patriotic" poor. ("Ventôse" was one of the months in the new calendar.) He now persuaded the Convention to establish a Rousseauan state religion, "the Worship of the Supreme Being," to replace both the revolutionary Religion of Reason of the Hébertists and the old Catholicism. He also got his colleagues reluctantly to agree that the various laws punishing counterrevolutionary acts should be crystallized into a single code—the draconic "Law of Prairial." ("Prairial" was another of the months in the new calendar.) An additional provision of this code made it a capital offense to "deprave public morals," and still another stated that even members of the Convention were there-



after to be subject to police arrest without the special impeachment previously required. His purpose was obvious. He was stalking fellow members of the Convention who did not conform to his notion of the "virtuous," deistic, egalitarian republican.

*The failure
of the Republic of Virtue*

EVEN AMONG the Committee of Public Safety misgivings and suspicions arose, and they were soon

directed against the Robespierrists themselves. A group supported by Carnot feared that Robespierre might become in fact, as he already was in the eyes of the public, the sole dictator of France. They not only wished to maintain the Terror undiminished for their own purposes, but they were also fearful that Robespierre's "Republic of Virtue" would mean the end of their own power, if not of their lives; and they vehemently opposed a Terror to create the kind of social equality that he seemed to envisage. Before the Robespierrists could effectively put their program before the Convention, his enemies organized the opposition against him. In a stormy session, Robespierre and his followers in the Convention were denounced and imprisoned.

The Paris Commune, dominated by Robespierre since the overthrow of Hébert, faithfully attempted insurrection on his behalf. But the Convention had learned how to defend itself. The anti-Robespierrists did not candidly take the stand that the Terror was no longer necessary now that the enemies of France and the Republic had been routed. But they recognized that intimations to that effect would make it easier to enlist public sentiment against the popular Robespierre. And they were right. The Terror, it developed, had run its course: the people had had enough. The pro-Robespierre insurrection failed even before it began, and the Robespierrists followed the earlier opponents of the Convention through the guillotine's "little door to heaven." With them perished Robespierre's chance to act as a Rousseauan legislator and to create by civilian dictatorship and terror, no matter how well meaning, a republic based upon democratic virtue.

David on the request of the Convention in 1794 designed some costumes for government officials. The engravings on pages 670 and 671 show two costumes that he suggested. They never were generally accepted and they were on occasion popularly referred to as a "masquerade."



REACTION

AND THE QUEST FOR STABILITY

WITHIN a matter of days after the fall of Robespierre, a remarkable change of tone was evident in French life, and the new tone lasted with its own ups and downs for well over a year. Because the month in which Robespierre died (July 1794) was that of Thermidor, the period of reaction that followed has become known as "the Thermidorian Reaction"; and that name has since become common to designate the breaking and ebbing of a revolutionary wave after its initial violence is spent.

*The social reaction
following the fall of Robespierre*

THE PEOPLE of France now acted as though they were relieved at not having to play the role of

patriots with the fullest intensity of which they were capable and at being able to resume their normal pleasures and their favorite little vices. The amusements and luxuries proscribed under the Terror reappeared with astonishing rapidity. Theaters and ballrooms were crowded. Sans-culottes became rare in fashionable circles; women donned lush and daring costumes in place of the classically simple fashions they had earlier affected. Men talked openly against the guillotine, the Revolutionary Tribunal, and the Jacobins. Bands of foppish youths—*Jeunesse Dorée* they were called—some of them "war slackers" and sons of newly rich war contractors, roamed the streets attacking Jacobins and molesting *sans-culottes*. Disciplined and militant, and led by former Terrorists, the *Jeunesse Dorée* furnished an early example of the kind of para-military organization that became better known in the twentieth century with the Fascists and the Nazis.

*The political reaction
culminating in the "White Terror"*

ALL THIS was not as those who had brought about the fall of Robespierre had intended. They

had expected to upset a man, not a form of government, and in spite of the accusations they had made against Robespierre, they thought the Terror still necessary to prevent the rise of royalism and defeatism. As regicides they ran the risk of losing their own heads if the Bourbons returned. But the temper of public opinion was so unmistakable that the more opportunistic of them hastily became anti-Terrorist and anti-Jacobin.

In coalition with the Center (or "Plain") of the Convention, they put through a series of measures dismantling the Terror government. The powers of the Committee of Public Safety were curtailed. The Revolutionary Tribunal was reorganized and its activity drastically reduced until it was entirely abolished in 1795. The personnel and machinery of local government were modified and decentralized. The Jacobin Club was closed.

The net effect of these measures was to hand the government of France back to the moderates, once more predominant in the Convention. Amnesty was now granted to many opponents of the Jacobin Republic. Many suspects were released from prison. The surviving Girondins and their sympathizers were reinstated in the Convention and in public favor. *Émigrés* returned by the thousands; and religious toleration was, not legally but actually, extended.

But amnesty was not extended to the once-supreme Jacobins. Those of the Terrorists who had not changed their views with the change in public opinion, with the exception of some skillful dodgers, were accorded as summary treatment as they had once given their victims. The "White Terror," as this period of vengeance was called, was almost as bloody as the "Red." In Paris the Jacobin leaders were guillotined, imprisoned, or exiled. In the provincial cities royalist groups calling themselves "Companies of Jesus" sometimes broke into prisons where former terrorists were jailed and treated them with a brutality reminiscent of the September Massacres of 1792.

*The economic reaction
precipitating a rapid inflation*

ECONOMICALLY, the reaction was a triumph for decentralization against the government controls

of the Terror. Laws fixing price ceilings (the so-called "Maximum") were repealed, and the Ventôse Decrees ordering the redistribution of certain properties were annulled. To meet the costs of government, more and more assignats were printed. Their value was no longer protected, however, as it had been during the Terror, by laws that prevented their quotation against foreign exchange and obliged their acceptance at face value and at fixed prices. The effect was a rapid inflation disastrous to the poor, especially in the cities. Twice food riots in Paris resulted in mass demonstrations against the Thermidorian Reaction, but, lacking the leadership of former days and opposed by the Jeunesse Dorée and a Convention that had learned self-defense, these insurrections failed and the insurgents were severely punished.

*The quest
for international stability*

SEEKING stability at home, the Thermidorians (as the opponents of Robespierre who now were in

power were called) also sought to make peace abroad. Having by the spring of 1795 won the "natural" frontier, and having lost the revolutionary missionary spirit of their predecessors, they were ready to call a halt. So was Prussia, where Frederick William II, once more diverted by an impending partition of Poland, was anxious to have his hands free of the French, in order to keep Austria and Russia from taking the rest of Poland for themselves. Accordingly the Treaty of Basel was concluded, by which Prussia made peace on the basis of the status quo and was enabled to concentrate successfully upon securing her share in the Third Partition of Poland. Spain, in order to avoid conquest, also treated for peace, as did several smaller states of the

First Coalition, including Holland. Of the once-formidable coalition, now only Austria, England, and Sardinia remained actively at war with France. The peace treaties granted France possession of her conquests on the left bank of the Rhine and the Spanish part of the island of Santo Domingo. In addition, Holland, having become "The Batavian Republic" as a result of a revolution following a French invasion, made a military alliance with the French Republic. France had also annexed the Austrian Netherlands, but since she was still at war with Austria, possession of that territory was still disputed.

*Reaction
elsewhere in Europe*

Beginning with the fall of the French monarchy and the September Massacres of 1792, the governments of Europe and America had begun to clamp down on French-inspired radical movements within their own countries. Subsequent radical developments in France, and especially the violence of the Terror, had produced abroad an anti-Jacobin reaction. In some countries it was so complete that reforms which in the 1790's had seemed long overdue were postponed for decades, as conservative governments abroad sought to erect *cordons sanitaires* against revolutionary infection.

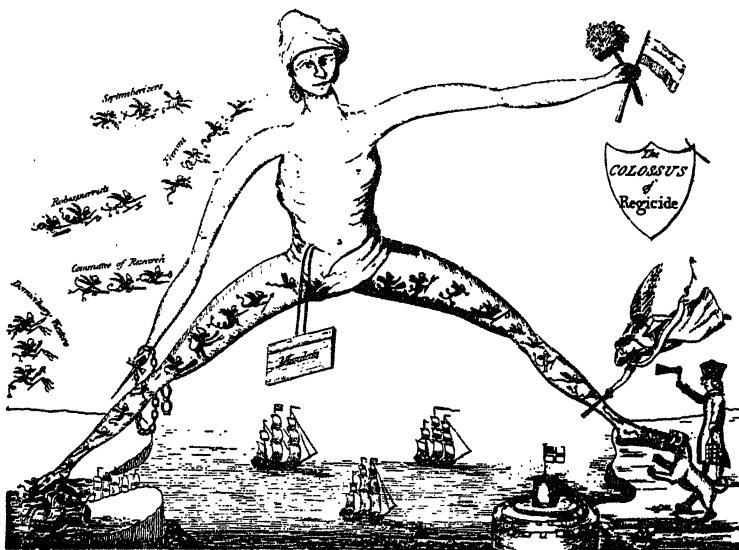
*Tory reaction
successful in England*

IN ENGLAND, as we have seen (page 653), the government began its campaign against radicalism in 1792. Thomas Paine was forced out of the country for the subversive ideas contained in his pamphlet *The Rights of Man*. Two years later leaders of the London Corresponding Society and the Society for Promoting Constitutional

Information were tried for treason, and though they were acquitted by the courts, the government intensified its campaign against the English radicals. Laws were passed making it treason to speak or write against the government; large public gatherings, occasionally even classroom lectures, were prohibited. By 1799 secret societies and trade unions were forbidden and the press was censored; and once-revolutionary England, now fearful of the export of revolution from France, became notorious



This etching reveals Chodowiecki in a different mood from that depicted on page 617. Here he shows the children of France threatening their mother.



An English cartoonist expresses the fear that "The Colossus of Regicide," which has gained a foothold on English soil, may serve as a bridge for the little fiends—Septemberists, Robespierrists, Domiciliary Visitors, etc.—to cross to England. The English lion and Liberty defend the shore.

for its repressive measures. The effect of this repression was to reduce the radical movement to a few working-class adherents and upper-class sympathizers, whose radicalism only increased under repression. They survived to become a vigorous part of the class-conscious workingmen's movement in the nineteenth century. On the other hand, many liberals who until 1792 had supported the French Revolution and the native English movement for parliamentary reform became fearful and cautious, and for several decades Tory conservatism had no effective opposition.

Reaction in eastern Europe

IN CENTRAL and eastern Europe
—Prussia, Austria, the smaller
German states, and Russia—the

effect of the radical turn of events in France was to solidify the reactionary trend already evident before 1792. Under Frederick William II's uninspired rule the "enlightenment" of the Prussian government of Frederick the Great had steadily grown dimmer. The revolution in France merely produced a tightening of censorship and police action against the small pro-French groups. In Austria, Francis II thoroughly reversed the Josephan reform policy and became Europe's most conspicuous opponent of French ideology; the word "Austria" became associated with status quo, Old Regime, intolerance, privilege, and subjugation. In Russia, stringently protected from

French ideas by a rigid censorship, Catherine the Great was as vehement about the French Revolution as she had once been enthusiastic about the *philosophes*.

*The bourgeois character
of the Constitution of 1795*

THE DÍSGINTEGRATION of France's
Terror government brought to the
Convention the task of consoli-

dating the best features of the Revolution into a new constitution. The still-born, democratic Constitution of 1793 was abandoned as "the organization of anarchy" in favor of a new one that reestablished the power and principles of the bourgeoisie along lines similar to the first constitution of the Revolution. The suffrage was once again made dependent on property qualifications, as was membership in the legislature. In addition, a citizen could not be registered unless he could read and write and had a trade or profession—one of the earliest instances of literacy and professional requirements for voting. In order to avoid the unicameral tyranny of the Convention, it was decided that the legislature should consist of two bodies. The Council of Five Hundred was to originate all legislation, and the Council of Elders was to approve or veto its measures. The Elders were also to appoint an Executive Directory of five men from nominations made by the Council of Five Hundred. This Executive Directory was a purely administrative body so thoroughly divorced from legislative authority that it was deprived even of the veto power. By thus splitting up authority, the moderates who made this constitution hoped to avoid a repetition of the Committee of Public Safety and the Terror. To underline the bourgeois character of the new republic, this Constitution of 1795 stated that "it is upon the maintenance of property that...the whole social order rests." Church and state were completely separated. Combinations with political potential, like guilds, labor unions, and Jacobin Clubs, were discouraged by a provision forbidding corporations and associations "contrary to public law." On the other hand, an attempt was made to encourage enterprise by declaring inventions to be "the exclusive property" of the inventors.

*Suppression
of the Vendémiaire Insurrection*

EVEN THIS bourgeois constitution
did not meet the approval of the
more reactionary elements of the

population. A large section of public sentiment favored a restoration of the monarchy and a return of some measure of power to the ancient aristocracy and church. They hoped to win control of the government in the forthcoming elections. In order to forestall a royalist victory at the polls, however, the Convention, to whose regicide members such a turn of events might spell outlawry or even death, voted the astute "two-thirds decree"—that two thirds of the membership of the new legislature must come from the outgoing Con-

vention. Such unabashed self-interest provoked an outcry, which soon led to insurrection on the part of many members of the National Guard and several thousand citizens—this time mostly from the respectable faubourgs rather than the low rental areas. From the name of the current month in the republican calendar this uprising became known as “the Vendémiaire Insurrection.” The march on the Convention was forestalled by a detachment of the regular army under the command of a young artillery general named Napoleon Bonaparte. Bonaparte distinguished himself by hard fighting against the insurgent forces for several hours—not by a single “whiff of grapeshot,” as the legend would have it—and thus saved the Convention.

Temporarily at least, that victory over the “Vendémairists” meant that Bonaparte had also saved the Revolution and the Republic. An accepted principle of eighteenth-century politics had thus been shaken. It now appeared possible for a large country to face a series of grave crises firmly and to remain a republic.

ENTER THE MAN ON HORSEBACK

AS THE Convention gave way to the Directory, the French Republic could boast that it had won a great war and seemed about to create a stable government. The republican tradition in Europe thereby had earned a respect that, despite future reversals, gave it a great impetus toward ultimate triumph. Nevertheless, as Burke, Catherine the Great, and several other unfriendly critics of the Revolution had already forecast with the example of Cromwell in mind, a reversal lay in the near future; and it was to come from those whom the Revolution had made famous.

The problems of the Executive Directory

THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORY
took office late in 1795 only as a
result of a show of military might.

Immediately it fell heir to the problems that characterize periods of reaction to war and upheaval. The assignats had by this time declined to something less than 1 per cent of their face value, and the country was confronted with the evils of inflation. Though the war was still going on, the cementing force of imminent national danger had worn itself out, and the Directory had to contend on the one hand with counterrevolutionary sentiment and on the other with a radical movement. Hindered in its operation by the constitutional separation of legislative and executive power, and deprived by execution, exile, or death of the most able minds, the new government struggled under mediocre leadership to establish a stable regime. It early suppressed a royalist plot and, somewhat later, a radical movement known from its leader's name as the “Babeuf Conspiracy.”

*Babeuf
and the roots of French socialism*

FORESHADOWING nineteenth-century socialism, Babeuf and his Society of Equals had aimed at

the equalization of wealth and envisioned a community in which private property was nonexistent. The current name for such a program, since the word "socialism" was still unknown and society was essentially agricultural still, was "the agrarian law." Babeuf had inherited his program not only from certain writings of the eighteenth-century *philosophes* but also from the Hébertists and from an earlier and probably more proletarian group known to contemporaries as "the Enragés" (the lunatic fringe). From these precursors the French socialists of today derive their claim to native, eighteenth-century roots. Like the Enragés and the Hébertists, the Babeuvists (Babeuf's followers) were suppressed upon the execution of their leaders, since they had not hesitated to advocate open insurrection.

*The administrative reforms
brought about by the Directory*

THE DIRECTORY met with some success in internal administration. The financial situation was partly

straightened out by the total repudiation of the assignats. While this measure was injurious to many personal fortunes, it checked the disastrous inflation, which had been skyrocketing prices one hundred fold and more. The machinery of tax collection was also overhauled; and indirect taxes were reintroduced but placed in the hands of civil servants—a permanent improvement over the tax-farming system of the Old Regime. French industry was stimulated by the encouragement of inventions and scientific research. School reforms, consistently demanded by the *philosophes* and thoroughly discussed by earlier assemblies, were put into operation, and solid foundations were laid for an educational system that would be public and lay, training citizens rather than Christians.

In spite of its achievements, the Directory never won adequate popular support. Its political history resolves itself into a series of coups d'état against counterrevolutionary forces on the one hand and recrudescant Jacobinism on the other. Nevertheless, manipulation of the annual elections, the unconstitutional use of the army, the arbitrary arrest and expulsion of opposition leaders, and the advantages derived from notable military victories gave the existing regime enough support to remain in shaky power until 1799.

*The victories
of Bonaparte in Italy and Austria*

MEANWHILE, the meteoric rise of a dashing leader on the battlefield brought glory and a stream

of booty to France, and roused the enthusiasm of the French people. Napoleon Bonaparte was a proud, sensitive, audacious, and extremely ambitious young Corsican. He had risen quickly to the rank of general because of the rapid changes in army personnel made by Carnot and the Terror. His Italian

campaign (1796-1797) revealed both his military genius and his personal ambitions. What was to have been a secondary phase of the war against Austria, with the main show in Germany, Bonaparte catapulted into major prominence. By emphasizing artillery, attack in column, cavalry reserves, and other unusual military tactics, by separating his opponent's forces and appearing in unexpected places, by concentrating his better spirited revolutionary troops upon the weaker spots of his mercenary enemies, by carefully studying topography and calculating upon the probable errors of old-school generals, by unorthodox, brilliant, and often risky ruses and improvisations, and by the skill of able subordinates, Napoleon forced Sardinia out of the war, beat the Austrian forces in Italy, subjugated the Italian states, and marched to within seventy-five miles of Vienna itself.

The Treaty

of Campo Formio with Austria

THE AUSTRIANS made peace with France, formally yielding Belgium and the left bank of the

Rhine, as well as certain Italian territories that gave France the opportunity to dominate Italy. Bonaparte himself negotiated the peace with the Austrians. Here he displayed an ominous penchant for taking matters into his own hands. He reorganized the little north Italian state governments along republican lines and made them pay for the benefits of republicanism with cash and works of art. He united a group of these republics into the French-dominated "Cisalpine Republic." These revolutions were duly recognized by Austria in the peace treaty, because she was adequately compensated. After the fashion that Austria had learned so well in Poland, the venerable Republic of Venice was partitioned between Bonaparte's new Cisalpine Republic and Austria. The Directory protested Bonaparte's independent behavior only mildly, since his troops, booty, and glory were their chief defense against mounting unpopularity at home.

Bonaparte's attack

upon England through Egypt

PEACE with Austria left only England in the field against France. England was inaccessible

to the sort of land campaign that had brought Austria to terms. An invasion across the Channel was out of the question in view of the inferiority of the French navy, and several attempts to stir up insurrection in Ireland had already failed. Bonaparte, therefore, with the consent of the Directory, determined to attack England through her commerce and investments—through neutral Egypt, Syria, and the overland routes to India. Even India itself seemed not impossible of attack, and to that end the Directory concluded an alliance with the sultan of Mysore, where the influence of the French Revolution was evidenced by the existence of a Society of Friends of the Constitution (Jacobins). Accordingly, in the spring of 1798 Bonaparte set sail for Egypt, and, after defeating the ruling Turks in the Battle of the Pyramids, 679

established himself at Cairo. This initial victory was offset, however, by a resounding naval defeat in Abukir Bay, where the English Admiral Horatio Nelson annihilated the French fleet, completely cutting off Bonaparte and his armies from France.

*Formation
of the Second Coalition*

VIRTUALLY a prisoner in Egypt, Bonaparte nevertheless embarked upon a campaign against Syria.

After some initial victories there, he was forced to retreat to Egypt, for the Turkish sultan, with British aid, proved able to defend his Syrian provinces. Bonaparte's successful campaigns in Italy and the Near East had by this time boomeranged. They drew France's threatened enemies together into the Second Coalition, in which England was joined by the Two Sicilies, the Turks, and Russia (where the shrewd Catherine had been succeeded by the undependable Paul), and eventually by Austria—all fearful of the extension of French power in the Mediterranean. On his return to Egypt, Bonaparte learned of success after success of the new coalition in Europe, which had caused the nascent empire of pro-French republics to crumble.

Meanwhile, as Bonaparte also learned, the political situation inside France had deteriorated. At the moment when the war was going from bad to worse, the annual national elections of 1799 had taken place. They produced an opposition in the legislature with so strong a majority that the Directory did not dare to "purge" them as it had done twice before. The opposition then proceeded to oust some of the Directory and to replace them with individuals more to their liking.

*The first step
toward a military dictatorship*

LEAVING his army in the hands of a trusted subordinate, Bonaparte abandoned his Egyptian

venture and returned secretly to France with a handful of men. Even he would probably have found it hard to tell whether his main purpose was to save the French from disaster or to fish in troubled waters. His arrival in France was the signal for tumultuous popular rejoicing. Military stalemate though the Egyptian campaign had been, reports of its heroic episodes had served only to enhance Bonaparte's glamour. Although other French generals had succeeded in checking the Second Coalition without him, he was now the military man of the hour.

In Paris, Sieyès was the most popular director. He was casting about for a military leader to help him to set up a new government of his own. Bonaparte was the obvious choice. With the connivance of Sieyès within the Directory, of Bonaparte's younger brother Lucien within the Council of Five Hundred, and of the generals commanding the troops of Paris placed under Bonaparte's command, the Directory was overthrown by the coup d'état of Brumaire (the month roughly corresponding to November in

our calendar). The people were won over by the pretense that extraordinary measures had been necessary in order to prevent a new Jacobin Terror. A provisional government consisting of three consuls, with Bonaparte named first (in alphabetical order), was instituted pending the revision of the constitution. With a great show of legal procedure, the republican form of government was retained. Yet only a few steps separated Bonaparte from the complete mastery of France.

SOME ENDURING RESULTS

OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE YEAR 1799 (the last but one in the eighteenth century) was a mid-point in the cataclysm that shook the whole of Europe and parts of America, Africa, and Asia between the first upsurge of revolution in France and the achievement of a new European stability in 1815. Yet by 1799 it was already possible to discern the end of an era and the beginnings of many characteristics of life that are more vividly associated with the nineteenth century and are still familiar today. The decade and a half following Bonaparte's rise to power in France were to see startling changes, but the more lasting effects of the Napoleonic era were mere modifications or consolidations of less spectacular changes begun in the preceding decade of the French Revolution.

*Monarchical sovereignty
replaced by the popular state*

REVOLUTIONS generally destroy
before they create. In the Revolutionary decade many of the fea-

tures of medieval life that had survived into the eighteenth century were resolved into a new pattern. The most obvious of these changes was the replacement of absolute monarchy by representative government. While this had in effect been done in England a whole century earlier, the English product had been almost exclusively for home consumption. The French model, on the other hand, had been generously exported. Besides, it contained several features lacking, or as yet merely latent, in the English system. One of these was the idea of government according to the will of the masses, expressed in the extension of the suffrage to the bourgeoisie and, on occasion, to the whole adult male population. By 1799 popular sovereignty had been achieved in France and her satellite republics, though temporarily and imperfectly. This temporary victory gave a smart fillip to the antimonarchical and democratic movement that was to provide one of the chief modes of political endeavor thereafter.

Popular government as developed in France during the Revolution also acquired a corollary feature that is characteristic of it today—the system of

political parties whose opposing platforms were either based upon or intended to appeal to widespread divergency in public opinion expressed through pressure groups, the press, and other instruments of public opinion. Without an aura of popular participation the intense nationalism of succeeding centuries would not have been possible. Through the "nation-in-arms" principle, public and lay education for citizenship, and the distribution, among all classes, individuals, and regions, of responsibility for the national welfare, the popular state assumed greater power over the whole people than kings had ever dared to assert, and the identification of the citizen with the nation became more complete than ever before.

Privilege

superseded by equal opportunity

THE REVOLUTION also diminished, in France and in French-occupied countries, the surviving privileges of the aristocrats and the Catholic Church, and in their place established the principle, and to a considerable extent the reality, of equality before the law. This concept brought in its wake the principle of equality of social classes and of opportunity. In France these changes gave to the businessman greater room to develop his enterprises, to increase his fortune, and to lift his political and social prestige, and to the peasant they gave lands that were free from feudal obligation and that he could manage as he wished. The widespread redistribution of lands confiscated from the church and the *émigrés*, even though it did not benefit the peasantry as widely as has sometimes been supposed, did destroy or reduce some of the biggest estates. Thus it helped the trend in the direction of small freehold farmers, who were to be generally moderate in politics.

The moderation of these voters was to act usually as a counterweight to the more revolutionary impulses of the predominantly urban and industrial proletariat of the succeeding century. The predominance of the moderate peasant in the French culture was also to make urbanization with its resultant emphasis upon speed, efficiency, and large profits less characteristic (and hence leisure and good living more characteristic) of France than of societies where the peasant element was less prominent. The same revolution that furthered the advance toward moderation of the French peasantry gave to the French proletariat an unfulfilled tradition for which to fight and die on the barricades. It was ironic that just as the French Revolution was taking important strides toward the contentment of the peasantry, the so-called "Industrial Revolution" was getting well under way, destined to increase the size and influence of the hitherto negligible proletariat.

In still another way the abolition of feudal privileges produced changes in France not yet paralleled in other European countries. The notion of equality came to have greater meaning in social relationships. The old aris-

tocracy was sadly discredited, and, though titles were to be revived by Napoleon, many of them went to new families and the prestige attached to them diminished. Perhaps the noblest single idea that the French Revolution symbolized, although it was still vague and far from universally acceptable, was that every individual was free to strive to make of himself whatever his inclinations, abilities, and opportunities permitted. In countries like the Germanies and Russia, where the aristocracy preserved their political and economic power, and even in England, where aristocracy was not summarily wiped out but came gradually to share some of its privileges with classes socially beneath it, greater deference of the lower classes toward their "betters" persisted.

*Clerical functions
modified by secularism*

OTHER changes in attitude were brought about by the leveling of the special privileges and exalted

position of the church. The Revolution propagated by force of arms the earthly ideals of the rights of man in place of the transcendent duties of man to God. The faith of eighteenth-century intellectuals in progress and the perfectibility of mankind broadened its appeal through the French Revolution to become the dominant creed of the nineteenth century. The impoverishment of the church by the confiscation of its property left the state the principal agent of charity and social services. The secularization of education, which also followed from the disestablishment of the Catholic Church, further contributed to the change in the accepted values and practices. As new state schools were set up to replace the parochial schools, the content of the school curriculum was altered. Republicans, firm believers in education for citizenship, were slow in setting up elementary schools, to be sure, but they achieved more at higher levels, and by their philosophy did much to promote the ideal of secular, universal, and public education. If illiteracy did not disappear rapidly under their ministrations, it at least came to bear the civil stigma with which it is marked today. The church, however, was not ready to give up the struggle for the souls and minds of Frenchmen, and the fight was soon to be renewed.

*Provincialism
diminished by local reorganization*

THE CENTRALIZATION of government achieved by the various Revolutionary regimes put an end

to several political medievalisms in France. This centralizing tendency was less a departure from the ways of the absolute monarchs than were some of the other Revolutionary changes. Louis XIV, the enlightened despots, and other kings both before and after them had sought to create unified states. Revolution completed the process in France by thoroughly sweeping out the old systems of local government and generally disregarding provincial



The figures on pages 684 and 685 are from a contemporary English cartoon. They caricature a Spaniard and a sans-culotte (left), a British sailor (right), an Irishman, a Scot, and a Welshman (below).



traditions in drawing the boundaries of the new departments. Similarly, the royal system of assessing and collecting taxes by local quotas, and the special provincial and town privileges in taxation were abolished, providing an

opportunity for a new, unified, and more equitable system of national budgeting. With the centralization of governmental responsibility and the election of local officials, the old practices of hereditary officeholding and the buying and selling of government positions disappeared.

Business and the French Revolution

THE FRENCH businessman profited in a multitude of ways from the Revolution. The reorganiza-

tion of the tax system was a stimulus to French enterprise. Goods could move more freely throughout France in the absence of conflicting and onerous provincial customs and privileges. The metric system, now standard throughout the country, enormously simplified computations, since a kilogram of grain, for instance, was now the same amount everywhere and could be sent to other provinces in the expectation of a standard price for a standard quantity. The abolition of the guild system and the *compagnonnages* gave the employer a free hand in recruiting workers. The industrialist benefited from some of the government controls that still remained—such as the high protective tariff designed to keep out English goods and government encouragement of invention and research. Perhaps most important of all, the new revolutionary psychology favored the businessman. It had been a bourgeois revolution, leveling the classes above but sanctifying private property, prohibiting workmen's associations, and disenfranchising the poor.

The Revolution had also been extremely profitable in cash for some businessmen. The inflation provided ample opportunity for the accumulation of fortunes by speculation, while the sale of confiscated estates made it possible for entrepreneurs to obtain land on highly favorable terms. The war proved remunerative, as usual,





King George III (left), Charles James Fox and William Pitt the Younger (right), a yeoman of the guard, or "beefeater" (below, left), and a literary light and a Quaker (below, right).

for industrialists who held war contracts. To be sure, the mechanization of industry, which had been about as conspicuous in France as in England on the eve of the French Revolution, was retarded by the



unsettled conditions that followed, and France was not to renew its industrialization on a big scale until the 1830's. Yet the vast and immediate needs of the Revolutionary armies provided opportunities for profitable investment in gun foundries, horse raising, powder works, and the manufacture of uniforms and shoes. Many new fortunes were thus created in the French Revolution, and the newly enriched were not to be found among the conservative forces. From them Napoleon Bonaparte was soon to choose some of his imperial nobility.

*The advance
of industry in Great Britain*

IN A somewhat different way, some of the same things were concurrently happening in Great

Britain. No political upheaval produced equally spectacular opportunities for making easy money. In fact, the wholesale damage inflicted on British merchants by French privateers caused great economic stress. The hardships of war, particularly the enormous export of specie for subsidies to Britain's allies, obliged the Bank of England to go off the gold standard for the first time in 1797 and stay off until 1819. Nevertheless, the war provided a powerful incentive for industrial development. And the very absence of upheaval, inflation, and fighting on Britain's own soil made possible a steadier and stabler development than that which took place in France. In addition,

the British controlled the seas, which meant that they could exploit world-wide overseas markets with little competition; and although France and French-controlled territories were sealed against them, they had European allies to supply with war materials, in addition to their usual markets. Moreover, the damage done by the war to the French, Spanish, and



Dutch empires allowed Britain to profit still further from her maritime supremacy by obliging their overseas possessions frequently to yield to British naval or commercial domination. Already well advanced in an industrial revolution, Great Britain in the 1790's considerably increased her advantage over her nearest rival, France, and left other countries far behind.

*Birth
of the nation-in-arms*

THE WAR also brought to Europe a phenomenon characteristic of wars today but relatively new in

practice, if not in theory, in the eighteenth century—universal military service. Gone were the feudal days when the defense of the realm was in the hands of a separate and privileged warrior caste. Henceforth, it was the duty of every able-bodied male to defend the country which, as a member of the sovereign people, he helped to rule. This was a concept that, once its military effectiveness was demonstrated by the amazing success of French arms, was in the Napoleonic period to spread from France to other countries. It was to outlive the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars in the form of universal peacetime military training—an institution relatively unknown in America and England but familiar in continental Europe.

*The growth
of the nationalist spirit*

THE "NATION-IN-ARMS," while primarily a military weapon, was also evidence of a new attitude.

From the religious fervor with which the slogan of "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity" was defended and propagated in revolution and war, the spirit of nationalism advanced toward a new stage. The spirit of 1789, born of the peculiarly cosmopolitan and humanitarian culture that eighteenth-century Europe had enjoyed, ended by largely obliterating cosmopolitanism. Now that the French people ruled instead of the Bourbon dynasty, and the whole population fought wars against tyrants and professional armies, patriotism and popular enthusiasm nourished a most intense French nationalist spirit to which other nations reacted in kind. In the countries annexed by France, the inhabitants, however much some of them may have wanted annexation in the beginning, were already beginning to learn a lesson that was to become more vivid under the Napoleonic sway—that "liberty and equality" simply meant the French way of doing things. It was not long before they were to adapt the French slogans to their own national aspirations, and to conceive of "liberty" as freedom from French domination and of "fraternity" not as the brotherhood of all mankind but as national solidarity against the French, who were as a band of brothers joined against them. In the Napoleonic era this reinterpretation of the ideals of 1789 in terms of national consciousness, this intensification of national antipathies, was to grow more pronounced, and the new nationalism was to prove perhaps the most potent of our inheritances for both good and evil from the French Revolution.

VIEWED broadly and in twentieth-century perspective, the French Revolution affected the rest of the world as much as it did France. The forces of liberalism and nationalism which crystallized in France in those turbulent years were later to change such nations as Germany and Italy far more radically than they did France. The tradition of resistance to oppression and the ideals of liberty and equality were to grow everywhere into radical movements aimed at deeper alterations of the social order than the revolutionary movement of France had achieved. Democracy, stemming from Biblical and classical teachings, English experience, the French *philosophes*, and the American Declaration of Independence, found clear-cut expression in the "principles of 1789," Jacobinism, and the ill-fated Constitution of 1793. Socialism and communism, harking back to the Spartans, Plato's *Republic*, early Christianity, More's *Utopia*, and Rousseau's *Social Contract*, became political movements with the abortive program of the Hébertists, Robespierre's Republic of Virtue, and Babeuf's Society of Equals. Republicanism, tried on a small scale by the city-states of Greece, Rome, and Germany, the cantons of Switzerland, the provinces of Holland, and the states of the United States, reached an impressive form in the French Republic of 1792-1799, marred though it was by Terror, Thermidorian Reaction, and Directory coups d'état. Nationalism, struggling through the local patriotisms and the feudal, religious, and dynastic loyalties of earlier centuries, reached a high development with the "nation-in-arms" of the Terror and the militarism of the Directory.

Contemporary social and political thought was thus in large part molded in France in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Some countries, like Russia, Turkey, and Spain, were able with comparative success to resist the French Revolution and the Napoleonic conquest (which we are now about to examine). They were thus destined to spend a large part of the century following the Napoleonic period relatively free from conflicts over Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. But they were to find in the twentieth century that a flood may be all the more disastrous for having been dammed up if ever the dam is broken. In the eighteenth century, despite advocates of the "agrarian law" and of "virtue," revolution was essentially a struggle between aristocracy and bourgeoisie for political power. With the nineteenth-century Industrial Revolution, it was to broaden its base until in the twentieth century it became a struggle not of classes but of masses, and involved not merely a seizure of political power but the establishment of totalitarian dictatorship.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- May 5, 1789 Formal opening of the Estates General at Versailles
- June 17, 1789 The "National Assembly" formed by the Third Estate
- June 20, 1789 The "Tennis Court Oath" taken by the National Assembly
- July 14-17, 1789 Storming of the Bastille and royal recognition of the National Assembly
- August 4-5, 1789 The "August Decrees" abolishing feudalism
- August 27, 1789 Adoption of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen by the National Assembly
- October 5-6, 1789 March of a mob of discontented Parisians on Versailles and the forced return of the royal family to Paris
- 1790 The Civil Constitution of the Clergy
- 1790 Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*
- June 20-25, 1791 The royal family's attempted flight from France
- August 27, 1791 The Declaration of Pillnitz
- September 14, 1791 The completed Constitution of 1791 accepted by Louis
- October 1, 1791- The Legislative Assembly
- September 20, 1792
- April 20, 1792 War declared on Austria by the Legislative Assembly
- August 10, 1792 The formation of the "Revolutionary Commune," the storming of the Tuileries, and the deposition of Louis xvi
- September 2-7, 1792 The "September Massacres"
- September 20, 1792 Brunswick's army stopped by French forces at Valmy
- January 21, 1793 Execution of Louis xvi
- January 23, 1793 The second partition of Poland by Prussia and Russia
- February 1, 1793 War declared on England and Holland by the Convention
- June 2, 1793 Purge of the Girondins
- October 10, 1793 Suspension of the Constitution of 1793 in favor of an emergency government (the "Terror")
- March 24, 1794 Execution of the Hébertist leaders
- April 3-6, 1794 Trial and execution of the Dantonists
- July 27, 1794 The fall of Robespierre, resulting in the "Thermidorian Reaction" and the "White Terror"
- April-June 1795 French peace treaties with Prussia, Holland, and Spain
- August 22- The adoption and inauguration of the Constitution of the
- October 26, 1795 Directory
- 1796-1797 Bonaparte's Italian campaign
- 1798-1799 Bonaparte's Egyptian campaign
- December 1798 Beginning of the Second Coalition, headed by Great Britain and Russia
- November 9, 1799 The Directory overthrown in the coup d'état of Brumaire

*The first
world revolution:
the
Napoleonic phase*



IN 1799 Schiller finished his *Wallenstein* (page 731) and perhaps thereby presaged the appearance of the new military hero who was to dominate the first fifteen years of the nineteenth century. Like the soldierly roustabout of the Thirty Years' War, General Napoleon Bonaparte by his spectacular military and diplomatic successes had captured the imagination of the Continent. Unlike Wallenstein, Bonaparte was not merely an adventurer and a man of war. Although he had plundered Italy in 1797, Bonaparte's subsequent popularity at home had been derived as much from his skill in negotiating the Treaty of Campo Formio as from his military genius. The conquest of Egypt, though still challenged by the English and the Turks when he took office as one of the provisional consuls, was also credited to his ingenuity and enterprise.

After a decade of turmoil, the French people, eager for order and peace, awaited a patriot-hero who would perpetuate the gains of the Revolution and at the same time quell factional strife and lull the antagonisms resulting from it. But his task would not be easy. The War of the Second Coalition, general confusion in administration, civil war with the royalists in the Vendée, and paralysis of industry and commerce were among the heritages of the new rulers from the defunct Directory. Like the other republican executives of the Revolutionary era, the Directory had found it impossible to carry on warfare abroad and simultaneously bring internal order out of the existing chaos. Exasperation with the chronic instability, indecision, and corruption of the government had become acute.

The times now seemed to demand an interlude of general peace and reconstruction, but Napoleon Bonaparte was to give France reconstruction 689

without peace. His career would demonstrate once more that continuity and change go on side by side in the course of human affairs. As he built up a new society and political regime in France, he was required by his sense for expedient administration and his quest for wide popular approval to wed the old with the new, to select precedents from both French monarchical institutions and Revolutionary innovations in order to make fresh institutions that promised stability.

Despite the presence of other distinguished figures in the new government, it quickly became apparent that the major lines of policy were going to be drawn by Bonaparte. Faced with the task of winning peace and building an empire, Bonaparte was to develop a program of reform based upon centralized authority, strikingly resembling that of the eighteenth-century "enlightened despots." Since the Revolution had swept away many of the institutions and practices of the past, his task was at first to be somewhat easier than that undertaken by the "enlightened despots," for they had had to struggle against the established order without benefit of the purgative effects of revolution. For Bonaparte the painful and costly job of destruction was already done. Feudalism, the nobility, the church, and the administrative structure both in local and national affairs had all undergone radical change, and many other entrenched interests had been largely eliminated. Bonaparte's initial tasks therefore were to reconstruct order out of disorder and to lay firmly the foundations of future stability. This concept of reform from above was quite in harmony with the *philosophe* tradition. Bonaparte represented the culmination of one line of eighteenth-century political thought, while the republican experiment of the Revolution constituted another. Until he was distracted by the imperialist urge, he was to resemble the Physiocrats' legal despot.

Bonaparte's brand of despotism was to be a gradual growth, modified by a high degree of practical political wisdom and a respect for the gains of the Revolution. The Revolution had to be preserved but disciplined. Institutions from the Old Regime could not be revived without consideration for dissimilar or contravening institutions established by the Revolution. Rhetoric on civil liberty, widespread desire for equality of opportunity, and extension of France's frontiers were achievements of the Revolutionary decade that could not easily be discarded. Even the grossest acts of despotism therefore would have at times to be cloaked by Bonaparte in revolutionary language, and the most obvious political coups would be submitted to the population for formal ratification. The General Will was to function through a well-beloved despot rather than through representative assemblies or a Rousseauian servant-prince of a sovereign people. Eventually, by his second marriage, Bonaparte was to become related to Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, to the ancient lineage of the Bourbons and the Habsburgs, but

he was always careful to show an outward deference also to a written constitution and the popular will.

It still rouses admiration that Bonaparte succeeded as often as he did in wedding the Old Regime to the Revolution. But the success was made possible only by his being in a position to disregard those who felt he was yielding too much to one side or the other, only by his being able to make of himself more and more the arbiter of France's and Europe's destiny. At home Bonaparte was to become increasingly "totalitarian," and abroad an insatiable conqueror, constantly seeking new fields of conquest. In his conquests abroad he was at first still the liberator. But in the liberated countries, when he failed to give power to the natives and made ever-growing demands for men and money, he roused an intense national resentment. And in the countries that fought off his "liberation," defiance was made possible by a similarly intense national effort at reform and defense.

Thus we shall find reform and nationalism going hand in hand in Napoleonic Europe. In some countries reform was to come through the direct efforts of Bonaparte and in others by reaction against him. In some countries the national spirit would grow stronger through his direct efforts (e.g., France, Poland, Croatia, Italy), in others by reaction against him led by the ancient rulers (e.g., England, Prussia, Russia, and Austria), and in still others by reaction against him through popular resentment (e.g., Spain, the Spanish-American colonies, and Haiti). And since reform and nationalism sometimes arrived without revolution, it was not clear, on Napoleon's downfall, that revolution was a necessary third companion to the other two. Hence Europe was left undecided not only how much reform and how much nationalism were still to be effected but whether they should be effected from the top down or from the bottom up.

BONAPARTE

THE PEACEMAKER

ALTHOUGH unprepossessing in appearance, Bonaparte, in the words of one of his officers, "put on his general's hat and seemed to grow two feet." The French historian Alexis De Tocqueville, whose childhood was spent in Bonaparte's France, said of him, "He was as great as a man can be without virtue." Coupled with an unrivaled capacity for work and detail was Bonaparte's unashamed opportunism and boundless ambition. A relentless mental and physical energy drove him directly and forcefully toward his objectives—if necessary, without regard for moral considerations. His first objectives after Brumaire were a victorious peace and the stability of his new regime.

*The constitution
of the Consulate (1799)*

BONAPARTE's personal power was first sanctioned in the Constitution of the Year VIII (1799). Although

the new constitution was the product of the research and diligence of Sieyès, it was revamped before publication according to the preferences of Bonaparte. As finally adopted, it placed the official reins largely in the hands of an executive authority of three consuls. Only the first consul had any real power, and Bonaparte was named first consul. Four separate bodies, each with specific functions, were given some legislative authority and between them practically eliminated both legislative initiative and parliamentary obstructionism. Nevertheless, a measure of representative government was retained, for the proposals of the consuls had to be formally approved before becoming law.

The methods of election and appointment, however, cast doubt upon the theoretical claim that representative government was still intact. A body known as the Constitutional Senate appointed nearly all officials, who, however, had to be chosen from sets of lists that were voted by universal manhood suffrage. Thereby the semblance of democracy was preserved without the substance. Sieyès had hoped to dominate this Senate, which also had the right of "judicial review"—that is to say, of declaring legislation unconstitutional—and of issuing administrative ordinances and decrees. Whoever controlled the Senate, it was clear, would have had a political weapon that not only might hold the first consul in check but might even eclipse him. The constitution thus did not specifically create a despotism. Still it weighted the scales so heavily in Bonaparte's favor that only the ineffectual Sieyès stood in his way, and it was not long before despotism existed in fact.

*The acceptance
of the constitution by plebiscite*

THE CONSTITUTION of 1799 was submitted to a national plebiscite and received an overwhelming

vote of approval. The general feeling that a firm and trusted hand was needed at the helm and Bonaparte's career as a revolutionary both worked in his favor. Fear of a Bourbon restoration was strong among the groups that had profited from the upheaval since 1789 or had reason to dread the vengeance of returned Bourbons and *émigrés*. A constitution that promised a new order while preserving the political, social, and economic changes of the Revolution seemed good to those who had purchased noble or church property, had voted for the death of Louis XVI, or had otherwise been intimately connected with the activities of revolutionaries, as well as to more moderate elements that hoped never to see a return of the Terror, whether red or white. France was ready to accept in 1799 the compromise between revolution and order that Bonaparte appeared to embody.

*Enlistment
of talent by Bonaparte*

BONAPARTE was ready to recognize and utilize talent wherever it appeared and rarely hesitated to

reward bountifully those who had served him well or to treat with scorn those—even his brothers—who failed to yield to him. He inspired fear, obedience, and great loyalty, but rarely did he win love. Owing almost nothing in political debts, and having been largely freed from fiscal obligations by the Directory's repudiation of the assignats, he was able to fashion a personal regime without incurring too great animosity or betraying vested interests. The combination of Bonaparte, the great general, and Sieyès, the noted legislator, also inspired confidence in the population. Quotations on stocks and bonds on the Bourse reflected the hopes of the nation by swinging upward. The famous shared these hopes with the obscure, and new faces appeared in government offices as Bonaparte looked far and wide for men of merit. Pierre Laplace, the famous astronomer and mathematician (pages 620-621), was called upon to serve for a short time as minister of the interior. Gaspard Monge, who laid the foundations for modern descriptive geometry, and Jean Antoine Chaptal, a prominent chemist, also received high honors and positions. Bonaparte preferred natural scientists to political theorists, and he always spoke sarcastically of *Idéologues* (page 733).

*The War
of the Second Coalition*

ALTHOUGH domestic reforms were instituted immediately, Bonaparte's first concern in 1800 was

to defeat the powers of the Second Coalition and win for France a period of peace with honor. Since he was in supreme command of his country's armies for the first time, primary responsibility for victory or defeat lay in his hands. To maintain his reputation as a military leader and to preserve his political power, a quick and decisive turn on the battlefields seemed mandatory. The territorial acquisitions of the Revolutionary armies, lost by the Directory, had to be regained and French hegemony reestablished.

Bonaparte began immediately after Brumaire to formulate his military plans. In an effort to divide his enemies, he sought by diplomacy and outright cajolery to woo the mentally unstable Czar Paul I of Russia away from his Austrian and British allies. Ultimately Paul capitulated to the ministrations of the first consul and even consented to revive the League of Armed Neutrality, first organized by Russia and directed against Great Britain at the time of the American Revolution (page 580). It included Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and Denmark. Although technically neutral, the cooperating Baltic powers could be more accurately described as nonbelligerent. Shortly before his assassination in March 1801, Czar Paul was even meditating an alliance with France.

While seducing Russia away from the Second Coalition, Bonaparte was also busily laying plans for the military defeat of Austria. In the summer of 1800, the main unit of the French army, under the leadership of General Moreau, moved into Bavaria and headed down the Danube Valley toward Vienna. Meanwhile, General Masséna was fighting a holding action against the Austrians in Genoa and its environs. A third French army group commanded by Bonaparte and General Berthier moved into Switzerland. Hoping to relieve Masséna, Bonaparte crossed the Alps by way of the Great St. Bernard Pass and entered the Po Valley of northern Italy. At the Battle of Marengo, Bonaparte with great good fortune succeeded, but only after considerable difficulty and the heroic efforts of General Desaix, in forcing the Austrians to retreat. Although he thereafter returned to Paris in triumph, the war against Austria went on for another half-year. The Habsburgs were not forced to submission until the Imperial forces were defeated by Moreau at the Battle of Hohenlinden in December.



694 *"Revolt in Santo Domingo," by Géricault (page 856). The heroic pose here is sometimes thought to be a take-off of David's famous picture of Napoleon crossing the Alps.*

*The withdrawal
of Austria from the war*

THE TREATY OF LUNÉVILLE with Austria, early in 1801, proved to be only a more severe version of the Treaty of Campo Formio. It provided that France should retain the left bank of the Rhine and that the dispossessed German princes should receive compensation elsewhere in Germany. With the exception of Venetia, the Austrians abandoned Italy to France and officially recognized the existence of the puppet Batavian, Helvetic, Cisalpine, and Ligurian Republics. Although hard for Austria to accept, the peace was welcomed almost as much in Vienna as in Paris. After almost ten years of continual warfare, the weary Continent cheered the cessation of hostilities, even if on Bonaparte's terms. Only England continued to fight against the spread of French power and revolutionary ideas.

*Bonaparte's efforts
to improve relations with America*

WHILE Austria was acceding to Bonaparte's demands, the Spanish government had likewise yielded to his blandishments and ceded Louisiana conditionally. In the West Indies, however, all was not so favorable. An independence movement in San Domingo was being fomented by the famous Negro soldier and statesman Toussaint l'Ouverture; and England, of course, sought every opportunity to encourage trouble in France's colonies. To counterbalance England's machinations, Bonaparte endeavored to win the confidence of the United States. A signal example of his interest in developing friendly relations with the new American republic (and, at the same time, of his early anxiety to appear a true republican) was his proclamation of ten days of official mourning on the occasion of George Washington's death. In 1800 he brought to an end an undeclared war between France and the United States over the question of the rights of American neutral shipping on the high seas (page 808). The war had been going on since the period of the Directory, indirectly because the United States had repudiated special privileges that the French claimed by the old Alliance of 1778. Bonaparte now agreed to a future consideration of American claims for spoliation against France and of the formal cancellation of the Franco-American alliance.

*The fall
of the Pitt ministry*

SHORTLY before the conclusion of the Treaty of Lunéville, Bonaparte was encouraged in his struggle against the British by the resignation of William Pitt as prime minister. The first consul had realized for some time that a favorable peace with Britain would be virtually impossible so long as the implacable Pitt remained in power. The withdrawal of Russia from the coalition and the military defeat of Austria encouraged the "peace" groups in England to press for Pitt's resignation. The war had been very hard on British finances, for

England had put money rather than soldiers into the fight. In 1797, as we have seen (page 685), the British treasury went off the gold standard for the first time. "Consols" (government bonds, interest on which was paid from the Consolidated Fund) dropped on the market. Maritime insurance was kept high by the danger from French privateers. Pressure was now brought upon the government to reduce taxes and reestablish trade relations by ending the war. Pitt might have successfully resisted this opposition but for the Irish question. In order to discourage the French-inspired rebellions in Ireland, he had bribed enough persons in key positions to bring about a legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland; and despite George III's known opposition he had tried to effect some kind of Catholic relief. His efforts on behalf of the Catholic emancipation solidified the opposition and precipitated his resignation.

*Peace
between France and Britain*

AFTER Pitt's withdrawal Addington, his successor, opened peace negotiations with France. Bona-

parte was also ready to cease hostilities. Not only did he require peace for internal rehabilitation; he also needed time to coordinate his territorial gains on the Continent. Britain's undiminished prowess on the seas and in the colonies was also a factor in his calculations. The French expeditionary force that he had led to Egypt had finally been obliged to surrender, and the British navy had aided in thwarting the League of Armed Neutrality by bombarding the Danish fleet in the harbor of Copenhagen. Moreover, so long as a hostile England retained mastery of the seas, Bonaparte could not establish control over the newly acquired territory of Louisiana or suppress the rebellion in Santo Domingo.

After five months of negotiation, the Peace of Amiens was concluded. It was more favorable to France than to England. Britain abandoned all of her conquests overseas and in the Mediterranean, excepting Ceylon and Trinidad. Upon considerable pressure, Bonaparte agreed to evacuate Naples and the Papal States, but otherwise Britain was required to recognize the European settlement concluded at Lunéville. Particularly painful to the British public was the omission of any reference to the reopening of French markets to British traders. Not only had Bonaparte won peace; he also remained free to continue his program of internal reforms.

BONAPARTE'S REORGANIZATION OF FRANCE

696 **R**EFORM of the French government had been begun right after Brumaire, but the conduct of the war had at first demanded Bonaparte's major attention.

Peace gave him both greater leisure and greater prestige. Established firmly in power by 1802, he proceeded to round out the reforms earlier initiated and to inaugurate a series of new measures designed to increase the efficiency of France's governmental machinery.

*Stabilization
of local government*

SINCE the framework of central government had been outlined in the Constitution of the Year VIII,

the adjustment of local administrative and judicial units to the new national structure became one of Bonaparte's immediate objectives. He replaced local elected officials by his own appointees, aiming at a higher degree of centralization than had generally existed in the revolutionary years. He retained the system of departments and its subdivisions devised during the Revolution, placing each department in the charge of a prefect reporting directly to his minister of the interior. Each official of the new regime was responsible for almost every detail to the official immediately above him in the hierarchy. Virtually nothing was left to the discretion of local authorities. The centralized bureaucracy developed by Richelieu and perfected by Louis XIV was thus in principle restored but conspicuously modified by a Revolutionary reorganization, and it has since remained a striking feature of French government.

Reorganization of the local administrative and judicial structure was designed also to aid in the suppression of internal disorders. The royalist civil wars in the Vendée and Brittany had been almost continuous since 1793. Aided by the English, the insurgents were able to prevent the Revolutionary governments from exercising anything more than nominal control over the western departments. Pacification was accomplished in part by easing the restrictions on religion, proclaiming an amnesty, and providing an opportunity for peaceful surrender to the new government. Those who refused to take advantage of Bonaparte's clemency were ruthlessly hunted out. As early as the end of 1800, the Vendéan problem had been resolved.

*Economic centralization
and reform under Bonaparte*

BONAPARTE'S strengthening of the country's finances and economy was essential to the smooth func-

tioning of the new government. Ever since the days of Louis XIV, France's financial plight had become increasingly serious. The Revolutionary governments had been particularly baffled by monetary and fiscal problems, accentuated by the indiscriminate issue of assignats. Even though Bonaparte's ascent to power had caused a temporary flurry on the Bourse, the financial structure of the country was far from sound in 1799. Businessmen and bankers hesitated to advance money to a government whose tenure might be as short as that of the ones which had preceded it. It was only by careful judgment and the expenditure of much effort that France's economy under the guidance of Finance Minister Gaudin gradually began to revive.

The centralization of the fiscal administration under Bonaparte was symptomatic of the general trend toward national control. The first important measure in this direction was the establishment in 1800 of the Bank of France, which, though it derived its capital from private sources, gradually became an agent of the government. Regulation of accounts through national agents largely eliminated the corruption that had been common before in local finances. With a greater degree of central control, the government was better able to estimate receipts and expenditures, and hence could more accurately prepare its annual budgets. By 1801-1802, the budget appeared to balance, a rare feat in government finance, rendered possible by the close supervision of the fiscal system, the indemnities and tributes derived from military conquest, and economy measures practiced in every department of government. Businessmen and financiers, several of whom had helped to finance Bonaparte's coup d'état, were delighted to find that their confidence in the "man of destiny" had not been misplaced. The Bank of France, until it was "democratized" in 1936, dominated the financial structure of the nation, and its stockholders became known (somewhat inaccurately) as the "two hundred families" that were said to control French society.

Organization

and reform of religion in France

THE PLACE of religion in French society was another of the problems that Bonaparte had inherited from the Revolutionary era. Every hamlet in the land had suffered from the church schism and the "de-christianizing" movements produced by the Revolution. Appreciating fully the importance of religion in the lives of the people, Bonaparte returned to Paris after Marengo determined to effect a religious settlement with the newly elected Pope Pius VII.

In Bonaparte's own life, religion had but a slight influence. On one occasion he was said to have remarked:

Let them call me a papist, I am nothing. I was a Mohammedan in Egypt; I shall be a Catholic here for the good of the people. I do not believe in religion... It was by becoming a good Catholic that I terminated the Vendéan war, by becoming a Musselman that I obtained a footing in Egypt, by becoming an Ultramontane that I won the Italian priests; and had I to govern a nation of Jews I would rebuild Solomon's temple.

It was in this spirit of political expediency that Bonaparte in 1801 finally concluded with the papacy a concordat that was to govern France's relations with the church until 1905, and has complicated them ever since.

At no time did Bonaparte intend to reestablish the largely autonomous pre-Revolutionary church. Repeatedly he expressed some such sentiment

as that "the people needs a religion, and its religion must be in government hands." To negotiate a satisfactory agreement with Rome, he felt, would provide an easy solution to a highly complex problem. At every turn in the discussions, however, Bonaparte insisted upon both the Gallican Rights that Louis XIV had failed to secure and the church's voluntary abandonment of its claim to the properties confiscated and sold during the Revolution. When the papal emissaries hesitated to agree with him, he brought the papacy under direct pressure from his troops stationed in Italy. The reluctant papal representative was finally obliged to sign the concordat.

By the new agreement, Catholicism was recognized as the religion of most Frenchmen and of the three consuls themselves. Bishops were to be consecrated by the pope, upon nomination by the state. The Revolutionary land settlement was recognized by the church. In turn, Bonaparte agreed to respect the domain in Italy that was now left to the pope. Since the tithe was not restored, the government had to assume the financial obligations of the French church, for it was left without other sources of revenue.

In the wake of the settlement with the Catholic Church, arrangements followed for religious minority groups. Calvinists and Lutherans were granted freedom to practice their faith in France and were given some government support. Even the Jews, when it met with Bonaparte's aims, were granted special privileges and organized on a national religious basis, though still subject to restrictions. To Bonaparte, the main function of all religions was to aid in the maintenance of law and order, and in so doing to act as a semi-official agency of the state. "I do not see in religion," he admitted, "the mystery of the incarnation but the mystery of the social order. It attaches to heaven an idea of equality which prevents the rich man from being massacred by the poor."

*Bonaparte's plans
for educational reform*

FRANCE'S system of education also underwent a thorough overhauling under Bonaparte's direction. Tra-

ditionally under the supervision of the clergy, educational institutions had been without adequate personnel or leadership for almost a decade. Although the *philosophes* and certain revolutionary leaders had worked out on paper a national system of education, practical problems postponed the realization of their ambitious program. In 1799, elementary schooling was particularly deplorable, but at all levels essentials were lacking. Little had been done to maintain or replace the school buildings of the Old Regime. Adequately trained lay teachers were few. Rapid changes of government had also played havoc with educational funds and administration. In Girondin times, education had been almost completely in the hands of local government. The Jacobins had sketched a program of centralization that Bonaparte now proceeded to fill in.

It was only after Bonaparte had concluded the Concordat of 1801 that he was able to develop a comprehensive educational program, for he solved the problem of teacher shortages by using the talent of the clergy. He was determined, however, that, like the church, the school should be subject to the dictates of the government. He also endeavored to maintain lay supremacy in the educational system at whatever points he could—a difficult task because of the clergy's superior training, experience, and willingness to serve. Bonaparte realized that the priests would almost inevitably dominate elementary education. His reforms were designed, therefore, to provide the secondary and higher schools with lay teachers who should, as time went on, become increasingly prominent at all levels. In 1808, after he had become emperor, he organized the University of France as a central clearing house and control agency for education—a sort of national board of education, which still exists and, during the nineteenth century, strictly centralized the school system. As with his religious organization, Bonaparte dedicated his educational system to the task of helping the state maintain law and order and, ultimately, to the duty of teaching citizens to be loyal to his dynasty.

Although Pestalozzi's educational theory and practice had already effected revolutionary changes in Switzerland (page 615), and in Germany interesting experiments in elementary education were being carried out by Philipp Emanuel von Fellenberg and others, Bonaparte's system profited but little from these examples. The democratic spirit of these educational theorists made but a slight impression upon the administrators of France's new system. Free instruction for all was not provided. On the contrary, tuition fees beyond the primary level were high, and clerical and lay masters ran private educational establishments. By the end of the era, state supervision of education was much more conspicuous in theory than in the classroom. Furthermore, Bonaparte's boasts of educational uniformity were either calculated or unwittingly incorrect. His regime provided neither democratic nor uniform education. The centralizing machinery interfered with rather than helped local initiative. The educational practices of the Old Regime with its emphasis on the classics and its clerical preferences retained a vitality and appeal in France that Bonaparte, who favored vocational and technical training, would never have admitted willingly.

*Bonaparte's emphasis
on the natural sciences*

ONE OF the most remarkable features, in fact, of Bonaparte's educational system was the emphasis

upon the natural sciences. In a Europe where humanistic education was still dominant, the French program of studies signified a decided departure.

700 At the lower levels the curriculum was conservative and more nearly in

conformance with the classical tradition in education. In the universities and the professional schools, such as the newly established *Ecole Polytechnique* with its most extraordinary faculty of great scientists, emphasis was on technical and scientific training. The ideal of free inquiry, so often proclaimed by the *philosophes*, and independent thought, particularly on social and political problems, were definitely not encouraged. The Convention had reorganized the old academies into a National Institute, but when Bonaparte refashioned the Institute, he suppressed the Section of Moral and Political Sciences as subversive. Training for military, industrial, and state service was for him the main aim of education. Like Hitler and other autocrats, Bonaparte endeavored to coordinate education and direct thought to political and utilitarian purposes.

*Legal reform
and the Code Napoleon*

BONAPARTE also turned his hand to the problem of codifying French law. After the exhorta-

tions of the *philosophes* in favor of equality before the law and the legal changes attempted by codifications during the Revolutionary era, the need for a uniform code became more pressing than ever. In 1800, the first consul inaugurated discussion of a new civil code by appointing a committee of four experts to draw up a tentative draft. Some ideals of the Revolution were too persistent to be ignored. The committee's proposed code assumed the equality of all citizens in the courts; it acknowledged the newly acquired right of every person to choose his own career and to advance in it according to his merit; it stated explicitly the superiority of state over church and provided for universal recognition of the freedom of individual conscience. It also protected the interests of the propertied classes created during the Revolution, and thus permanently insured France against a revival of feudalism, substituting an easily ascertainable system of contracts and torts for feudal dues and local customs. Although an astoundingly complete and thorough work, it was designed primarily for an agrarian society and neglected, perhaps understandably, to provide comprehensive regulations for the industrial era that was in process of development.

Discussions of the Civil Code and its implications were carried on for four years before it was finally promulgated in 1804. It became known as the "Code Napoleon." Three years later a Code of Civil Procedure outlined a revised system of court methods, and the year following a Commercial Code was instituted. A Criminal Code came in 1808; and finally in 1810 a Code of Criminal Procedure and a Penal Code completed the series associated with the Code Napoleon.

As with Bonaparte's other reforms, the main objective of the codes was to make government easier and more efficient. Although civil liberties were

ostensibly guaranteed to all, the codes were essentially authoritarian in spirit. Workers were subjected to their employers, wives to their husbands, children to their fathers. Preservation of individual rights and liberties was considered important only so long as these did not interfere with the aims and interests of the government. Some punishments that today we should consider cruel and unusual—such as cutting off the thumb of a parricide—were still retained. Nevertheless, the codes of Bonaparte were recognized as the most humanitarian and modern system of law of their day, despite some of their reactionary features. They were to be exported beyond the confines of France to the areas that he conquered or that chose voluntarily to model their systems of law on his. The Code Napoleon is still the national code of France, Belgium, and Holland, and has exercised a great influence upon the codes of Italy, the states of west Germany, Louisiana, Quebec, Japan, and other countries that in the nineteenth century faced the problems of building a new system of law.

*Reconstruction
of "Paris Beautiful"*

DETERMINED to wean the populace of his capital away from undue preoccupation with political

affairs, and fully aware of the propaganda value of a public works program, Bonaparte had early embarked upon the reconstruction of Paris on a magnificent scale. By 1802, several boulevards were being widened and unsightly buildings renovated. Vast new wings of the Louvre were already under construction. The art treasures of the French nation and those which Napoleon had already confiscated in Italy and elsewhere were systematically catalogued and brought together under one roof. Here the objects that were not later returned became the nucleus for one of the world's greatest art collections. Before his regime ended, new bridges were thrown across the Seine, and the parks and squares of the city were beautified with arches and columns commemorating his exploits. Paris seemed to take on new life and the Parisians themselves appeared to be prosperous and content. The improvement of public buildings, streets, roads, and bridges carried this program of public works to other areas of France, and for military as well as propaganda purposes was sometimes extended to dependent countries.

*The success
of Bonaparte's mercantilism*

THE BONAPARTE REGIME was apparently economically advantageous to French commercial and

industrial interests. Protected from British competition by Bonaparte's neo-mercantilism and his refusal to conclude a new reciprocity treaty, the French had their domestic markets almost to themselves. Furthermore, northern Italy, Belgium, and the territories on the left bank of the Rhine had been brought into close political and economic relationship with their French

conquerors. Plans for a great colonial empire in the New World and India also inspired businessmen and investors with great hopes for future profits in overseas ventures. The immediate gains from Bonaparte's effort to make France and her satellites self-sufficient were impressive.

*Control of public opinion
by censorship and honors*

BONAPARTE was particularly conscious of the power of the press as an instrument for molding public

opinion. Uniformity of law, religion, education, and loyalty required, in his philosophy, a controlled press. In 1800, the consuls decreed that the number of newspapers published in the city of Paris should be limited to thirteen. The *Gazette National ou le Moniteur Universel*, founded in 1789, became the official organ of the government, and Bonaparte himself was often among the contributors to the *Moniteur*, as this newspaper was generally called.

Strict censorship was also instituted. Bonaparte sometimes personally insisted that a particular newspaper should be penalized for violating the censorship and hence endangering the nation's security. Minor as well as grave offenses might be punished severely and swiftly. Besides, Bonaparte allowed no free expression of opinion in books. When Mme. de Staël, one of the greatest novelists and literary critics of her day (page 733), too openly showed political opposition, she was exiled first from Paris and then from France, and her literary coterie was silenced. The extent of influence exerted by the press was, however, questionable. Circulation of books and newspapers was limited by the high price of paper and printing and the inability of many persons to read for themselves.

Bonaparte recognized the desirability of winning support as well as discouraging opposition. He studiously distributed praise and honors wherever words, titles, and decorations would suffice to make friends. At first the returned veterans suffered from the shock of peace in 1802. They were gratified, however, when the first consul created the Legion of Honor to reward those who had served the nation faithfully, whether in a military, civil, or other capacity. The distinction was something more than an empty decoration; it carried with it a stipend. Some of the republican-minded ex-soldiers who now were made knights and officers in the "republican nobility" found it easier to accept the (temporarily peaceful) Bonapartist regime.

*Bonaparte
created consul for life*

COORDINATION of all aspects of life under the Bonapartist dictatorship was reminiscent of the

governing system of Louis XIV, and foreshadowed the passion for uniformity in twentieth-century totalitarian governments. Above everything else, however, Bonaparte placed the security of his personal regime. Consequently, he

made showy concessions to the demand for liberty, equality, and fraternity released in Europe by the French Revolution. Conspicuous among them was his studied courting of general approval by plebiscites. Although these plebiscites were far from free and unfettered elections or scientific samplings of public opinion, Bonaparte and his several constitutions were truly popular among the French people.

Shortly before the creation of the Legion of Honor, the nation had been invited to vote a life consulate to the leader of the state. The populace responded with a will. Thereupon a new constitution was promulgated which granted to Napoleon Bonaparte in all but name absolute and dynastic power based upon the already highly centralized system inaugurated after the events of Brumaire. The Senate was now packed with Bonaparte's nominees, and Sieyès ceased altogether to be a serious competitor for influence or popular favor. The life consul was permitted to name his successor.

ESTABLISHMENT

OF THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

THE SIEYÈS faction had ceased to be important rivals of Bonaparte when his timely victory at Marengo demonstrated once more that the fortunes of war strengthened his hand at home as well as abroad. With what has become known as the "Crisis of Marengo," the opposition among former revolutionaries dwindled to negligible proportions. The most inveterate of Bonaparte's opponents were the royalists, who hoped after 1800 that the trend away from revolution could be turned into a trend toward Bourbon restoration. The life consulate neither appeased nor discouraged them, and their plotting to give France a king continued until, in the words of one of them, they gave France an emperor.

*Plots
against Bonaparte's life*

AWARE that his enemies were numerous and desperate, Bonaparte resolved from the outset to

establish a secret police system. Joseph Fouché, already notorious as a deputy-on-mission in the Revolution, was named minister of police and charged with the duty of seeking out and destroying Bonaparte's domestic and foreign enemies.

One of several serious attempts on Bonaparte's life took place on the day before Christmas in 1800 as he was driving in his carriage to the opera to hear Haydn's oratorio *The Creation*. On this occasion the first consul narrowly escaped being blown to bits by a bomb that by accident fell behind rather than upon his carriage. Recognizing the political advantage to be reaped from the attack on his person, Bonaparte used the bombing as an

excuse to annihilate what remained of a strong Jacobin opposition, whom he regarded as more dangerous than the royalists. Yet in all probability, the attempt had been engineered by royalists, who intended that his murder should be followed by uprisings in the Vendée and agitation for the reestablishment of Bourbon power in France.

Royalist plots designed to overthrow Bonaparte's regime complicated France's relations with her neighbors. Having found refuge in neighboring countries, the French *émigrés* received aid and comfort from their hosts. So long as England remained at war with France, the royalists were supplied with money, materials, and ships for the conduct of their counterrevolutionary enterprises. With the restoration of peace in 1802, it was expected that perhaps the plotters would desist. The contrary proved true. The extent to which England and other nations aided the plotters is still debatable, but Bonaparte thought it was considerable, and he was outraged by what he considered the two-faced policy of "perfidious Albion."

English doubts

about the Treaty of Amiens

AFTER the Peace of Amiens, England's discontent immediately became apparent. The tourists

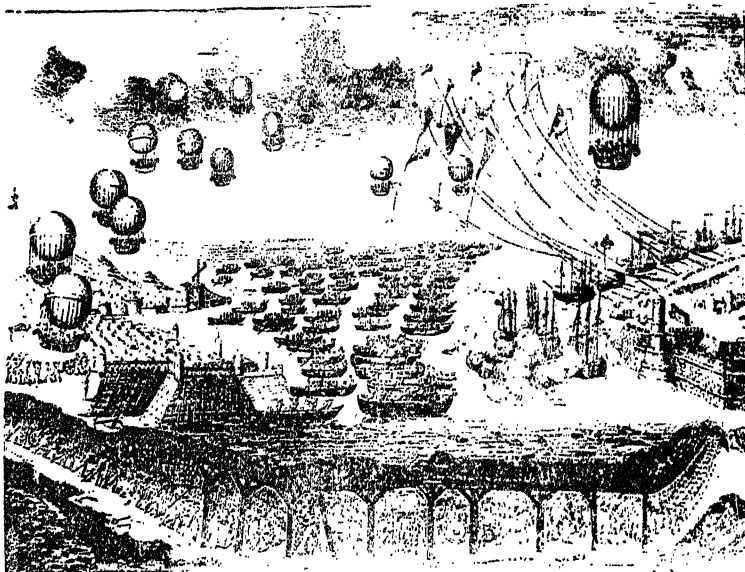
who flocked to Paris after 1802 were forced to make comparisons, to the disadvantage of their homeland. While England had suffered heavy trade losses, a mountainous national debt, and a progressive decline in the level of living, France after a decade of war appeared to be more enchanting and impressive than ever. Bonaparte's lavish program of public works filled the English visitor with a degree of envy proportionate to the joy it gave to the Parisian. French political and economic control of the Continent was beyond doubt. Bonaparte's protectionist policy also, some of them felt, had contributed to the air of confidence and prosperity that they encountered everywhere. It was not long before England followed suit. In 1804 England, too, was to adopt a strict protectionist program.

The failure

of Bonaparte's overseas ambitions

IF BONAPARTE had been able to reestablish control over Santo Domingo, he might have used his

tremendous power to build a great overseas empire, and peace might have been preserved in Europe. In fact, he once more permitted slavery, which the Revolution had abolished, and sent a large force to suppress Toussaint l'Ouverture. The Negro leader was captured by a ruse, but his followers continued the struggle, and eventually an epidemic of yellow fever forced the French to give up the enterprise. Without Santo Domingo, Louisiana could not be developed, because few ships in those days dared to go as far from France as New Orleans without a midway stop. So Bonaparte sold Louisiana cheaply to an astonished American commission that had come prepared to buy only New Orleans (pages 813-814).



This is a contemporary fantasy for an attack upon England. Balloons were a reality in 1803-1805, but the sub-Channel tunnel was not, and Bonaparte contemplated only a sea-borne invasion.

*Continuation
of strained relations with England*

REALIZING that his reorganized and centralized state was by far the most efficient and prosperous

in Europe, and believing that his popular support was dependent upon continued international triumphs, the life consul, having failed in his overseas venture, was prepared to bait France's only competitor. Bonaparte had begun preparations for a resumption of hostilities even before the Peace of Amiens had been formally ratified. He was particularly perturbed by England's refusal to carry out the evacuation of Malta provided for in the treaty. England regarded her dilatoriness there as "compensation" for Bonaparte's retention of troops in Naples and the states bordering upon France.

Since the beginning of 1802, Bonaparte had been setting up a system of satellite states. He announced the creation of an "independent" Italian Republic, with himself as the chief of state, out of the former Cisalpine Republic. The Batavian Republic had been treated as a vassal state since its creation in 1794, and Bonaparte reconfirmed its vassalage. In Switzerland, the Helvetic Republic, molded by the Directory, was made into a unitary state comprising eighteen cantons under Bonaparte as "Mediator." Sustained by the presence of French troops and overawed by the life consul's reputation

for drastic action, the "independent sister republics" of France were nothing more than puppet states under the supervision of French officials and native collaborators. Questions or criticisms from London, Vienna, and Moscow concerning French intervention in Switzerland, Holland, and Italy were either ignored or answered curtly. And Vienna at the same time had good reason for feeling insecure in areas even closer to home—in the Holy Roman Empire itself.

*The renewal
of war with England*

AFTER slightly more than one year, the strained truce worked out at Amiens came to an end

and England declared war on the French Republic. Bonaparte occupied Hanover immediately, and the English fleet recaptured the overseas colonies of France and her subject states. Otherwise hostilities were at a standstill. But both sides readied themselves for action. England's preparations were devoted to the search for continental allies and the expansion of her fleet. The possibility of an invasion of England from the Continent caused unremitting fear in London. British home defense forces were alerted, and recruits were hastily trained. Although Bonaparte's conspicuous construction of a great fleet of flat-bottomed transports and other preparations in the channel ports did not justify the amount of panic they created, he no doubt hoped and planned to take the offensive in the British homeland. He also endeavored to increase the size of the French battle fleet by building new vessels and by demanding old ones from allied countries.

The resumption of hostilities between the two great adversaries in "the Second Hundred Years' War" had immediate repercussions in the overseas world. As the British moved into Guiana, Santa Lucia, Tobago, and other colonies of her enemies, they experienced difficulties of their own. Like other would-be conquerors of England, Bonaparte profited from the traditional animosities within the British empire. In India, the Great Mahratta War broke out against the English overlords (page 791). In Ireland, Robert Emmet led a few score men into an abortive rebellion when a French invasion by way of Ireland appeared to be imminent.

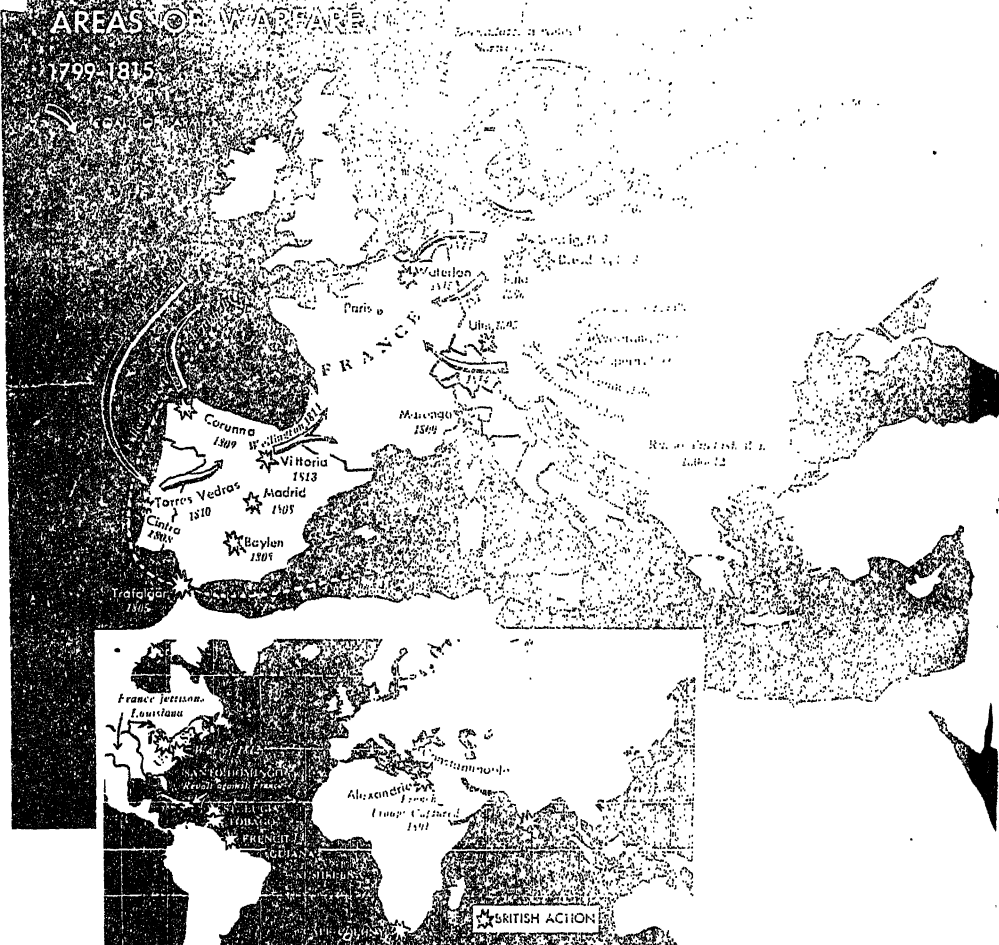
*The "Germanies"
before the Third Coalition*

TECHNICALLY, Bonaparte's continental manipulations before 1803 were not so much in viola-

tion of the Peace of Amiens as of the arrangements made with Austria at Lunéville. The Austrians were less concerned than the English about the closure of additional continental markets as France expanded her domination, but they were no less disturbed than the English about the upsetting of the continental balance of power. A recent reorganization of the German states, under discussion since the Treaty of Campo Formio, had given Bonaparte a conspicuous role in the redistribution of German territories and, at the

AREAS OF WARFARE

1799-1815



The years 1799-1815 brought to French arms under Napoleon their greatest successes and their swift disintegration. The French emperor was forced to gravitate between Paris and his steadily more expensive victories in central and northern Europe and in Spain. The desposed royal families of Naples and of Savoy maintained themselves with British aid in Sicily and Sardinia respectively. British maritime supremacy permitted the British to make conquests at the expense of the French and of France's allies all over the world.

same time, had made many Austrians wonder whether the time had not come to call a halt to French advances in the Germanies. In this reorganization many small German states had disappeared and large ones had been made larger by a decree of the Imperial Diet in 1803. Although a much more systematic territorial arrangement had resulted for the Holy Roman Empire and although Bonaparte by treaty had had a certain legal right to participate in the preparation of this imperial decree, Austria and Prussia were not grateful to him for his trouble. The favoritism of France toward Bavaria

and Württemberg, two areas frequently hostile to Austrian predominance in Germany, especially aroused apprehension at Vienna. By 1803, Bonaparte had succeeded in playing off the opposing German factions and states against each other with such success that the Holy Roman Empire existed in name only, even though formal ceremonies consecrating its demise were not held until three years later. In an effort to reinforce his dignity, the elective emperor Francis, merely archduke or king by heredity, added to his titles that of "hereditary emperor of Austria." This precaution was to prove wise.

*Russia
and the Third Coalition*

IN 1804, William Pitt again became the British prime minister and immediately concentrated his recognized talents upon the formation of a third coalition. Spending British money liberally, he markedly stiffened the growing resistance to Bonaparte's successes not only of Austria but of Russia as well. Frederick William III of Prussia, however, seemed determined to remain neutral and, if possible, to run with the anti-Bonaparte hares while hunting with the Bonaparte hounds.

Two defeats at Bonaparte's hands had made the Austrian court hesitant about entering a new war unless good continental support would be available. Hence, since Prussia persisted in her neutrality, the position of Russia became vital in the creation of a third coalition. Czar Alexander I, who had become ruler in Russia in 1801, had been influenced in his thinking by the tutors whom his grandmother, Catherine the Great, had imported from the west. Both tutors and student had been under the influence of the *philosophes*, and Alexander occupied himself seriously with the problems of humanity at home and of government by law abroad, even if his words usually were better than his deeds. Bonaparte's arbitrary actions outraged Alexander's sense of fitness and justice. When the French ruler brazenly sent his troops across international boundary lines to take prisoner a French royalist who was indirectly involved in a conspiracy against his life, the Russian czar was outraged by what he considered an inexcusable breach of both humanity and law. The czar's confidants encouraged him to take up the cudgels of righteousness, while Pitt warned from London that if Bonaparte were not stopped now, it would soon be too late. The logic of the English argument and Alexander's zeal to be an instrument of justice induced him in 1804 to join a third coalition. Austria still hung back, however.

*The creation
of "the Empire of the French"*

BONAPARTE had meanwhile strengthened his position at home. Ever since he had become consul for life, the question of a Bonaparte dynasty had been a frequent topic of conversation. Revival of customs familiar during the Old Regime indicated that the consul had grandiose ideas. Court ceremony and etiquette were being reintroduced in the ancient palaces of France. No longer were visitors

received informally by Citizen Bonaparte; royal pomp had become the proper tone at the Tuileries.

A new plot on Bonaparte's life, though frustrated, decided the dynastic question. Appeals poured in from all over the country that the consul should secure his line, the Senate requested him "to make it last forever," and he acceded graciously. After receiving an admonition from Bonaparte for not displaying appropriate enthusiasm, the Senate added that "heredity in the supreme magistracy is an essential." In prompt compliance with the Senate's action, a national plebiscite was held to determine whether "the people desire the inheritance of the imperial dignity in the direct, natural, legitimate and adoptive lineage of Napoleon Bonaparte," and the population voted overwhelmingly in favor of the new dynasty. Formal ceremonies of coronation of the new emperor and empress were held on December 2, 1804, in the Cathedral of Notre Dame. In deference to ancient imperial custom, Bonaparte had summoned the pope to lend his dignity to the occasion. Bonaparte reasserted his independence of Rome, however, by receiving the crown from the pope's hands and placing it upon his own head. He would not tolerate even symbolic subservience.

With the creation of the French Empire, the Constitution of the Year XII (1804) was promulgated. Thereafter, no power whatsoever reposed in the legislative. The government of France was vested openly in the emperor and his council of state, his ministers, his generals, and the rest of his appointive administrative hierarchy. Sieyès' axiom, "Confidence from below, authority from above," was definitely typified in the new imperial system.

THE THIRD DEFEAT OF AUSTRIA

UTILIZING the military organization and martial spirit engendered by the Revolution, Emperor Napoleon disciplined the conscript armies of France into one of the finest fighting machines of all time. Under the "little corporal," war was developed into an applied science. Adapting himself quickly to the national army, he evolved systems of organization and tactics that are still fundamental to war machines. The war upon which he now embarked was to be perhaps his most glorious.

*Military tactics
and strategy of Bonaparte*

OBLIGED to throw many raw recruits and conscripts against the combined professional armies of

the coalition powers, Bonaparte brought his superior leadership into play. Numbers alone would not have been enough, for untrained soldiers, no matter how many, seldom prove effective under fire without the steadying

influence of veterans. By studiously "amalgamating" the new recruits with veterans, many of them volunteers of the Revolution, Bonaparte produced an army with both fresh enthusiasm and long experience.

Napoleon's tactics and strategy were geared to the new type of army. Taking advantage of the fact that the muskets of the day were ineffective at long range and that their rate of fire was slow, he made frequent use of artillery, the column charge with fixed bayonets, and cavalry reserves. Through his superior organizational skill, the ability of his subordinates in logistics, his unified command, and the mass of men put at his disposal by national conscription, Bonaparte was frequently able to concentrate more and better equipped troops at a critical point than his enemies. By taking the initiative and by synchronizing the movements of a number of army corps, he could descend upon the enemy unexpectedly, and he usually did not accept battle without being certain of numerical superiority. That Bonaparte fought constantly with the odds against him and triumphed consistently by virtue of his superior abilities is a legend, largely of his own creation. Marengo (page 694), Austerlitz (page 714), and Dresden (page 738) were among the few major battles in which he decidedly defeated a numerically preponderant enemy. Far from detracting from his reputation, caution and careful planning were among the characteristics that helped make him one of the world's great generals, and these qualities kept him successful until his opponents acquired them and he lost them.

Austria

in the Third Coalition

EVEN AFTER Russia had joined England in an alliance against the French menace, Austria continued to hold back. The impudence of Bonaparte in making himself an emperor crowned by the pope roused Emperor Francis deeply, however. And when the new emperor converted the recently created Italian Republic into the Kingdom of Italy and had himself crowned as king with the ancient iron crown of Lombardy, the implications were too patent to ignore. Not only, it seemed, did Napoleon aim to become a new Charlemagne, displacing Charlemagne's successors in Vienna, but he also threatened to oust the Habsburgs from Italy altogether. In July 1805, Austria joined the Third Coalition.

Organization

of the Grand Army

ALTHOUGH Bonaparte had planned eagerly for an invasion of England, it became increasingly clear that the risks involved in such an enterprise were overwhelming. The emperor therefore abandoned the invasion project and turned his armies against the continental forces of the Third Coalition. After rounding up levies in Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, Bonaparte joined with Spain, wheedled into an alliance against England in 1804, in a determined



This series of illustrations shows the types of soldiers and equipment to be found in Napoleon's armies. At the left is a grenadier, supplied with rifle, sword, knapsack, and blanket roll. At the right stands a soldier of the artillery train, with fixed bayonet. To the lower left is a dragoon equipped with a carbine and a sword. The horseman at his right with drawn sword is an officer of the emperor's elite personal guard.



effort to dissolve the coalition. The resulting Grand Army was one of the largest and finest ever marshaled on the European continent. In equipment and materials it was somewhat deficient, for Bonaparte had been preparing for a joint naval campaign as well, but morale was excellent, even if Paris viewed the war as a disaster.

*The victory
of the French at Ulm*

AS THE French army groups
marched toward the Danube
valley, the Austrians began to

move toward Ulm, the stronghold of Bonaparte's Württemberg ally. The French emperor determined to strike the Austrians before they could be





At the left is a dismounted guardsman with riding whip and sword, and at the right two different kinds of foot soldiers. To the lower left is a lancer, probably recruited from Poland. The guardsman at the lower right is a member of the light cavalry.



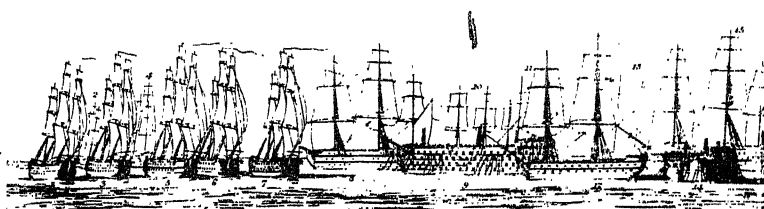
joined by their Russian partners. Moving with characteristic speed, Bonaparte surrounded the Austrians, cut off their retreat to Vienna, and forced the surrender of eighty thousand Habsburg troops in the vicinity of Ulm. In Italy, too, the French armies under Masséna triumphed over the numerically superior Austrian forces led by Archduke Charles.

*Naval defeat
and financial crisis*

A DISASTROUS naval defeat followed shortly after the victory at Ulm. At Trafalgar, near Gibraltar,

the English fleet under Nelson had met and destroyed the Franco-Spanish fleet and thereby had put an end to the Englishman's nightmare of invasion.





This is a rough sketch of the French, Spanish, and British ships lined up at Trafalgar. It was done by an English seaman. The largest ship, carrying 140 guns, belonged to Spain.

But it was not until the overthrow of the Napoleonic empire that the French people were allowed to understand the full significance of this defeat. Paris had greeted the victory at Ulm without elation. A financial crisis had swept the country, and a wave of anti-Semitism spread in its wake. The Jews were charged with trading in national property and with exacting exorbitant notes of interest on loans. Other financiers close to Bonaparte had been playing fast and loose with national funds advanced to them from the state treasury. With such pressing internal problems, the emperor neglected to inform the disgruntled French populace about the defeat at Trafalgar.

*The victory
of the French at Austerlitz*

TEMPORARILY ignoring the tense internal situation and the loss at Trafalgar, Bonaparte endeavored

to follow up the advantage gained at Ulm over the Third Coalition. Pressing his troops to the utmost, he turned upon the Russians under General Mikhail Ilarionovich Kutuzov. Kutuzov withdrew the forces under his command north of the Danube into Moravia, permitting the French to enter Vienna. Taking their stand near the village of Austerlitz, the allies gave battle on December 2, 1805, the first anniversary of Bonaparte's coronation. Fighting with numerically inferior forces, Bonaparte won one of his most brilliant battles.

*Bonaparte's victory
by the Treaty of Pressburg*

THE DEFEAT at Austerlitz determined the Russians to withdraw from Austria. It would have been

foolhardy for Austria to continue the war alone. Emperor Francis sued for peace, and a treaty was signed at Pressburg in December 1805. Emperor Francis was forced to pay an indemnity, to recognize Bonaparte as the king of Italy, and to turn over to him Venetia, Istria, and Dalmatia, thus making France the dominant power on the Adriatic. Bonaparte's German allies were rewarded by being raised in status from the electors to the kings of Bavaria and Württemberg, and by receiving minor territorial concessions. Moreover, the term "German Confederation" was used in the treaty instead of "the Holy Roman Empire." Francis' future as ruler of the Germanies was distinctly

threatened. On the other hand, the emperor of the French returned to Paris with enhanced glory and power. Again Europe was effectively at peace, although England and Russia were still formally at war with France.

CONQUESTS

BEYOND "THE NATURAL FRONTIERS"

SO FAR Napoleon had followed, but with greater success than those before him, the traditional foreign policy of France—natural frontiers, buffer states, and a divided Germany. The future was to change that policy, too. In the course of time, he was to find it increasingly difficult to distinguish between the welfare of France and the interests of Napoleon Bonaparte.

Prussia

and the Third Coalition

ALTHOUGH Prussia had remained aloof from the Third Coalition, the voices of the war party in

Berlin became louder than ever after Austerlitz. In 1805, appeased by Napoleon with the sop of Hanover, Frederick William III had successfully withstood the admonitions of a minority of his influential advisors, the pleas of the other princes of Europe, and the goadings of Queen Louisa, his beautiful and ambitious wife. The Hohenzollern, however, soon came to rue his decision. In the arrangements after Pressburg, he was forced repeatedly to recognize that Bonaparte consistently disregarded Prussia's most obvious interests. The southern German states were coordinated into the French Empire, while Prussia was left without adequate compensation for her neutrality. Soon there followed an organization of the Germanies into the Confederation of the Rhine under Bonaparte as "Protector" and the resulting dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire—both signs of a new order about which Prussia had not been consulted and in which she had not been asked to participate. It began to look as if neither Austria nor Prussia was any longer to have influence in Germany beyond its own frontiers. Hegemony was rapidly passing to France.

In Paris, the agitation of Berlin was viewed with equanimity. No matter what indignities were perpetrated, Prussia, it was felt, would never be foolhardy enough to strike out alone against Bonaparte. Alexander's defeat had been too overwhelming and recent for him to act as Prussia's ally. Nor could Prussia count upon England. The death of Pitt early in 1806 had brought a new and peace-minded government to power, and Anglo-French peace negotiations were actually under way. The French underestimated, however, the wrath and foolhardiness of the Prussians and overestimated the damage inflicted upon the Russian forces and Alexander's morale. In September 1806, Prussian armies marched into Saxony, and Russian forces began to

move westward. When the peace negotiations at London suddenly collapsed, Bonaparte realized that he faced a revived Third Coalition.

*The humiliation
of Prussia by Napoleon*

PRUSSIA's challenge to French hegemony was quickly met. In less than a month Bonaparte es-

tablished contact with the Prussian forces in Saxony. At the dual battle of Auerstädt and Jena, Bonaparte's "mean-looking little fellows" overran the gigantic, splendid soldiers trained in the tradition of Frederick the Great. After capturing most of the fleeing remnants of the Prussian army, the French emperor entered Berlin in triumph. The city was decked out and parades were organized to celebrate his entry. The citizens of Berlin took easily to the conquerors, while Frederick William cowered in the east awaiting aid from his Russian ally.

*The revival
of Poland by Napoleon*

NAPOLEON spent four weeks in Berlin enjoying a respite from his military activities. Meanwhile his

troops had been moving from Saxony into Poland, mopping up the remnants of the Prussian army, and had re-formed to strike the Russian forces concentrated in East Prussia. At the end of November 1806, Bonaparte himself appeared in Posen to prepare his campaign and to seek the support of the Poles in his struggle with Russia. He passed through Warsaw just before the Christmas season. In the intervening month he had learned much about the poor conditions of life in Poland. In an effort to cement friendly relations with the Poles, the emperor let it be known that he viewed with favor the restoration of an independent Poland. His promises were accepted at face value, for France of the Old Regime had befriended Poland and opposed the partitions as dangerous to the peaceful equilibrium of Europe. Bonaparte sealed his bargain temporarily by proclaiming, in January 1807, the existence of the "independent" Duchy of Warsaw, and thereby made the Polish question a lively international issue once more.

*Further preparations:
the glorification of Saxony*

WHILE Bonaparte was occupied with Polish problems, he also concerned himself with Saxony.

After lengthy negotiations, Saxony was received into the Confederation of the Rhine, and was granted the status of a kingdom; it concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with France and agreed to pay the emperor an indemnity of twenty-five million francs. The new king of Saxony was also made the duke of Warsaw. By his elevation of Saxony, his creation of the Duchy of Warsaw, and his absorption of many petty middle German states into the Rhenish Confederation, Bonaparte weakened Prussia's position in central Germany. Driven to desperation by the pressure of the French, Frederick

*French success
in the war with Russia*

A NEW Russian army soon began to move in Napoleon's direction with numerically superior forces.

Not overly anxious to encounter the Russians in Poland, where winter would make communications difficult and life almost unendurable, Bonaparte did not advance to the attack. Neither could he afford to retreat. The belief in Bonaparte's invincibility was a decided psychological asset to him, both with the French and with his enemies, and he was rather eager to preserve it. His reputation and therefore his power, as in every one of his major campaigns, was at stake. The Russians, however, took the initiative by striking at Bonaparte's winter quarters north of the Vistula River, and a bloody engagement was fought near Prussian Eylau. The cost in men and materials was extremely high for both sides. The Russians retreated, however, while Bonaparte remained on the spot long enough to let the world believe that he had won again.

While the French burrowed in to sit out the long and severe Polish winter, Bonaparte's recruiting agents were busy in western Europe. With the spring, the French emperor was able to advance with replenished forces to renew the fight with the Russians. Almost numerically equal, the two armies met again near Friedland in June 1807. The resulting battle was disastrous for the Russian forces. The czar and the Prussian king were forced to request suspension of hostilities and to propose negotiations. By their capitulation, Bonaparte disposed of the last of his major continental foes.

*Napoleon
and Alexander at Tilsit*

A TRUCE was concluded by the two emperors on a raft anchored in the Niemen River. At this

spectacular meeting two of the foremost personalities of the age began their personal acquaintance. Under pressure from home, Alexander proposed peace, but in no sense did he accept unequivocally the dictates of the French emperor. In the subsequent negotiations at Tilsit, each sparred with the skill of highly trained athletes, while Frederick William III shadow-boxed in the background. Aided and abetted by his beautiful queen, the Prussian monarch endeavored repeatedly, but without marked success, to become a participant in the main bouts. The future of Prussia was decided by Alexander and Bonaparte without more than passing reference to Frederick William.

As finally concluded, the arrangements of Tilsit were not the result of a carefully worked-out scheme but, like most peace treaties, were rather the result of compromises exacted from both parties. Therefore, again like most peace treaties, Tilsit was not completely satisfactory to anyone. Bonaparte was never reconciled fully to the concessions he had to make on Alexander's insistence in central and eastern Europe. The French emperor was obliged to permit Frederick William to retain his throne and two thirds of his heredi-

tary lands. He had to countenance, even though in a secret protocol, Russian efforts to win control over Moldavia and Wallachia, Turkey's provinces on the Danube. Thereby he ostensibly repudiated his former policy of encouraging the Porte's resistance to Russian influence in the Near East.

Alexander, bowed but unbroken, was equally disconsolate about the concessions he had to make. Having won French protection over the Duchy of Warsaw and occupation of the Ionian Islands, Bonaparte could be expected to continue his interest and ambitions in Poland and the Balkans. But the major immediate problem was neither Poland nor Turkey but England. On the one hand, the Russian people did not welcome an alliance with Bonaparte against England, and, on the other, the French emperor insisted upon more than nominal cooperation from them. Particularly disadvantageous to the Russians was Bonaparte's demand that the czar join him in boycotting English commerce. This was part of Bonaparte's newly created "Continental System," whereby he proposed, since he could not blockade England by sea, to keep her out of Europe by his military and diplomatic control of the Continent. The agreements of Tilsit could be expected to be enforced by both parties either half-heartedly or not at all.

*Napoleonic influence
upon European culture*

DESPITE its faults, the truce concluded at Tilsit marked the acme of Bonaparte's career. It provided

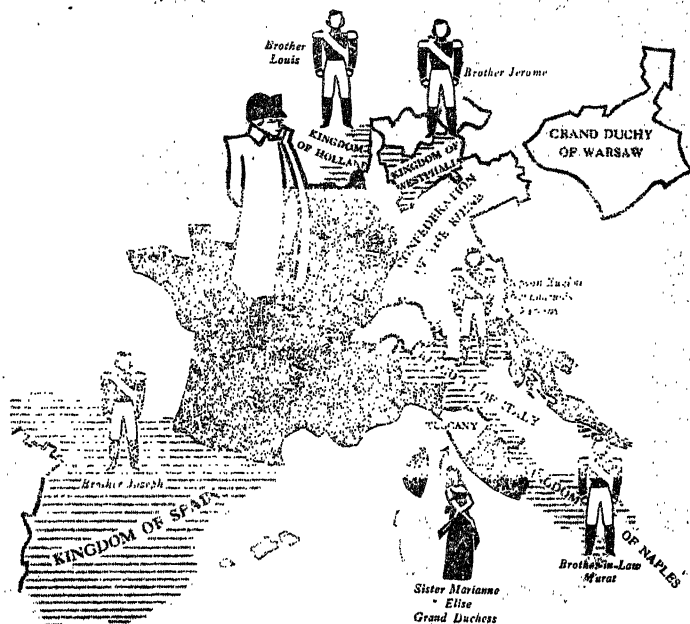
concrete evidence of the superiority of French arms and the futility of struggling with the aid of outmoded methods and institutions against the triumphant ideas and the efficient institutions of the French. To Bonaparte, Tilsit meant an opportunity to complete his program for the perfection of his "system" of European states under French hegemony. With the defeat of the old dynasties and with the advent of French forces of occupation, the governments of the occupied countries began to reexamine their traditional customs, ideas, and institutions in the light of French successes. While Bonaparte abolished remnants of feudalism from Hamburg to Naples, the peoples of Europe, released from their traditional dynastic bonds, sought compensation for their old attachments in a livelier reverence for their native lands, languages, and cultures. Devotion to dynasty and personalities was supplanted by the new nationalism—devotion to *Blut und Boden* (blood and soil).

*The new aristocracy
created by Bonaparte's favors*

BONAPARTE's first efforts to coordinate his widely scattered conquests were directed naturally to

the reform of their administration. Whatever type of government Bonaparte's satellites assumed, decisions of importance were ultimately made in Paris. Local control was usually vested in a member of the Bonaparte family or in one of the emperor's confidants. The emperor freely passed out kingdoms, duchies, sovereign principalities, and titular fiefs as inducements for future

THE FAMILY KINGDOMS



This map shows the Napoleonic dynasty in 1809. In the front rank is Napoleon, plebiscitary emperor of the French (including vast areas not traditionally considered French), king of Italy (with his stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, as viceroy), protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, and mediator of the Helvetic (Swiss) Republic. Napoleon also was the wealthiest subject of the Duchy of Warsaw, another of his creations. In second rank are Napoleon's brother Joseph, newly created king of Spain; his brother Louis, king of Holland, who had not yet turned against his elder brother; his brother Jerome, king of Westphalia and husband of Catherine, daughter of the king of Württemberg; his sister Marianne Elise, grandduchess of Tuscany, Lucca, and Piombino; and his brother-in-law Joachim Murat, king of Naples (husband of his sister Caroline).

cooperation, and left no stone unturned to insure himself by political means against the resurgence of former enemies. In his precautions, however, he failed to foresee that his future security lay in the hands of the people rather than in those of their rulers, that even dictatorships (at least in those days of simple weapons) must ultimately rest on the consent of the governed.

In 1806, at the time of the reorganization of the Germanies into the Confederation of the Rhine, Bonaparte inaugurated the policy of making kinglets of his brothers. Cleves and Berg (the present Ruhr district) went

to Marshal Murat, an innkeeper's son, great leader of cavalry, and husband of Bonaparte's sister Caroline. Contemporaneously, Bonaparte's brother Louis became king of Holland and husband to Hortense Beauharnais, Napoleon's stepdaughter. The thorny kingdom of Naples, its Bourbon dynasty having been forced to flee to Sicily and the protection of the British navy, was given to the conqueror's eldest brother, Joseph. In 1807, out of the western areas confiscated from Prussia and other German states, a new Kingdom of Westphalia was carved out for Jerome, the youngest of the Bonapartes.

Meanwhile, marriages were promoted between the members of Napoleon's family and the older dynasties of Europe. At every turn he sought alliances with venerable royal houses—to insure, if possible, the future respectability of his dynasty. He meanwhile also granted titles of nobility to prominent men who served him—many of them former Revolutionary leaders who had become rich or famous during the last decade and wished to preserve the present state of affairs. The new princes, dukes, counts, and marshals mixed readily with those of the old nobility who, believing the new government permanently entrenched, were allowed to return and join Bonaparte's retinue. The imperial court was reminiscent of the “Sun King's” splendor.

*The spread
of revolutionary innovations*

NO MATTER how reactionary Napoleon's policy of stabilization might appear at home, abroad he

was still a herald of innovation. Feudal institutions were everywhere revised. Frenchmen and foreigners alike were subjected to Napoleonic control, and they enjoyed equality through its universal application. Serfdom was also abolished throughout Bonaparte's realms, by his usual arbitrary methods. The Code Napoleon was imposed in most of the areas under French hegemony. Many institutions long under the control of the church, such as the hospitals, the schools, and the cemeteries, were laicized, as they had been in France, and in Catholic affairs the Concordat of 1801 determined the rules. Life in all of its aspects became more secular as Bonaparte drastically reduced the church's area of influence.

*The economic theory
behind the Continental System*

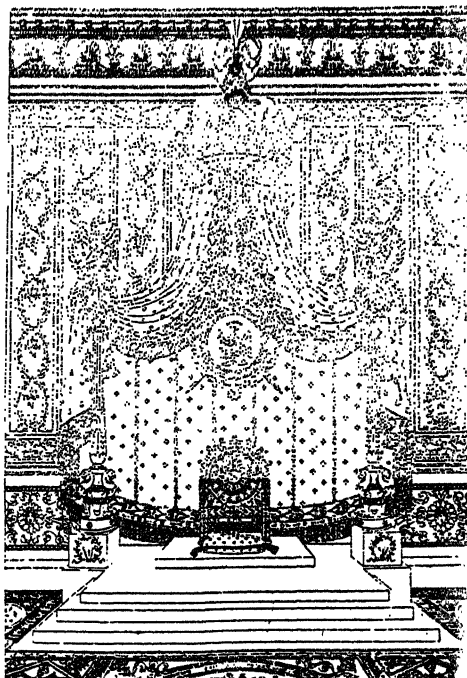
IN AN effort to unite the occupied portions of the Continent more closely, the French dictator en-

meshed their economies with that of France. Furthermore, he organized the Continent as an economic autarky designed to force the English into submission through economic pressure. Like Hitler over a century later, he endeavored to create a “New Europe” that would be highly self-sufficient, independent particularly of commercial relations with Great Britain. A strong mercantilist tradition in France coupled with the country's general disillusionment about the Eden Treaty of 1786 (page 630) provided the proper

atmosphere for the organizing of such a "Continental System." Agriculture and industry, according to Bonaparte, were the fountainhead of a nation's prosperity. Too much reliance upon trade, he believed, had been one of the main reasons for France's recurrent economic crises. Thus, the object of the Continental System was twofold. It was designed (1) to coordinate the occupied territories into a self-sufficient economic unity under French leadership, and (2) to force Britain, a nation almost uniquely dependent upon commerce, to accept and cooperate with the Napoleonic order.

*The ineffectiveness
of the Continental System*

ALTHOUGH Bonaparte endeavored to establish in his international empire almost the same degree of uniformity that existed in France, his efforts fell far short of complete success. Vast differences developed between the operations of the Continental System in France and elsewhere. Smuggling among the Dutch, Italians, and Germans became common as they endeavored to supply the black markets of Europe with English goods and with materials from the colonies. Chicory was substituted for coffee, but in certain fields adequate substitutes were extremely difficult to effect. Nevertheless, ingenuity produced some remarkable developments. Here Bonaparte's patronage of the practical sciences paid off. The beginnings of the beet sugar process resulted from the effort to find a substitute for West Indies cane sugar. France had no need to import soda after Nicholas Leblanc discovered a process whereby sodium carbonate could be made from sodium chloride. The Continent was largely released from its former dependence upon English looms in the textile industries by the invention of the new Jacquard loom, which aided the silk industry considerably. Imports of raw cotton from America became prohibitive with the British blockade, but the



Above the imperial throne of Napoleon, the French eagle was substituted for the traditional fleur-de-lis, and the roman initial "N" replaced the script "L" as a decorative motif on the walls.

French tapped new sources in the Near East, thereby also developing closer economic ties in an area upon which Bonaparte had future designs.

Necessity, however, was the mother not only of technological inventions but also of ingenious devices in the smuggling and bootlegging of colonial products upon the Continent. In addition, it produced a system of "licences" which the English gave to neutral vessels that undertook to violate the French system and the French gave to neutral vessels that undertook to run the English blockade. For neither side was so anxious to inflict inconvenience on the other as it was to promote its own commercial superiority.

The height

of the Napoleonic empire in 1807

BY 1807, with the Treaty of Tilsit, the Grand Empire was at its height. It was to become larger

in area, but the internal strains, already discernible, were to make it weaker rather than stronger as it grew larger. Bonaparte's enemies had been vanquished and French arms had become supreme from the Pyrenees to the Niemen, from Hamburg to Naples. Russia, Turkey, Sweden, and Spain were the only important Continental states not directly overawed by Bonaparte, and even these states were more or less voluntarily associated with him. Decrees from Paris had wiped out ancient institutions, removed hoary restrictions, and imposed new and similar laws upon people so different in background as the Poles and the Italians. For these reforms the people were generally grateful, but they quickly learned to resent the predominance of Frenchmen in their new government. Periods of prosperity at home added to Bonaparte's popularity, but it was a prosperity bought by milking the rest of Europe and moving its industrial centers to France. Unstable economic conditions, weariness of war, and antipathy toward strict censorship were beginning to cause dissatisfaction with the Napoleonic regime.

THE APPARENT APOGEE

OF THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

AMONG the officers who had shared the humiliation of the Prussian army was General Karl von Clausewitz, who now carefully reflected on the reasons for Bonaparte's success, and eventually wrote an essay *On War* (published posthumously in 1832), which became the great classic of nineteenth-century military theory. Clausewitz came to the conclusion that Bonaparte's success was largely due to his being on the offensive. Yet he also observed that, despite the obvious advantages of initiative and surprise, military offensives were likely to be offset ultimately by politics. As an offensive became increasingly successful, it gave birth to opposing political as well as military forces.

722 These defensive forces tended to accumulate and to combine, and, if the

offensive were not immediately successful, might ultimately triumph. In Napoleon's case Clausewitz's observations were not mistaken.

*The growth
of national opposition to Napoleon* SO LONG as Bonaparte fought
princes and governments, his
"star" mounted constantly. Its

zenith was reached at Tilsit, however, and thereafter it sank as he was forced to fight peoples and nations. Sometimes in accord with and sometimes in reaction to Napoleon's personal rule, the conquered peoples were to develop a stronger sense of national solidarity than they had ever had before. This upsurge of national resistance was ultimately to bring about the destruction of Bonaparte's empire.

France itself provided the best model of this kind of nationalism with its new revolutionary and popular institutions. France was the Revolution, and the Revolution was France. Now the ideals of the French Revolutionary era had been released over a dissatisfied Europe. Although Germans and Italians had earlier felt the impetus to revolt, their conservative but powerful governments had checked every attempt to organize for revolution. Bonaparte came to these peoples first in the guise of liberator, but soon he became more easily recognizable as just another tyrant. A striking illustration of this change of heart among European intellectuals was provided by Ludwig van Beethoven, probably the greatest composer of symphonies in the history of music. His Third Symphony (*The Eroica*) is one of his most famous. Having called it originally "Great Napoleon Bonaparte Symphony," Beethoven changed its title to "Heroic Symphony Composed to Celebrate the Memory of a Great Man" in 1804, when he came to realize that in disciplining the Revolution the revered liberator and peacemaker had transformed himself into an imperial despot. After the Treaty of Pressburg, even Bonaparte's minister of foreign affairs, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, began to betray him, partly at least out of fear that Bonaparte's purpose in departing from the traditional foreign policy of France was personal aggrandizement.

*The turning
of the tide in the Peninsular War* IT IS ironical that Bonaparte
should have met his first reverses
in Spain, where the forces of lib-

eralism and nationalism had always been comparatively weak. Until 1808, Spain had acted very much like a French vassal. After Tilsit, Bonaparte, determined to exclude British goods from Portugal, had demanded that the smaller Iberian nation should cooperate in the Continental System; and King Charles IV of Spain had collaborated with the French emperor in his determination to coerce Portugal. Portugal was easily conquered, and its rulers fled to Brazil. Thus the Revolution spread its effects more directly than before to the Western Hemisphere (pages 833-834). French troops admitted to Spain for the conquest of Portugal continued to stay on, and were rein-

forced even after the capture of Lisbon. By a mixture of cajolery and threats, Napoleon then forced the Bourbon king of Spain and his heir to abdicate, and promoted Joseph Bonaparte from the throne of Naples to the newly vacated throne at Madrid. Joseph's crown at Naples was taken over by his brother-in-law, Marshal Murat.

In an effort to win the Spanish populace, Joseph inaugurated his regime by eliminating ancient feudal and religious abuses and by applying the French legal system to Spain. Although these actions had often been greeted in other countries by popular acclaim, no such reception was accorded them in Spain. The Spanish privileged orders, both secular and ecclesiastical, were too powerful to accept peacefully the extinction of their positions. Moreover, Spain boasted no revolutionary middle class of consequence. Pride of country, loyalty to the church, and dislike of foreign influence spurred the largely peasant population into waging fierce and unrelenting warfare against the French. Bonaparte deployed great numbers of troops in Spain, but Spanish guerrillas carried on an underground warfare. The cruelties and horror of this Peninsular resistance and of its attempted repression have been realistically portrayed in Goya's "Disasters of the War." Aided after a time by British land forces, the Spanish continued to resist Bonaparte until the French were finally driven from the country in 1813, and then an Anglo-Spanish-Portuguese army began to invade France.



This etching is from Goya's "Disasters of the War." It portrays Spanish men, women, and children being cowed by bayonets. It is entitled "No se puede mirar" ("Impossible to look upon").

*A qualified victory
for Bonaparte at Erfurt*

THE WARS in the Iberian Peninsula constituted an incessant drain upon French manpower and ma-

terials. Taking advantage of Bonaparte's preoccupation in Spain, Czar Alexander became more reluctant than ever to enforce the Tilsit agreements, and Napoleon did not dare to give his major attention to Spain or to England so long as he felt uncertain about Alexander's loyalty. It was arranged that Bonaparte and Talleyrand meet with the czar and thirty-eight other rulers in the heart of Germany at Erfurt in 1808. The effect of the Spanish defeats upon Bonaparte's prestige was manifest from the qualified nature of the communications and decisions that came from this conference. But Napoleon won his major objective—renewal of the Franco-Russian alliance against England and the assurance that Russia would keep watch on Austria while the French were engrossed in Spain.

Another indication of the waning of Bonaparte's star was the machinations of Talleyrand at Erfurt. Certain that the Grand Empire would inevitably collapse, the shrewd French foreign minister began to secure his position for the future. At Erfurt, Talleyrand allowed the czar to believe that a vast gulf separated Bonaparte's opportunism in foreign affairs from the traditional preferences of the French people; and on his return to Paris he gave Prince von Metternich, the Austrian ambassador, to understand that, in his opinion, the overthrow of Bonaparte by an Austro-Russian coalition would bring genuine peace to France as well as to Europe.

Although Bonaparte won only a moderate victory at Erfurt, outwardly the occasion looked like a great triumph. Lavish preparations had been made for the notable personages who were to assemble in the small German town. The famous tragedian Talma, his wife, and other leading European actors had been brought to Erfurt to entertain the assembled emperors, kings, and princes. Bonaparte took the opportunity to converse with two of Germany's leading intellectuals. Goethe was present at Erfurt, as counselor to the Duke of Saxe-Weimar. Unlike Beethoven and some other German intellectuals, the author of *Faust* continued to be an admirer of Bonaparte, whom he spoke of as a "kindly and gracious master." Bonaparte was greatly impressed by Goethe in turn. Goethe's older contemporary, Christoph Martin Wieland, famous as the translator of Shakespeare and for his long epic *Oberon*, was also received by the French conqueror, and Wieland, too, was firm in his impression that Bonaparte was "the most extraordinary man of all time."

*The growth
of a national spirit in Germany*

OTHER German intellectuals, however, became irate upon learning about Goethe's and Wieland's

obedience to the conqueror and their acceptance from him of crosses of the Legion of Honor. Baron vom und zum Stein, the resourceful minister of

Frederick William III, had begun his reforms in truncated Prussia and had encouraged every resistance to Bonaparte's regime. In fact, one of Bonaparte's demands at Erfurt was for the removal of Stein. Although the Prussian reformer was consequently forced into exile, the movement he helped to inaugurate continued to spread among patriotic German writers and statesmen. With the founding of the University of Berlin in 1809, the philosopher Johann Gottlieb Fichte, who had exhorted the youth of the German nation to rise against oppression in his eloquent *Address to the German Nation* (1807-1808), became a leading professor. Meanwhile, student patriotic movements were being organized, an outstanding one of which was the *Tugendbund* (Union of Virtue) founded at the University of Königsberg. After Erfurt, criticism of Bonaparte became more open, and literary vituperation was published widely through northern Germany and Austria. Through Mme. de Staël's book *De l'Allemagne* (*Germany*), this literature became known in France despite her exile and Napoleonic censorship (page 733).

*Reform
from above in Prussia*

THIS PATRIOTIC literary movement was an expression of the reform movement and national-

istic revival that had in fact started in Germany immediately after Tilsit. In 1807, Stein had become minister of home affairs in Prussia and assumed the responsibility of rebuilding the country for survival and *revanche*. The way to beat the French, he understood, was to imitate them. But he also proposed that revolution for Prussia should come from above and not from below. One of his first steps was to formulate an edict of emancipation that would after 1810 release the serfs from their feudal obligations. Provisions were then made for the reduction of internal trade barriers and the gradual establishment of free trade within Prussia. Careers were also opened to men of talent in both civilian and military occupations. In 1807, a new military system based on national service was inaugurated by Scharnhorst and other Prussian generals. It was in part based upon the old system of conscription inaugurated by Frederick William I and in part on the French Revolutionary example, but it was chiefly the result of the need for reorganization of the Prussian army demonstrated by the humiliation of 1806-1807. Men were quickly trained and then moved on into the reserve army to make room for new men. This system formed an important step in the creation of the Prussian military spirit. After Stein's removal in 1808, the reform program in Prussia was carried on by Prince von Hardenberg.

*Growing resentment
against Napoleon's aggressions*

IN AUSTRIA, too, patriotic rallies and student secret societies became the fashion, and fiery pam-

phleteers like Friedrich von Gentz called upon the German states to rise in righteous wrath against the French intruders: "Through Germany Europe

has perished, through Germany it must rise again." The check of French arms in the Peninsular War and the machinations of Metternich with Talleyrand encouraged the Habsburg court in the hope that the day of liberation was not too distant. Talleyrand's behavior roused Bonaparte's suspicion and led to Talleyrand's dismissal from the foreign office in 1808, but after his dismissal he secretly accepted pay from the Austrian government. The awakening of Prussia and patriotic outbursts in the Low Countries and Scandinavia appeared to be further symptoms of mounting discontent with French mastery of Europe. Bonaparte's inability in 1809 to win further papal cooperation, his precipitate descent upon the Papal States, his annexation of Rome to his empire, and the subsequent captivity of Pope Pius VII in France were additional indications of the emperor's highhandedness and, it was hoped, of a resultant loss of prestige. French efforts to beautify Rome and to make it the second city in the overgrown empire were met by its citizens with unexpected defiance. The grandeur of Napoleon's empire and the magic of his name appeared to be losing their faculty to inspire awe but not their tendency to inspire resentment.

*Bonaparte's victory
in the War against Austria*

IN AUSTRIA, meanwhile, the war party was dominated by a new empress, Maria Ludovica, a great

general, Archduke Charles, and a new leading minister, Count Stadion. In their diplomatic calculations, Alexander was the enigma. Would he participate in a new coalition or would he remain true to the arrangements of Tilsit and Erfurt so long as Bonaparte continued to allow him a free hand with his eastern projects? Austria had introduced no such comprehensive reform program as Prussia was then working out, for many Austrians, recalling the failure of Joseph II's program, felt skeptical of reform. Nevertheless, national indignation was stimulated to a high pitch in 1809, and Austria catapulted itself into a premature and disastrous war with Bonaparte.

Even though Alexander would not commit himself to help Austria (and in fact gave France half-hearted support), Archduke Charles felt confident. He was encouraged by the military reform of Austria's armies along Napoleonic lines. The Austrians for the first time in history were in arms as a nation against an invader, and many groups were fired with a fierce patriotism. A treaty of alliance was made with England which obliged her to invade the Netherlands as well as to keep up the Peninsular War.

The war was a short one. Charles marched his new army into Bavaria, but was pushed back beyond Vienna. Two battles were fought in the northern environs of Vienna at Aspern and Wagram. Although the Austrians fought Bonaparte to a standstill at Aspern, the Battle of Wagram forced the Habsburgs to capitulate to the French emperor once again and to conclude the Treaty of Schönbrunn. By this new truce, Austria was required to surrender

additional pieces of territory. The Duchy of Warsaw, Russia, and Bavaria received new slices of land at Austria's expense. The Illyrian Provinces (including a large part of Croatia) on the eastern side of the Adriatic went to France. Thus, Bonaparte compensated in Austria for his loss of prestige in Spain. Bonaparte's allies profited considerably by his victory, and France received a foothold in the Balkans that was to inspire in the opportunistic Bonaparte a desire to extend his frontiers even farther to the east.

*The growth
of nationalism in the Balkans*

THE TREATY OF SCHÖNBRUNN placed a Balkan area, already distinct from its Orthodox neighbors

because of its large Roman Catholic population, in a position where it was directly under the influence of the Revolutionary ideas and the modernizing efficiency that Bonaparte's soldiers and administrators still symbolized. Thus Croatia became increasingly nationalist and at the same time more markedly different from neighboring South Slav peoples—a difference that was to add an enduring complication to the minority problems of the Balkan nationalities. The ideals of the French Revolution had previously been imported into the Balkans and had led to a nationalist uprising of the Serbs. From 1804 until it was suppressed in 1813 this Christian minority fought for its autonomy. Bonaparte, anxious to preserve Turkish power as a foil against Russia, had given the Porte his moral support in that struggle. If the spirit of nationalism grew in the Balkans during the Napoleonic period, it was not because Bonaparte intended that it should.

*Bonaparte's solution
of the dynastic question*

BONAPARTE now turned more seriously than ever to the problem of continuing his dynasty. For

some time his relations with Josephine had been merely formal, and the French conqueror was almost always in attendance upon some other lady. During his residence in Poland in 1807, the lady was Countess Marie Walewska, the eighteen-year-old wife of a seventy-year-old Polish nobleman. After the countess was separated from her husband in 1808, she took up residence in Paris, and visited Napoleon in Vienna in 1809. In 1810, she bore a son, Count Florian Walewski, who was in his mature years to become minister of foreign affairs under Napoleon III. Bonaparte had other natural sons, as well as a stepson and nephews, but he wanted a direct and legitimate heir.

Long before his residence in Vienna, Bonaparte had entertained the idea of entering a marriage alliance with one of the foremost and most respectable houses of Europe. His desire for a son who would carry on his name and his dynasty became one of the impelling motives of his later years as emperor. At the suggestion of Metternich, Bonaparte in 1809 sued for the hand of the Habsburg Archduchess Marie Louise. Meanwhile, despite the fact that the Code Napoleon had been in part intended to make divorce hard, he had his

marriage formally annulled. Without regard for the feelings of the young archduchess or Marie Walewska, whose son was not yet born, a marriage alliance was signed with Austria, and on April 1, 1810, formal wedding ceremonies were held at St. Cloud with Cardinal Fesch, Bonaparte's uncle, celebrating the mass. By thus marrying the grandniece of Marie Antoinette, Bonaparte renewed the Austrian alliance that had been a keystone of diplomacy at the end of the Old Regime.

*Victory
and respite (1809-1811)*

THE UNION of the two leading European houses was viewed in some circles as a possible guaran-

tee of future peace, and contemporaneous events did not seem to belie such blind hopes. Although French soldiers were still dying in Spain and nationalistic agitation continued to mount in Germany, the French enjoyed a temporary respite elsewhere in Europe. The British underwent something of a domestic crisis when, in 1810, George III was recognized as insane and his son (later George IV) became prince regent. Alexander, having taken Finland from Sweden, was still involved in a war with Turkey in the effort to make good his claims to the Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Wallachia confirmed in the Treaty of Tilsit. Since 1809, he had openly joined France against England. In 1811, when Marie Louise bore him a legitimate son and heir, Bonaparte's hopes for the future soared higher than ever before. In referring to the newborn child as "King of Rome" (the title formerly borne by the heir-apparent in the Holy Roman Empire), Bonaparte revealed his own faith in a bright future.

CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS

IN THE NAPOLEONIC ERA

BONAPARTE, as we have seen (page 693), gave support, posts, and honors to men of science. Seldom has a more distinguished staff of physicists, chemists, and mathematicians been assembled than that which graced the École Polytechnique under the Empire. Although productivity in other fields was limited in France by the rigidity of Napoleon's censorship and by the general emphasis upon practical achievements, literature and the arts flourished in other parts of Europe. This was, after all, the age of Goethe and Beethoven no less than of Bonaparte.

*Advances
in the physical sciences*

INVESTIGATION in the physical sciences, unrestricted by Napoleon, flourished in various coun-

tries inside and outside his domain. The publication of Laplace's *Mécanique Céleste* (1799-1814), which has already been mentioned (page 620), over-

lapped almost the entire Napoleonic period. Important advances in the study of electricity were made contemporaneously. The Italian Count Alessandro Volta, continuing the studies of electricity inaugurated by Luigi Galvani and others, invented the Voltaic pile, or battery, by which he produced electricity through the interaction of two metals in an acid bath. Utilizing Volta's invention, Samuel Thomas von Soemmering in 1809 constructed an electric telegraph, forerunner of Morse's later and more practical invention. In 1805, the English scientist Sir Humphry Davy revealed that he could isolate potassium and sodium by electrolysis.

Significant advances were also recorded in the study of heat and gases. The Massachusetts-born Benjamin Thompson, who became the Bavarian Count Rumford, propounded in 1798 that heat is not a substance but a mode of motion. Rumford's conclusions were later confirmed by Sir Humphry Davy. Three years later, John Dalton published his *New System of Chemical Philosophy*, in which he expounded the atomic theory of gases, a proposition accepted by French chemists but categorically denied by Davy. About the same time, Joseph Louis Gay-Lussac formulated the law describing the determinable proportions of volumes of gases involved in chemical reactions. In 1812 the Turin professor Amadeo Avogadro propounded his mechanical theory of gases, proving that equal volumes of gases under identical conditions of temperature and pressure contain the same number of molecules.

*Development
of ideas of evolution*

IN THE biological sciences, too, significant advances were made during the Napoleonic age. In his

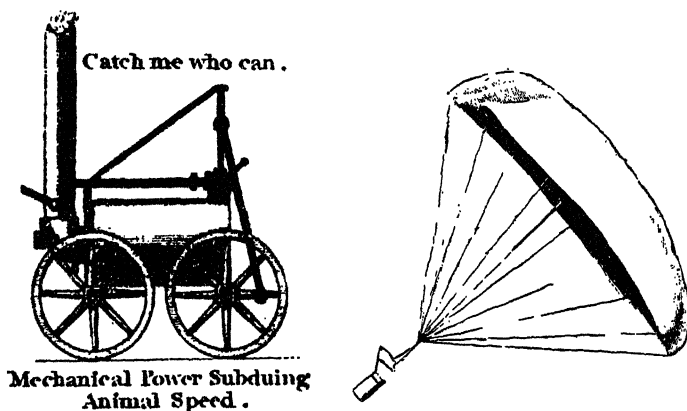
anthropological studies, Immanuel Kant followed the lead of Buffon in hinting at man's physiological connections with the lower animals. In 1801 Chevalier de Lamarck published his *Arrangement of Invertebrate Animals*, outlining his belief that over long geological ages animals react to their environments in different ways, by the use or disuse of different organs, and that characteristics thus acquired have been transmitted from generation to generation. Carrying Lamarck's theory of the inheritance of acquired characteristics to its logical end, the German naturalist, Gottfried Reinhold Treviranus, declared that every creature is modified by environment and that successive modifications result in the appearance of new species. Long before Bonaparte's downfall, therefore, European men of science were developing a theory of evolution, though it received no generally acceptable form until the publication in 1859 of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*.

*The advance
of technology and invention*

THIS WAS also an age of practical inventions. Photography was discovered by Sir Humphry Davy,

but he was unable to prevent the image from fading away. Robert Fulton's first successful trial of the steamboat took place on the Hudson River in 1807,

TREVITHICKS. PORTABLE STEAM ENGINE.



An advertisement of Trevithick's steam engine (left). A design of a sort of parachute (right). (Balloons had begun to be used in 1783 and were now sometimes used for reconnaissance in war.)

and five years later ocean-going steam-propelled vessels were being constructed. He had even proposed the use of the submarine to Bonaparte, but the military-minded French soldier was not impressed by the try-outs and allowed the opportunity to slip by. The steam engine was also adapted to transportation on land, and by the time of Bonaparte's imperial coronation, the first steam locomotive to draw cars on tramways was put into operation in Wales by Richard Trevithick. In 1815, Davy invented a lamp that would provide light without igniting inflammable gases, and it was eventually adopted as a safety device in mining all over Europe.

Scientific and medical societies were prominent in the intellectual life of this period. In 1800 Count Rumford and others incorporated the Royal Institution, in London, at which Davy was the first lecturer, "to teach the application of science to the useful purposes of life." In the same year, the Royal College of Surgeons, in London, also was established—an important step in the progress of surgery toward a higher scientific and professional status.

*German literature
in the Napoleonic period*

IN THE Germanies, this was the high period of classical literature. Before Schiller's death in 1805,

he had written, in addition to *Wallenstein*, several other notable pieces, such as *The Song of the Bell* (1800) and *William Tell* (1805). Goethe, besides

publishing his masterpiece, *Faust, Part I*, in full (1808), had written during the years of Bonaparte's domination his famous tracts on the theory of color, numerous lyric poems, and his incomparable autobiography. Although Herder died in 1803, his impression upon his contemporaries was permanent, for he had inspired many younger men to inquire into history and particularly their native German folklore. Ludwig Tieck, for instance, collected medieval German *Minnelieder* (Lovesongs) (1804) and Arnim and Brentano collected native songs and ditties in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* (*The Boy's Enchanted Horn*). The Grimm brothers compiled the famous *Fairy Tales* from their studies of German folklore, and laid the foundation for their future contribution to the science of philology. Cultural nationalism also had its more jingoistic side in the essays, poems, and orations of Fichte, Arndt, Körner, Uhland, and Jahn, exhorting the youth of Germany to rise against the French oppressors.

*English literature
in the Napoleonic period*

IN ENGLAND, too, the Napoleonic age was one of great productivity and high quality. William Words-

worth in collaboration with Coleridge published the famous *Lyrical Ballads* in 1798, thus formally launching the Romantic Movement in England. Sir Walter Scott published his *Lay of the Last Minstrel* and commenced publishing his series of "Waverley Novels." Charles and Mary Lamb endeavored to make Shakespeare easier for contemporaries to read by presenting twenty of his plots in simple and straightforward English prose. Byron, Coleridge, and Shelley, whom we shall treat more fully among the romantic poets (pages 850-851), were also active spirits of the century's first decade. Byron began his *Childe Harold* in 1812 and some of his other better known poems were published before 1815. Coleridge's *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, *Christabel*, and *Kubla Khan*, perhaps his three best known poems (of which the later two remained fragments), were all composed by 1800. Shelley wrote his shocking revolutionary vision of past, present, and future in *Queen Mab* in 1813. The growing vogue of the novel enabled Jane Austen to find publishers for her *Sense and Sensibility* (1811), *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), and *Mansfield Park* (1814). Political tracts were also an important part of England's literary fare during this period. Sydney Smith, famous for his "Peter Plymley" letters denouncing the government's policies toward the Catholics, helped in 1802 to found the *Edinburgh Review* to support Whig principles. Sir Walter Scott and other Tories founded the *Quarterly Review* in 1809 to counteract the partisan influence of the *Edinburgh Review*. In the same decade the outspoken radical William Cobbett began to edit and publish *The Political Register* and the liberal-minded Leigh Hunt to edit the independent *Examiner*.

*French literature
and philosophy under Napoleon*

IN FRANCE, literary achievements
were neither numerous nor great.
The notable tradition of the *phi-*

losophes had degenerated into the movement sponsored by the *Idéologues*. In their thought persisted the Lockean tradition, a peculiar phenomenon in an age that had virtually repudiated the sensationalism of the Enlightenment. Narrower in their scope than their predecessors, the *Idéologues* Cabanis and Destutt de Tracy applied mechanistic principles to psychological problems, and advocated a system of education that should gradually improve man's mind by a science of ideas, or "ideology." Bonaparte expressed his contempt for this "philosophy of reason" in his conversation with Goethe at Erfurt. After warning the German thinkers to beware of *Idéologues*, he exclaimed: "Your *Idéologues* destroy every illusion; and the time of illusions is for peoples and individuals alike the time of happiness."

France, however, had a group of worthy thinkers and writers who survived despite Bonaparte's censorship and bad literary judgment. François René de Chateaubriand published his *Atala* in 1800, the first of his series of novels about noble savages in America. Two years later his *Génie du Christianisme, ou beautés de la religion chrétienne* (*Genius of Christianity, or Beauties of the Christian Religion*) extolled the Catholic tradition and the Middle Ages for their emotional and esthetic appeal. The date of publication is significant, for it coincides with Bonaparte's concordat with the papacy. Meanwhile, Mme. de Staël in her tragic novels *Delphine* (1802) and *Corinne* (1807), both of whose heroines died for love, explored the possibilities of nonclassical and imaginative prose. She endeavored to relate literature to contemporary problems. Her *De la littérature* (1800) was a severe criticism of neo-classicism. Her exile by Napoleon led to her study, *Germany*, of which the first edition (Paris, 1810) was destroyed by police just before distribution. The work had for its object the introduction of the new German thought to French readers. Its eventual publication (London, 1813) focused attention upon the fact that the European intellectual center had shifted from France to Germany and that creative sterility had been one of the main by-products of the Napoleonic dictatorship. She was one of the first to expound the theory that the arts and literature reflected the social milieu in which they were produced.

Philosophical activity and the critical mind always disturbed Bonaparte. Being a man of action, he was impatient with scholarly and literary pursuits. The one novelist he consistently encouraged was the *passé* Bernardin de St. Pierre, author of the sentimental *Paul et Virginie* (1788), since he thought novels should promote order and respectability. But Bernardin de St. Pierre never wrote another novel. Nor did any French poet arise under the Empire to match the great lyricists of England and Germany. The emperor's com-



Extract from Beethoven's manuscript of his Sonata quasi una fantasia in C# minor, commonly called Moonlight Sonata (1802).

ment betrayed his standards: "There is a complaint that we have no literature; it is the fault of the minister of the interior."

Music in the Napoleonic period

THE FIGURE of the great Beethoven dominated the musical world during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. His work marks the transition of musical composition from the classical precision of the eighteenth century to the emotional Romanticism of the nineteenth. Inspired by Mozart and directly instructed by Haydn, Beethoven composed nine symphonies, as well as many concertos, sonatas, quartets, trios, and other compositions, most of which still mark the high points in our concert programs and music education. Along with the Eroica-Symphony (Third), the opera *Fidelio* (1805) and the Fifth and Sixth (Pastoral) symphonies (1808) stand out as his greatest compositions during the Napoleonic era. Haydn, though active until his death (1809), wrote nothing in his last years that surpassed the Austrian national anthem (1797) and the two great oratorios, *Creation* (1799) and *Seasons* (1801).

The foremost musical figure in France was the Italian composer Cherubini, whose opera *Les deux journées* (*Two Days*, 1801; known in England

and elsewhere as the *Water Carrier*) was his best achievement and won the admiration of Beethoven. Cherubini once said to Bonaparte, "I perceive you love only that music which does not keep you from thinking of your politics." Perhaps that attitude accounts for Cherubini's being shunted aside while lesser men received higher musical honors from the emperor. Méhul was the most outstanding native French composer of the period, writing numerous operas and patriotic songs. Grétry, the Belgian-born French composer, was a prolific writer, especially in a light humorous vein that won him the name of "the Molière of music." Both Méhul and Grétry received greater favor than Cherubini from Napoleon, though the best work of both was already behind them when the Corsican came to power.

*The fine arts
during the Napoleonic period*

THE FINE ARTS served Bonaparte's purposes better than music and literature, and they flourished

in his empire. To build squares, monuments, and bridges and to renovate the ancient Bourbon castles, he needed architects. Chalgrin, Percier, and Fontaine created a new mode of architecture known as the "Empire Style," which, with its solid columns and bold triumphal arches (not to mention the ubiquitous letter N), recalled the zenith of the Roman Empire. Houdon still lived, and from his hand came during this period a nude of Bonaparte and busts of Josephine, Marshal Ney, and other imperial dignitaries. Antonio Canova, leader of the classic revival in Italy, made many notable statues—among them representations of Napoleon and members of his family. David was likewise employed to glorify the emperor, painting the record of the great days of Bonaparte such as his coronation; and Jean-Baptiste Isabey, who generally supervised the *décor* on such occasions, drew portraits of the emperor and his courtiers. The first artist of the day, however, was Goya, whose paintings, as we have seen (page 615), told quite a different story of the Empire, being bitter protests against the atrocities committed by the French soldiers during the Napoleonic invasion of Spain.

THE FALL

OF THE NAPOLEONIC EMPIRE

FOLLOWING a few months of repose after his marriage to Marie Louise, Napoleon again became restless. After all, England was still at war, and Spain was not pacified. Eventually, the French emperor realized, he would have to beat or be beaten by England, and he dared not settle with England until he was sure of Russia. Hitler was to reason the same way over a century later, and with the same outcome.

*The dissatisfaction
of both Alexander and Napoleon*

HAVING acquired the Illyrian Provinces from Austria and having gained the decisive hand in

the affairs of southern Italy, Bonaparte let his eyes wander in the direction of Egypt, the Balkans, and the Near East. Recalling his expedition of 1798 into the land of the pyramids, he longed to recover his losses in the east. But Alexander also had his ambitions in that direction. Since 1806, war had been in progress between Turkey and Russia. Although the Tilsit settlement had granted Alexander a free hand in dealing with the Ottoman Empire, the oriental mirage had never completely faded from Bonaparte's opportunistic vision. In later years he even claimed (probably with exaggeration) that the ill-fated Peninsular War was part of a grand design to achieve mastery over the Mediterranean world, and undoubtedly he would have reached for more and more if he had not been stopped. Bonaparte's designs upon the Balkans were too obvious for Alexander to overlook.

Since their meetings at Erfurt, Alexander had moved further and further away from his alliance with Napoleon. France's preoccupation in Spain led the czar to hope that the French empire was tottering. Moreover, Alexander was piqued in 1810 when Bonaparte married Marie Louise, thereby uniting France and Russia's potential enemy Austria by a marriage alliance. Alexander was also fearful that Napoleon might try to revive ancient Poland, adding Russia's share of the partitions to the Duchy of Warsaw. About the same time, the czar ceased cooperating in the Continental System, for he had begun to realize that the economic collapse of England would leave France free to expand to the east. By 1812, Alexander had come to believe that Europe was not large enough to contain two ambitious emperors. Meanwhile, Bonaparte, on his side, had concluded that war with Russia was inevitable.

*A new coalition
and preparations for war*

IN MAY 1812, the czar signed a treaty of peace with the sultan.

Although Austria was technically

pledged to France through a marriage alliance, the interests of the two countries continued to be divergent, and the Habsburgs preserved an uneasy neutrality, meanwhile awaiting a fresh opportunity to combine with their former coalition partners in a gigantic drive to obliterate the French hegemony. But other European governments had less reason for caution. Even Bernadotte, one of Bonaparte's marshals, who had become prince royal of Sweden in 1809, looked to the czar for leadership. In May, a Swedish-Russian-English coalition was concluded. This diplomatic victory was offset somewhat by the action of the United States, which, for reasons explained elsewhere (pages 819-821), declared war on England, thus indirectly befriending Napoleon. Meanwhile the French emperor was engaged in concen-

trating at Königsberg the soldiers of twenty nations into the largest single command ever assembled before 1914. In the summer of 1812 over half a million men began the march toward Moscow under French banners.

*The defeat
of Napoleon in Russia*

THE CAMPAIGN was not launched until June, because fodder was required for the horses. In mid-

August, the Grand Army entered Smolensk without having engaged the Russians. Bonaparte's enemies had at last learned that the way to meet his overwhelming force was to follow what later came to be called the "scorched earth" policy, destroying and retreating before him and forcing him to lengthen his lines of communication. Time was on the side of the defensive in the days when armies marched on foot and equipment moved by horse and wagon. Determined to crush Russian resistance rapidly, Bonaparte insisted upon pushing on to Moscow. In mid-September, after the one pitched battle of the invasion, he captured the all but deserted "Holy City." Shortly afterwards, however, Moscow became a smoldering ruin—whether by accident or Russian design is not clear. Napoleon's troops were unable to find food and shelter in the ruined city, and discipline began to waver. By mid-October, he realized that retreat was his only recourse.

The Russian policy of trading space for time now paid tremendous dividends. Driven by the Russians on their flanks, an early winter, and the necessity for speed, Napoleon's soldiers had no choice but to return by about the same route they had come. Hence they found themselves in hostile and already wasted country. Their overextended and overtaxed lines of communication and supply were unable to withstand the onslaughts of Cossack guerrillas, Russian soldiers, and Russian weather. Even before his troops crossed the Niemen River to comparative safety, reports of a projected coup d'état in Paris had forced Bonaparte once more, as when in Egypt, to leave his beaten soldiers and hasten to the capital.

The disintegration of the Grand Army and the loss of irreplaceable supplies, arms, and ammunition left France in a weakened military condition. The defeat in Russia was accompanied and followed by several disastrous setbacks in Spain. Even though the British and Americans were at war, England had diverted little of her attention from the Continent and continued to maintain an excellent expeditionary force in the Iberian Peninsula. Cooperating with the determined Spanish opposition, the allied forces under Arthur Wellesley (later Duke of Wellington) were able by 1813 to drive the French across the Pyrenees and back into France itself. It was during these final campaigns that liberal-minded Spanish groups proclaimed the Constitution of 1812, modeled, ironically enough, upon the monarchical French Constitution of 1791.

*The War
of Liberation in Germany*

WHILE Bonaparte was concerned with staving off collapse, Metternich, working secretly with

Talleyrand, was busy uniting the opposition to France. It was at this critical juncture that the aroused Germans, including both the Prussians and the Austrians, cast their lot with the arms of the "Czar Liberator." By the summer of 1813, the French emperor was faced for the first time in his career by a coalition of all the four great hostile powers (England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia) and a number of smaller ones. This unprecedented combination was to spell doom for the French imperium.

Celebrated in literature as "The War of Liberation," the campaigns of 1813-1814 were fought both in Germany and France. Realizing by now that heterogeneous troops were hard to manage, especially in the presence of Bonaparte's armies, the allied command proceeded with utmost caution to concentrate and coordinate its forces in Saxony before launching an attack upon the experienced and unified French and their satellites. As usual, Bonaparte took the initiative, and in August 1813 administered at Dresden a sound drubbing to the numerically superior Austrian and Russian armies. But instead of capitulating before the French emperor, the allied groups retreated in good order and surprised the French advance guard on several subsequent occasions. Meanwhile, General Blücher and other allied generals were harassing Bonaparte's subordinates in other theaters of war.

After maneuvering and reshuffling for over a month, the two forces clashed again in October at Leipzig. The large number of nationalities involved on both sides in the clash has led to its being called "The Battle of the Nations." Displaying less decision than was his wont, Bonaparte was forced to retreat, and a disastrous rout followed. Defeated but still determined to halt the allied advance, Bonaparte returned to Paris in November 1813.

*The Grand Alliance
and the abdication of Napoleon*

BONAPARTE now made new demands for troops and supplies upon the French population. This

time, however, his exhortations met with an unusual apathy. Weary of incessant war and a succession of defeats, the French people failed to respond as they had in the days of rapid and victorious campaigns. Peace seemed forever to escape their eager grasp. No more were they willing to make sacrifices such as those in 1792 to prevent the invasion of their native land. Napoleonic dictatorship had stifled initiative, had snuffed out the flaming urge to popular resistance, and had raised its own peculiar disloyalties.

Meanwhile the allies were learning the useful lesson of collective action. While Bonaparte had been hastily retreating from Moscow, the statesmen of Europe had begun discussion of the reorientation of post-Napoleonic Europe, and had found that their only point of agreement was a common

Bonaparte displayed at least as admirable genius in defense of France in 1814 as he ever had on the offensive; and the National Guard put up a magnificent though futile defense of the heights of Montmartre outside Paris. But by the end of March 1814 the allied soldiers were welcomed into the capital by Talleyrand and other disgruntled notables. A few days later, Bonaparte at Fontainebleau abdicated in favor of the little "King of Rome." This maneuver was not successful, however. The Bonaparte rule in France was officially repudiated by the allies, and formal decrees were issued proclaiming the restoration of Louis XVIII and the Bourbons. Shortly thereafter, Bonaparte was banished for life to the small island of Elba, which he was allowed to rule as "Emperor."

AND THE PAX BRITANNICA

THE GRAND ALLIANCE achieved by the Treaty of Chaumont had justified itself when Bonaparte was at last defeated. It was obvious that the continued 739

cooperation of Austria, Britain, Prussia, and Russia would be desirable for the peace of Europe. It was also obvious, however, that continued cooperation would not be easy in view of the delicate negotiations that must now ensue regarding the reorganization of Europe.

*The demand
for territorial readjustments*

FROM THE outset of the negotiations, Czar Alexander conceived of himself as the beneficent lib-

erator of Europe. To him it seemed that, when Bonaparte had been overcome, the crowned heads of Europe, leading drilled professional armies, had done it. He never quite understood that the states which had conquered Bonaparte were infected by the very germs of nationalism that had attacked France in the eighteenth century and, despite bitter opposition, had welded the French people into a fervent unity hitherto rare in history. Hence he was not averse to territorial reshufflings regardless of the wishes of the peoples involved. From the outset Frederick William III of Prussia and his minister Hardenberg were aware of the need to reestablish the reputation and dignity of Prussia. Emperor Francis of Austria, Metternich, and Stadion realized that they too had to regain the confidence of their own people and the respect of the other members of the Grand Alliance. And so in the governments of Russia, Prussia, and Austria was to be found marked sentiment favoring territorial bargaining at the expense of France and her former allies.

*The role
of Castlereagh at Vienna*

IN 1814, Castlereagh was the English minister for foreign affairs. Although he quite obviously had

a commanding position in the negotiations, he allayed the fears of his colleagues from the beginning by making it clear that England would not demand new continental territories. By assuming a benevolent position toward continental problems, Castlereagh almost at once became the "honest broker" in the discussions about territorial arrangements. His position was particularly strong because certain elements in Prussia and Austria feared Russian westward expansion almost as much as they feared Bonaparte.

*Talleyrand
and the policy of "legitimacy"*

AS EARLY as Erfurt, Talleyrand had begun to play the old diplomatic game of distinguishing

between the government and the governed. During the discussions of the fate of France in 1814, he emphasized that many Frenchmen, including himself, had opposed Bonaparte's tactics but had been unable to turn him out without foreign aid. He insisted upon the common interests of "good Frenchmen" with the other "civilized" states of Europe, and maintained that Frenchmen wanted their "legitimate" government, the Bourbons, who could not be held responsible for Bonaparte's aggressions.

The restoration

of Louis XVIII and the Bourbons

THE ALLIES readily fell in with Talleyrand's contention, for his concept of "legitimacy" meant the repudiation, as far as possible, of the Revolution and Napoleon. The restoration of Louis XVIII, brother of Louis XVI (and formerly Count of Provence), to the throne of France was acceptable to Metternich, proponent of order and opponent of revolutionary principles, and to Castlereagh, who hoped for continued peace and good relations between the constitutional monarch of England and a grateful monarch of France. And so Louis XVIII was allowed to return to France. Although Metternich hailed Louis's accession as a triumph for the principle of "legitimacy," the Bourbon restoration was also in a sense a victory for limited government. The new French king felt obliged to grant a constitutional document (page 853) called the "Charter," which, except that it pretended to be a royal grant of a divine-right monarch and not a popular constitution, greatly resembled the Constitution of 1791.

Terms

of the first Treaty of Paris

THE FIRST round of diplomatic sparring was concluded with the signing of the Treaty of Paris on May 30, 1814. France, now restored to the Bourbons, was reduced in size to her "legitimate" boundaries—those before the outbreak of hostilities in 1792—with some favorable modifications. She also reacquired her overseas possessions from England, except for two West Indies islands (St. Lucia and Tobago) and one African island (Mauritius). The terms were deliberately made lenient enough to permit the Bourbon regime to return to power in a France that would not associate its restoration exclusively with dishonor and great losses.

Atmosphere

of the Congress of Vienna

AFTER the occupation of France had been completed, Alexander and Frederick William visited England in the summer of 1814. Here it was agreed to call a great European congress at Vienna to discuss the still unsettled territorial and international problems created by the collapse of Napoleon's empire. Europe hoped that peace and order would no longer prove elusive phantoms. Like Woodrow Wilson in the first years after the World War of 1914-1918 and Franklin Roosevelt before his death in 1945, the czar expected that the good will among the victors immediately after the war would dominate the negotiations and thereby aid in molding a pacific future. The spirit of good will, justice, and cooperation, however, was to prove ephemeral and elusive.

The royal visit to London was marked by great festivity. When the powers assembled at Vienna in September the celebrations, illuminations, and social activity continued. Isabey set up a studio in Vienna and during

the course of the negotiations painted around fifty portraits of the attending celebrities. He was at the same time working upon a portrait of the little "King of Rome," who was living at the Schönbrunn Palace with his mother. Meanwhile, Metternich's love affairs and the amorous conquests of Alexander enlivened the conversation of the salons. Quieter people, such as the Castlereaghs, attended the concerts conducted by Beethoven, visited with each other, and walked through Vienna's famous parks, the Prater and the Augarten. Dances, parties, and carnivals were found by the secret police of Metternich to be occasions when they could more easily pry into the apartments of the attending diplomats or eavesdrop upon celebrated visitors. Meanwhile no general sessions assembled, and a contemporary *bon mot* had it that *le Congrès danse mais il ne marche pas* (The Congress dances but marks time).

*The general acceptability
of "legitimacy" to the Congress*

THROUGHOUT the discussions over procedural questions among the big powers at the Congress,

the philosophy of "legitimacy"—i.e., returning as nearly as possible to the status quo before the French Revolution—took firmer root. Castlereagh wished to restore the old balance of power and to guarantee, in keeping with England's traditional policy, the independence and security of the Low Countries against future French aggressions. Talleyrand saw in the principle of "legitimacy" the best protection of France against further loss of territory. Metternich endeavored to effect a settlement in Europe that would permit the Habsburgs to hold their heterogeneous empire together without granting important concessions to nationalist and liberal groups. Realizing that the triumph of revolutionary principles would spell doom to the Habsburg state, Metternich was determined to organize the victors against the aggression of French ideas as well as of French arms.

*The dispute
over Poland and Saxony*

CRUCIAL political problems were aired in "informal" conferences held in Metternich's apartment.

The most baffling problem had to do with Poland, Saxony, and the balance of power. Alexander wished to create a "free" Poland under his own rulership out of the Napoleonic Duchy of Warsaw. Since, however, most of that duchy was "legitimate" Prussian territory, it would be expedient to compensate Prussia for her loss. Alexander thought it only just that this compensation should come from the territory of the Saxon ruler, who had remained loyal to Napoleon too long. Frederick William's delegation supported the czar's scheme. Suspicious of Alexander's aims in Poland and the Near East, Castlereagh and Metternich joined forces to oppose him. By this antipathy to the czar's desire to "liberate" Poland, the Austrian and the English states-

men came to epitomize tyranny and reaction in the eyes of their liberal contemporaries. In *The Masque of Anarchy*, Shelley later wrote:

"I met Murder on his way—
He had a mask like Castlereagh."

Other liberals, especially in England, repudiated the alleged conspiracy of their governments to stamp out the last vestiges of revolutionary ideas.

Talleyrand, who until now had been spurned by the four Great Powers, had nevertheless succeeded in winning the confidence of the smaller ones and Spain. He took advantage of the dispute among the four allies to inject his personality into their discussions. Fearing that the aggrandizement of Prussia at Saxony's expense would result in a new German, and hence a new European, disequilibrium, Talleyrand with Castlereagh's assent proposed the survival of a small Poland under Russian tutelage and the concession to Prussia of about two-fifths of the Saxon state. This proposal was accepted by Russia and Prussia. Thus France, recognized again as one of the "Great Powers," joined with Great Britain and Austria to create a coalition that acted as the stabilizing force of Europe. Russia and Prussia, the favorites of European liberals, were branded as ill-intentioned imperialists.

*Return
of Napoleon from Elba*

WHILE celebrations and negotiations were in progress in Vienna, Bonaparte had learned that dissatisfaction with the new Bourbon regime had risen in France with marked rapidity (page 883). It looked like a good risk, if he could escape from his island prison, to return to France. The disagreement of the allies at Vienna, of which he also knew, might prevent their taking concerted action against him. And so, one day, after he had been absent ten months on Elba, the French people heard, some with horror and some with elation, that the "little Emperor" had landed during the first week of March 1815 in the south of France and was triumphantly progressing toward Paris. On March 19, Louis XVIII quite unheroically fled from the Tuileries, and the following day Bonaparte's cohorts carried him into the throne room on their shoulders. France was recaptured without a shot being fired.

*The "Hundred Days"
and Bonaparte's final defeat*

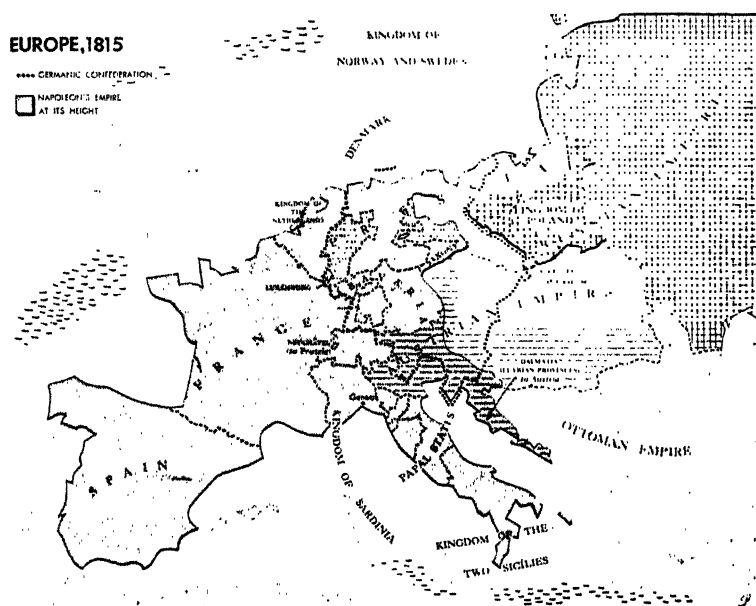
NEWS OF Bonaparte's escape reached the conference in Vienna on March 7. In less than an hour the allies, renewing their agreement at Chaumont, had again jointly declared war against Bonaparte. Although the French conqueror had remarked upon landing in France that "the Congress is dissolved," the truth was far different. On the grounds that "as a disturber of world repose he had exposed himself to public indictment," the allied powers declared Bonaparte an outlaw. Bitter

experience had taught them that their strength lay in their union. Each of the four Great Powers promised a large army to fight in coordination against the common enemy. While the various committees at Vienna continued to function, the British Wellington and the Prussian Blücher took the offensive against Bonaparte. In a foredoomed effort to prevent the junction of the Prussian-English forces and the Austrian army, Bonaparte on June 18 went down in defeat at Waterloo. The "Hundred Days" of his renewed glory (March 20-June 29) ended with his recapture and subsequent deportation to the lonely island of St. Helena off the coast of southwestern Africa.

*The conclusion
of the Congress of Vienna*

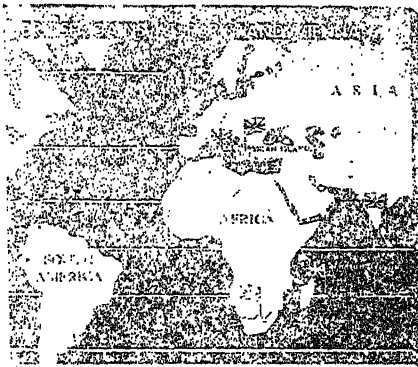
MEANWHILE, the international peace congress at Vienna had moved to its logical conclusion.

Bonaparte's unsuccessful effort to come back had had but slight effect upon the ultimate diplomatic settlement. By the Final Act of the Congress, a Germanic Confederation was organized according to Metternich's design; Austria naturally retained its position of primacy in Germany. In northern Italy, Lombardy and Venetia went to the Habsburgs in compensation for



As Napoleon's empire was dismembered, France, Spain, Portugal, the Papal States, the Two Sicilies, Sardinia, and other conquests were restored to their former rulers. Austria, Prussia, and Russia appropriated sizable spoils (note corresponding hatching).

The British acquired Malta, the Ionian Islands, St. Lucia, Tobago, and Mauritius from France, Cape Colony and Ceylon from the Dutch, Helgoland from Denmark, and Trinidad from Spain. (In addition, the British claim to what is now British Honduras, disputed for centuries by Spain, was formally acknowledged.)



relinquishment of the Belgian Netherlands, and Genoa went to the king of Sardinia. Other Italian rulers were, with some adjustments, restored to their realms. Pope Pius VII was re-

turned to his temporal domain, and he almost at once revived the once strong Jesuit order as a now much needed instrument of papal authority. In the territorial settlement England received no continental prizes but was handsomely compensated by overseas naval and commercial bases strategic to the holding of empire. England thus emerged the victor from "the Second Hundred Years' War." The "Union Jack" was hoisted over former French, Dutch, and other possessions in the West Indies, Cape Colony, Malta, Ceylon, Helgoland, and Mauritius. The French overseas empire, by revolution within and by British conquest, had ceased to be a serious rival.

Numerous general issues were also settled by the powers at Vienna. Under prodding from humanitarian groups, the Congress declared against the slave trade. The Jewish question in Germany was reviewed under pressure from the influential banker, Nathan Rothschild, but little relief from their disabilities was accomplished for the Jews even though attention was for a time focused upon their plight. Furthermore, the convening powers established the principle of free navigation of international rivers, such as the Danube. Problems of diplomatic procedure were reviewed and rationalized, and diplomatic representatives were divided into four classes: ambassadors and papal legates, ministers plenipotentiary, ministers resident, and *chargés d'affaires*. Treaties, it was agreed, would thereafter be signed in the alphabetical order of the recognized names of the countries concerned.

The Second Treaty of Paris and the return of the Bourbons

THE SECOND return of the Bourbons "in the baggage train of the allies" followed the signing of the

Treaty of Vienna by a few days. The allies still appreciated the desirability of putting the Bourbons back under as favorable circumstances as possible, but they also recognized that the "Hundred Days" had made their task difficult. It was now a little harder to pretend that the French and their

erstwhile emperor had had nothing in common. After a few months of bickering, severe reprisals were set forth in the Second Treaty of Paris (November 20, 1815). In addition to suffering a few small territorial losses, the French were required to pay the unprecedented indemnity of 700,000,000 francs and to support an army of occupation to prevent new disorders. It required no astute imagination to foretell that a huge indemnity and a foreign army of occupation would do little to enhance the popularity of the twice-restored Louis XVIII among his own people. Nevertheless, the punitive actions of the allies might justifiably have been more drastic, as the Prussians did not fail to point out. That they were no more severe was due to English insistence that moderation was the best guarantee of future peace.

*The Holy Alliance
and the Quadruple Alliance*

MEANWHILE, Alexander, largely under the influence of Madame de Krüdener, a well-known con-

temporary mystic, had undertaken to induce Europe's rulers to join with him in a "Holy Alliance," which bound its members to treat each other as Christian brethren and their subjects as beloved children. Nearly all the crowned heads of Europe signed it—without, however, taking it very seriously. Castlereagh insisted upon much more realistic collective action on the part of the four Great Powers, which was effected, also on November 20, as a special understanding among those who had signed the Second Treaty of Paris. This agreement cemented the four victors in a formal Quadruple Alliance, pointed expressly at France as the most likely disturber of the peace. The alliance pledged the signers to maintain for at least twenty years the arrangements concluded at Vienna. Furthermore, it called for periodic meetings of Austrian, British, Prussian, and Russian plenipotentiaries to review problems relating to the maintenance of the status quo. Deviations from the principles established at Vienna would be dealt with promptly and decisively. This machinery for making the new "legitimacy" effective met with success for almost a decade. It gave rise to the "Concert of Europe," the idea that the great powers must act together in times of peace to consider disputes that might lead to war. The "Concert of Europe" and the pacific policy of a victorious Britain were together to help make the period from 1815 to 1914 a century of comparative peace, often called the "Pax Britannica."

"LEGITIMACY" had won the formal victory at Waterloo and Vienna. But the forces of republicanism, anticlericalism, constitutionalism, Bonapartism, and other creeds born of or matured during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic unrest had not died. They remained alive and fresh in the hearts of many devotees. The people of western Europe and of their colonies overseas now were less likely than ever to be appeased by reforms handed down by

an "enlightened" monarch. The memory of popular constitutions and of patriotic fervor became vivid hallmarks of a widespread political conviction. Bonaparte had been defeated in the final analysis by aroused nationalities even if they sometimes rallied around their ancient dynasties. No matter how brutally he had trampled upon "liberty, equality, and fraternity," and no matter how great had been the fall of the once idolized hero, the Revolutionary slogan still was to rouse loyalty not only in Frenchmen but in "liberals" everywhere. "Liberty and equality" was to become the "liberalism" of the nineteenth century; "fraternity" was to become its "nationalism."

"Legitimacy," on the other hand, was the basic principle which had guided the Congress of Vienna. It was the slogan of those conservative souls who hoped for continued international peace and domestic concord. It won the scorn and condemnation of liberals, because it served as a pretext for disowning the new democracy and the new nationalism in Germany, Italy, Belgium, Poland, and elsewhere.

Still at many points "Legitimacy" had been ignored in deference to the welter of agreements and bargains concluded before and during the negotiations. It had proved impossible at Vienna to reconstruct the old order in its entirety. After the profound changes effected by the Revolutionary and Napoleonic epochs, restoration of the Old Regime was accomplished only in part. Compromises everywhere had had to be made with the Revolution. Serfdom could not be reestablished in most countries. The Catholic Church in France could not have its lands restored; and the *émigrés* were to hope in vain for full compensation. Louis XVIII could not return as an absolute monarch; the Holy Roman Empire could not be reconstituted; and the counterfeudal effects of the Code Napoleon could not be eradicated. In drawing up the new "legitimate" order, Europe's statesmen had occasionally been forced, even though afraid, to concede the ideas and principles of popular government propagated by the French Revolutionary armies.

These concessions explain in part why the "legitimate" order created by the Treaty of Vienna underwent no major changes and few minor ones for more than forty years. But the success of the Congress of Vienna was due also to the fact that its arrangements were carried into force by the collective action and the police power of the "Concert of Europe." Despite its injustices and reactionary spirit, the Treaty of Vienna did in fact provide a "legitimate" foundation for international order which the great powers under British leadership saw fit to enforce most of the time. The "Pax Britannica" endured, broken by a few local wars but no general conflagration, until 1914. And the local wars were to come in several instances because the travail of the French Revolution and of the Napoleonic period had not established as a fact clear for all to understand whether reform comes better from those in power or from the free will of the people.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1799 Proclamation of the Constitution of the Year viii, establishing the Consulate and the virtual dictatorship of Napoleon
- 1801 The Treaty of Lunéville concluded with Austria
- 1801 Lamarck's *Arrangement of Invertebrate Animals*
- 1801 The Concordat concluded between Bonaparte and Pius vii, effecting a reconciliation between France and the papacy
- 1802 The Treaty of Amiens concluded between England and France
- 1802 Napoleon made consul for life
- 1803 Reorganization and partial consolidation of the German states through the help of Bonaparte
- 1803 War declared on the French Republic by England
- 1804 Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme*
- 1804 Napoleon made emperor of the French and the new Constitution of the Year xii promulgated
- 1804-1805 Formation of the Third Coalition
- 1804-1810 The promulgation of a series of legal codes, including the "Code Napoleon"
- 1805 The Treaty of Pressburg between France and Austria
- 1806 Proclamation of the Confederation of the Rhine, with Bonaparte as "Protector"
- 1806 Prussian entry into the war against France
- 1806 The Berlin Decree, formally inaugurating the Continental System, issued by Napoleon
- 1807 Successful trial of Robert Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*
- 1807 Beginnings in Prussia of internal reforms under Stein and of reorganization of the army under Scharnhorst
- 1807 The Treaty of Tilsit
- 1808 Beethoven's Fifth and Sixth Symphonies
- 1808 Publication of Goethe's *Faust, Part I*
- 1808-1814 The Peninsular War
- 1809 Reentry of Austria into the war against Napoleon
- 1812 Napoleon's invasion of Russia
- 1813 Formation of the great Coalition and beginning of the War of Liberation
- 1814 The First Treaty of Paris
- 1814-1815 The Congress of Vienna
- 1815 Napoleon's "Hundred Days" (March 20-June 29)
- 1815 Formation of the Holy Alliance
- 1815 The Second Treaty of Paris and a renewal of the Quadruple Alliance by England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia

*Legitimacy
versus the revolutionary faith
(1815-1830)*

INTRODUCTION




EUROPE'S statesmen (below) left Vienna hoping that their agreements would endure. They did not wholly succeed, however, in damming the liberal and nationalistic currents that had cut deep channels since the beginning of the Revolution. Romanticism, which ran counter to the Metternichian spirit, continued to pervade painting, literature, and music.

ISABEY: THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA



UNITED PROVINCES
OF CENTRAL AMERICA
1823

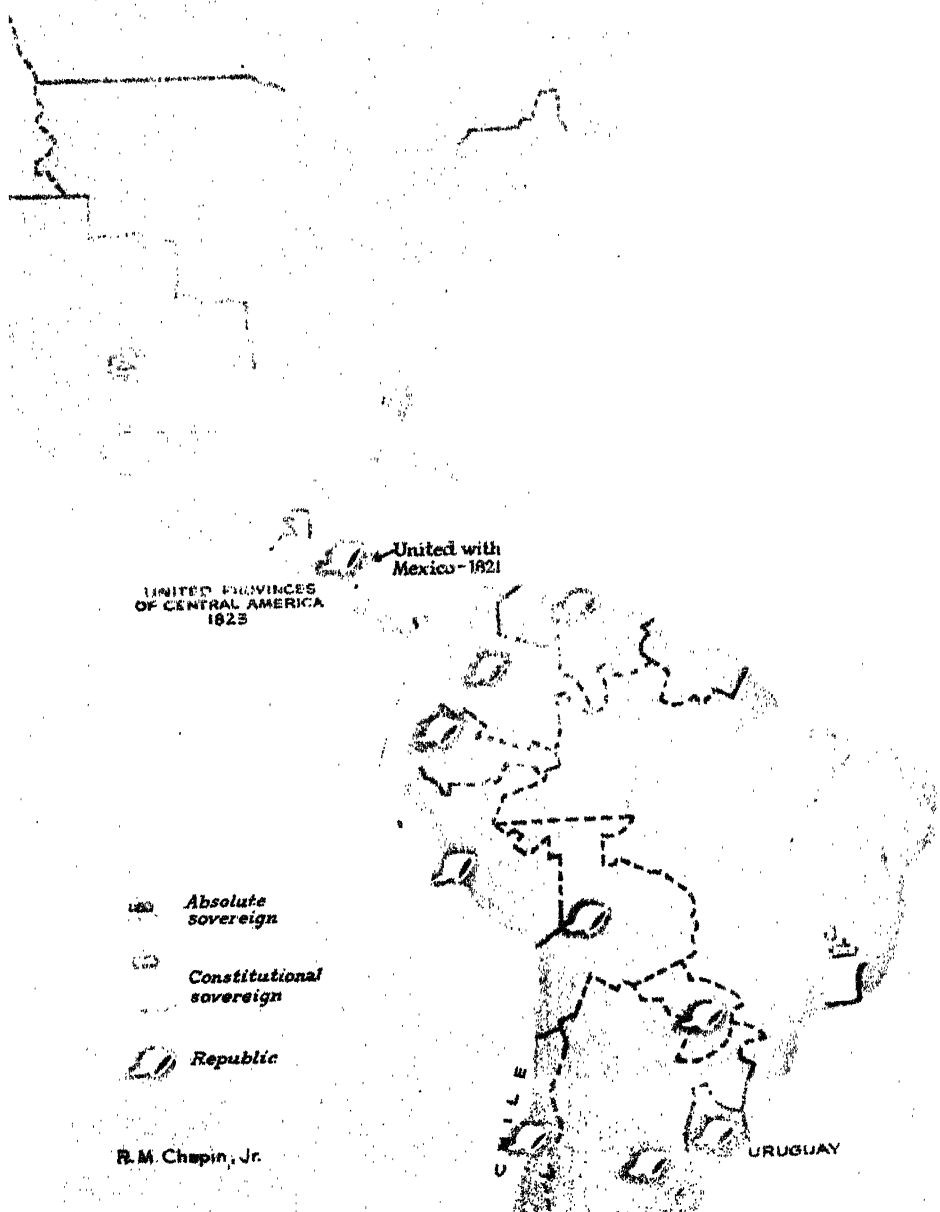
United with
Mexico-1821

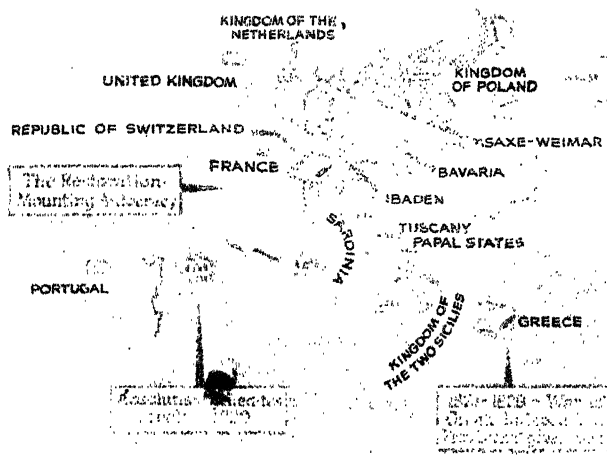
-  Absolute
sovereign
-  Constitutional
sovereign
-  Republic

R. M. Chapin, Jr.

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URUGUAY





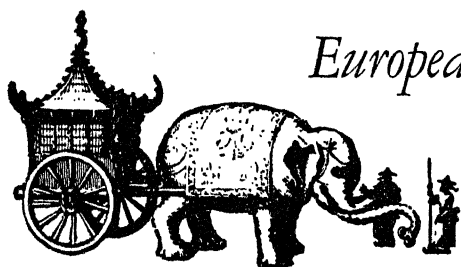
Revolutionary flare-ups occurred in Europe in the decades of the 1820's and 1830's, and were reflected in America and India. Metternich (portrayed, right, at the Congress of Vienna) persuaded the continental powers to adopt a policy of intervention in domestic revolts. This conservative collaboration was counteracted by England and the United States. In 1823, the Monroe Doctrine closed the Americas to further European intervention. Thereupon Asia became the major area of imperialist rivalry, and Africa began to be partitioned in 1830. Revolt or agitation led to liberal changes in Greece, France, Belgium, England, the Americas, and India, but the lower-class revolutionaries (romanticized in 1831, below) were seldom the real victors.



LAWRENCE: METTERNICH

DELACROIX: LIBERTY LEADING THE PEOPLE





European competition for empire in Asia

THE ASIATIC WORLD knew but little of the momentous events taking place in Europe and America during the one hundred and seventy years between the Stuart Restoration in England and the Revolution of 1830. The spectacular achievements of King Louis XIV of France had comparatively slight repercussions beyond the confines of Europe and America; and the scientific and political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries made but a small impression upon the minds and habits of the people of Asia.

The political and economic shifts taking place in Europe, nevertheless, had direct and serious effects upon the development of Asia. The growth of the Netherlands and England in the seventeenth century as great maritime powers vitally influenced events in India and the Indies. The vast expansion of Russia, inaugurated by the dynamic Peter toward the end of that century and carried on by his successors, brought Europeans once again into contact with the Far East by the overland routes of the north. The French effort to compete in the colonial world, resulting, as we have already seen (pages 452-456), in numerous and protracted wars with England, made eastern territories and eastern seas a prominent theater of their contest. India, for instance, was forced in the eighteenth century to become a battleground for the two great nations of western Europe in their "Second Hundred Years' War," which ended with the decisive defeat of Bonaparte.

Economic relations between Europe and Asia were arduously cultivated by the West and were more profitable to it than to the East. Although European commodities appeared from time to time in the market places of Asia, little real demand for them existed. In Europe, on the other hand, the spices, teas, porcelains, and textiles of the Orient became increasingly important. In the period we are about to examine, Indians and Chinese,

for the most part, continued to be sublimely unconscious of the merits of the European way of life, although, in the same era, Europeans sought diligently to understand and learn more about the peoples and institutions of Asia. Indeed, until a date beyond the chronological limits of this volume, Japan remained tightly closed to foreign intercourse, permitting only a few Chinese, Korean, and stubborn Dutch merchantmen occasional contacts. Even when the countries of Asia permitted less circumspect relations with the Europeans, they endeavored, openly although often unsuccessfully, to limit the associations and activities that resulted.

The degree of European penetration and contact in the East tended to diminish as the distance from Europe increased. Moreover, the successes of Europeans grew in number and extent in proportion to the military or naval backing they gave to their commercial and territorial exploits. The more remote Asiatic areas and those possessing a higher degree of unity were successfully to resist European overtures and demands upon them until the middle of the nineteenth century.

THE EUROPEAN EAST INDIA COMPANIES (1600-1664)

LESS RESENTFUL than the Turks toward the Christians of Europe, the Moslems, the Hindus, and other religious groups of the Indies and India were easily engaged in commercial dealings. The groups of Europeans in eastern Asia, however, were smaller than those in the western Asiatic areas. Hence they were too weak to force concessions and were at first obliged to ask for favors. On the other hand, the eastern Asiatic peoples were disunited, and their animosities made it easier for the thin population of Europeans to establish themselves, since they quickly learned that they could play one rival faction or ruler off against another. Maritime Asia and India were not to be effectively exploited, nevertheless, until the age of steam made possible the wholesale transportation of materials and men over the long stretches of land or ocean separating the subcontinent and the islands from Europe.

The monopolies of the chartered trading companies

THE RISE of the United Provinces and England as sea powers was followed, in the early years of the

seventeenth century, by the organization of their great East India companies. Each of these two commercial organizations was granted a charter by its government entitling it to a monopoly of the trade between its homeland and the lands of the Orient. From the outset the Dutch organization was a joint-stock company in which the investors shared (in proportion to their

respective investments) in the profits, or losses of each voyage. Not long after its founding, the English enterprise was also transformed into a joint-stock company. Because of huge profits divided among a large number of investors, these trading companies enjoyed considerable public and government support. Their charters were reviewed from time to time, but as they could show almost uninterrupted prosperity, they were granted ever greater concessions and more vigilant protection. Around 1685, the Great Elector, in keeping with the spirit of the times, sought unsuccessfully to organize a Brandenburg East India company. In the early eighteenth century the Austrians founded a company at Ostend (in the Austrian Netherlands); a Swedish company appeared soon after; and in the middle of the century Frederick the Great succeeded in forming a Prussian company.

For over a century the great chartered companies of Holland and England were not seriously disturbed by their home governments in their trading privileges and their right to act in the East as territorial sovereigns. It was only in the late eighteenth century that these prerogatives came under heavy fire. Thereafter, limitations and administrative reforms were forced upon them. Gradually the East Indies trading companies were to be eliminated as trade became freer, governments grew more representative, and diplomatic relations between the countries of Europe and Asia were placed more and more on a basis approaching equality. But that was a slow process, which was not completed until the nineteenth century.

*Trade and piracy
by Europeans in the East*

THE CHARTERED companies drew revenue from several sources. Having succeeded the Portuguese

in the East Indies and India (pages 222-224), the two northern European countries, England and Holland, shared the spice trade and access to the luxury goods of the East. "India" ink, Chinese silk, and Japanese lacquer ware became important commodities in western markets. As time went on, the variety of oriental exports multiplied, and merchants in London and Amsterdam added porcelains, wall hangings, and rich brocades from the East to their stock. India's cotton goods, especially calico (so called because first imported from Calicut in 1631), were also in demand; and this demand became insistent enough to figure in the rapid transformation of the English textile industry in the next century. Tea from Ceylon and India was particularly popular among the English, and tea drinking eventually became an inveterate national habit.

The Dutch, meanwhile, learned to drink coffee, first introduced in the West by the English. Taken by the Dutch from Arabia to Java and the other Spice Islands, the coffee plant flourished in the Indies (as well as, eventually, in Dutch Guiana in South America). Indeed, the Dutch were



A print of an English coffee house of the early eighteenth century.

soon able to export large quantities of it from the East, and in American slang all varieties of coffee are still referred to incorrectly as "Java." By the end of the seventeenth century, the coffee house was a familiar institution in London, and in France and elsewhere on the Continent the café was fast becoming "the poor man's club" and the center of political debate and literary gossip.

Although the products of the East were in great demand in Europe, few European commodities appealed to the Asiatics. Gold and silver from the Americas were often exchanged for oriental goods by Spanish merchantmen, but the northern Europeans, having less precious metal, found it more difficult to maintain a balance of trade and payments. Lacking commodities to market in Asia, the English and Dutch helped to pay for their purchases by "invisible" exports and services. Using their superior ships and their greater maritime skill to advantage, they profited by engaging in the carrying trade between the numerous oriental countries. This legitimate enterprise was supplemented by a system of piracy whereby Europeans preyed upon vessels of both oriental and occidental origin.

*The Dutch
as territorial sovereigns*

LIKE THE Portuguese, the northern European traders sought by political domination and armed force

to make their oriental sources of supply more secure. For the Dutch in the Indies, the problem of reducing the natives to submission was relatively

easy. After conquering some vantage points from the Portuguese (pages 223 and 294), they had merely to turn out the Portuguese overlords and assume control over already established outposts and colonies. To be sure, this was not always simple, for the native rulers learned by the seventeenth century to play the Europeans off against each other. Nevertheless, the Dutch managed gradually to extend their beachheads in the Indies, to establish permanent trading posts at strategic centers, and to command the seas east of India. Control of the Indies assured them an almost exclusive monopoly of the valuable East Indian spice trade, with the consequent opportunity to fix the price of all East Indian commodities in the European market. Their command over these insular areas also made it possible for them to play a leading role in opening other parts of eastern Asia to European intercourse.

*The advance
of the French in the East*

ALTHOUGH the British at first challenged the Dutch effort to build up an East Indian empire in

the islands, they began after the Restoration of 1660 to concentrate upon the relatively uncontested subcontinent of India. They were not left in peace there for long, however. In 1664, Colbert, King Louis XIV's enterprising financial superintendent, organized the French East India Company with the object of participating in the lucrative eastern trade. This company's first acquisitions were in India, where it established in 1668 a trading post at Surat. Six years later it purchased the town of Pondichéry, around which French trading and political activities centered. Shortly afterwards the French extended their activities east to Siam, where troops of Louis XIV endeavored unsuccessfully to win control of the city of Bangkok. By the end of the seventeenth century the stage was set in southeastern Asia for a bitter Anglo-French struggle—the Asiatic phase of the "Second Hundred Years' War."

EUROPEAN PENETRATION

OF CHINA

WHILE western Europeans were busily staking out their claims in the coastal and island areas of southern Asia, the Russians were preoccupied with the exploration of Siberia, the maritime territories of northeastern Asia, and the northern Pacific. These explorations brought them into contact with the Celestial Empire at a period that proved opportune for them. The fact that their religion and commercial interests were different from those of the western Europeans did not escape the Chinese, and it fitted well into the Chinese policy of playing off one set of "barbarians" against another.

*Overthrow
of the Ming dynasty (1318-1644)*

THE INITIAL success of the Russians in northeastern Asia, as well as that of the western Europeans

in southeastern Asia, was made easier by the domestic conflicts contemporaneously raging within China. The merchants from Canton, Nanking, and Peking who had been carrying on a profitable trade at Malacca with the Dutch, at Manila with the Spanish, at Madras with the English, and elsewhere had depended to a certain extent upon support from the Ming rulers of China. Interested though these rulers were in the commerce of the South Seas, they were required in the seventeenth century to direct their attention toward the turbulent tribes north of the Great Wall. As has happened frequently in Chinese history, the danger from without was intensified by instability within. The domestic economy was swiftly becoming dislocated because the depressed and hungry peasantry had revolted against the short-sighted and burdensome measures of the landlord-dominated "literocracy" (page 85). Taking advantage of Peking's preoccupation with its internal difficulties, the northern tribes increased their pressure upon intramural China.

The Manchus were the best organized of the tribal warriors. Coming originally from the great central plain of Manchuria, they pushed southward and reached the Great Wall itself by 1620. They established their capital at Mukden, extended their control throughout Manchuria, and prepared for a descent upon the wealthy cities of northern China. They combined their efforts with those of numerous malcontents within China. After more than three centuries of rule, the Ming rulers were forced to relinquish their "mandate from Heaven" and to abandon the "Dragon Throne." In 1644 the last of the desperate Ming dynasts committed suicide.

*The politic government
of China by the Manchu rulers*

WITH THE fall of the Ming capital, the Manchu rulers moved into Peking, where they established a

new dynasty known as Tu Ch'ing ("Great Pure") or, more often, simply Ch'ing. Occupation of Peking was not, however, synonymous with the conquest of China. The "Middle Kingdom" has often been "conquered from the saddle, but never governed from it." Struggling on land and sea, the loyal supporters of the Ming cause obliged the new Manchu government of China to devote great attention, large sums of money, and not easily spared troops to the completion of its conquest. Pacification of the south was not accomplished until 1685.

The Manchu conquerors displayed remarkable forbearance and a surprising degree of political acumen in their handling of the conquered Chinese state. Despite their eagerness to invade the cities of China, the Manchu tribesmen committed but few outrages. Realizing that the endurance of their

regime would depend largely upon public support, they did as little as possible to disturb the normal routine of life. They confirmed the Ming law code, preserved the existing tax measures, and continued the time-honored system of examinations for officeholding. Although Manchus were injected into the officialdom at strategic points, the old offices and customs of government were carefully retained. Manchu troops were stationed at strategic cities but were required to be as unobtrusive as possible. Chinese continued to hold office, to serve in the armed forces, and to enjoy rights equal to those of the Manchus. By moving carefully, the conquerors succeeded in disturbing "All under Heaven" only slightly. The Manchus therefore retained the "mandate from Heaven" until the Revolution of 1911.

*The enlightened rule
of the K'ang Hsi emperor*

THE MANCHU EMPERORS, like all emperors of China, were considered so august that they were not

referred to by name. Their reigns were given distinguishing titles instead. Fortunately for the Manchus, the first of their rulers were able administrators. The K'ang Hsi reign (of Shêng Tsu), which began in 1662, was the second of the Ch'ing dynasty. Tolerant of foreign learning and benign in his attitude toward the western traders, the emperor was one of the most enlightened rulers of his day. He completed the pacification of the country. The German philosopher Leibnitz in the *Latest News from China* (1697) characterized him as "the Louis XIV of the East."

*Growth
of the Chinese population*

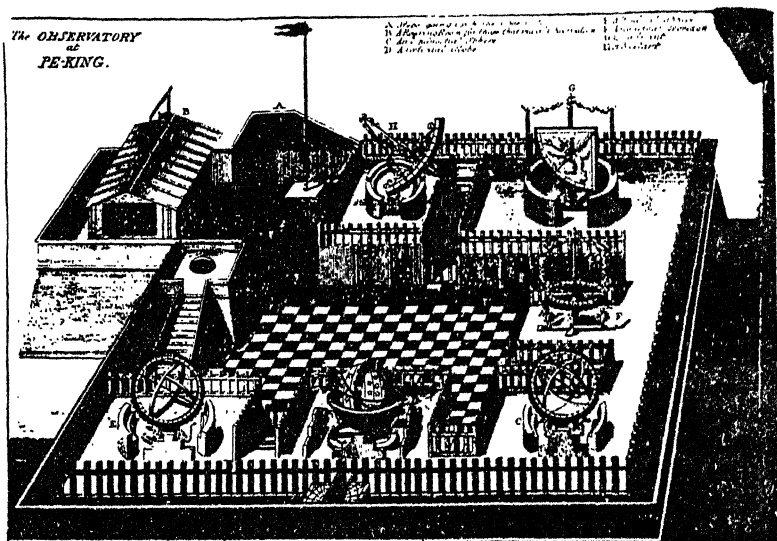
BY THE close of the seventeenth century, China had already begun to feel the impact of western im-

portations upon her traditional way of life. Before the end of the Ming dynasty, maize, the sweet potato, and the peanut had come by diverse routes from America to China. Concerned as the Chinese usually were about increasing their inadequate food supply, they immediately seized upon these new crops as additional sources of food which could be grown on lands not fertile enough to produce such standard crops as millet, wheat, and sorghum. In the K'ang Hsi era one Chinese wrote: "There is no place, east, west, north, and south, where the sweet potato is not grown." Because of the delicate balance in China between food and life, the introduction of these new crops contributed to a sharp rise in total population during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

*Verbiest
and the Jesuit influence*

IF ANYTHING, the "Louis XIV of the East" was more scholarly than his illustrious French contempo-

rary. He showed toward the Jesuit missionaries in his realm a great respect, which arose directly from his deep appreciation of their fine scholarship. Ferdinand Verbiest, a Belgian astronomer and mathematician, claimed the



- *The Observatory at Peking about the time of the Jesuit Father Ferdinand Verbiest. The instruments were for the most part installed by Verbiest.*

emperor's special interest by proving that the Chinese calendar had hitherto been reckoned incorrectly. In 1668, Verbiest was appointed director of the Bureau of Mathematics in recognition of his contributions to China. Some years later, the emperor, as a further indication of his regard for the Jesuits, and in keeping with his tolerant personality, forbade the persecution of Christians. This imperial favor convinced the Jesuits more than ever that theirs must be a civilizing as well as a Christianizing mission.

Russia and the question of kotow

WHILE the Jesuit mission in Peking was living through its golden era, European traders benefited

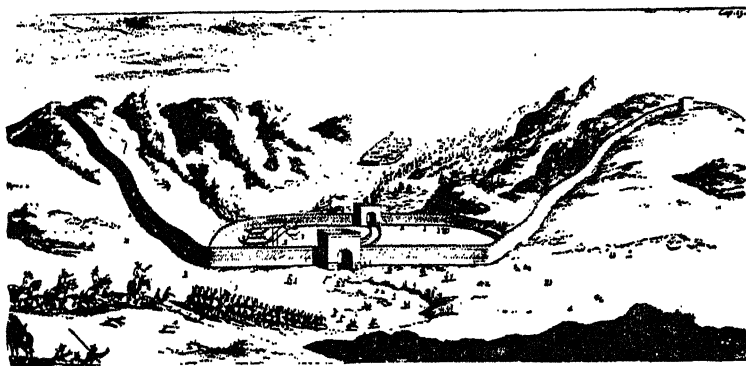
indirectly from the K'ang Hsi emperor's tolerance of Christians. The Russians were in the best position to take advantage of the new imperial attitude. Cossack pioneers had reached the Pacific shores for the first time in 1638. They then turned southward and eventually entered the Amur Valley of Manchuria. In this invasion of the Manchu homeland, the Russians met border patrols from China for the first time. Sporadic but sharp clashes resulted, and the Russians, despite their tenacity, were forced again and again to retreat. Finally, the Russian imperial court dispatched a diplomatic mission to the Manchu-Chinese capital at Peking. The Russian envoy arrived in 1656, dur-

ing the reign preceding the K'ang Hsi era, and was promptly notified by court officials that an audience with their imperial master would be possible only if the envoy would consent to perform the kotow (Chinese: *k'o t'ou*). This ritual would have obliged him to kneel and touch his head to the ground nine times; it was intended to imply that his ruler recognized the superiority of the Chinese emperor. Hence, the Russian envoy refused to perform it. Thereupon further negotiation was prohibited and the Russian mission had to return to Moscow with nothing but a humiliating experience to reward its efforts.

*First Sino-European treaty
negotiated at Nerchinsk in 1689*

THE BORDER hostilities between China and Russia continued for the next twenty-three years, constantly mounting in intensity. In this interval, the Ottoman armies renewed their effort to extend Turkish power into central Europe (pages 433-434), and the Russians were called upon to help turn them back. At the same time the K'ang Hsi emperor was gradually overcoming the Ming opposition within his realm. With the decisive Ottoman defeat of 1683 and the pacification of south China in 1685, the Russians and the Chinese were able to give more direct attention to their boundary dispute. After several years of frustration, China, for the first time in its history, permitted bilateral conversations on a basis of equality with envoys from a European capital. The representatives of the two governments in 1689 entered negotiations at Nerchinsk on the border of northwestern Manchuria.

The Treaty of Nerchinsk established a definite boundary between Chinese and Russian territory. China retained possession of the rich Amur Valley, and Russia continued to hold the frontier outpost of Nerchinsk. Each nation



How a contemporary westerner envisaged the entry of the Russian ambassador and his party through the Great Wall of China in 1636.

recognized the right of the other to arrest persons who crossed the new frontier illegally or who committed any other trans-frontier offense and to extradite them for punishment. Limited but mutual trade concessions were also made and laid the foundation for lasting commercial relationships between the two countries. The fully reciprocal character of the Nerchinsk arrangements established a precedent for later developments between China and the West—at least, until China was humbled in the nineteenth century.

*The opening
of China's ports for trade*

THE END of the rebellion in China brought marked advantages to the European maritime powers

also. When the country was finally pacified in 1685, the K'ang Hsi emperor opened the country's ports for trade. At first, the Portuguese and the Dutch profited most from this traffic with the Chinese merchants. Soon the British and the French joined them. The increase in the number of participants in the China trade at Canton was so rapid that measures for their regulation became necessary. In 1702 the imperial government appointed an overseer of trade, to whom it granted a complete commercial monopoly as well as full and strict accountability for the conduct of the Europeans.

*The Rites Controversy
and the decline of Jesuit power*

JUST WHEN it seemed that all was going well, the situation of the Jesuits at Peking was compro-

mised. Early in the eighteenth century, a religious controversy arose that endangered the status of all western Europeans in the "Middle Kingdom." Co-religionists accused the Jesuits of permitting Chinese converts to practice the "pagan rites" of Confucianism and of translating, inaccurately and with malice aforethought, the Christian term "God" into the Chinese terms *T'ien* (Heaven) and *Shang Ti* (Supreme Ruler). This accusation placed the Jesuits on the defensive. They claimed that the rites in question were civil or political and not religious.

Because the Jesuits were already involved in disputes over dogma with Jansenists and Cartesians in Europe (pages 371 and 388), the papacy dispatched a special legate to investigate the situation in Peking. Meanwhile, the K'ang Hsi emperor had endorsed the validity of the Jesuits' stand and had virtually offered them his protection. The papal curia, however, decided that many of the "Confucian" ceremonies practiced by the Chinese and permitted by the Jesuits were, in fact, of a religious rather than a civil or political character, and the Jesuits yielded. Thereupon the "Son of Heaven" was outraged that they should accept the decision of a foreign potentate rather than his own. Thus "the Louis xiv of the East" like the Louis xiv of the West (page 369) became involved in a dispute regarding the authority of the

*The persistence
of Christian missions in China*

elements at Peking and Canton to have a freer run, and numerous anti-Christian decrees were published from 1717 onward. Nevertheless, the Roman Catholic missionaries continued their Christianizing efforts in China. Furthermore, in 1727, in keeping with the Chinese policy of balancing "barbarian" with "barbarian," the Russians were granted in the Treaty of Kiakhta the right to establish a Greek Orthodox mission in Peking. Thus, despite persecution, the cause of Christianity in China continued to be served.

*Russian explorations
in the northern Pacific*

THE EMPEROR also played off the Russians against the westerners in trade. The Russians had so far failed to exploit the limited trading privileges that had been granted to them by China in the Treaty of Nerchinsk. Pioneers and adventurers continued, however, in the name of the czar, to explore Siberia's coastal region. Before the end of the seventeenth century, the Kamchatka Peninsula was opened up, and permanent settlements were planted on it. Moving southward from Kamchatka, the Russian explorers found their way into the Kurile Islands, the stepping stones between northern Japan and the Asiatic continent. Some of them then attempted to enter Japan itself but were severely rebuffed. Thereupon, Russian exploration worked northward from Kamchatka into the Aleutians and finally onto the North American continent. By 1728, Captain Vitus Bering, sailing under orders issued four years before by Peter the Great, voyaged between America and Asia through the straits that still bear his name. He thus confirmed, as had previously been suspected, that America and Asia were not joined by land. Within a short time, Russian vessels began to sail directly from Kamchatka to Alaska in the persistent search for furs—one of the few commodities for which the Chinese were willing to engage in trade. Thus the northern Pacific area on two continents passed under the control of the czars.

*The expansion
of Russo-Chinese trade*

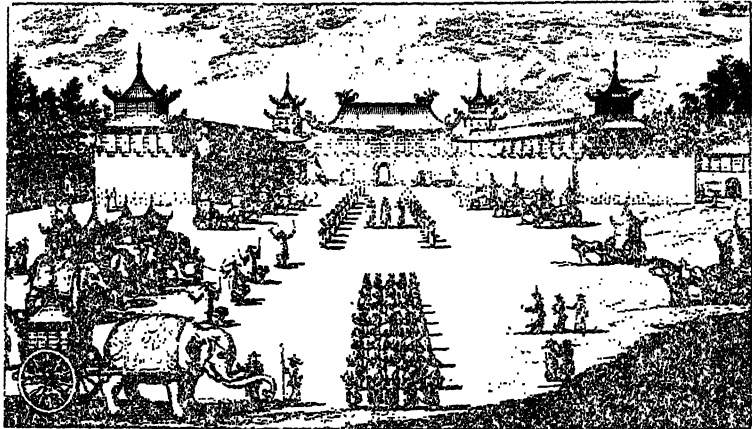
WHILE the Russian explorers were opening the northern Pacific, their compatriots had been zealously seeking to find practical ways of trading with China. Several diplomatic missions were dispatched by Peter the Great in an effort to promote relations with Peking. It was not until 1727, however, that his successor was able to conclude the Treaty of Kiakhta with the successor of the K'ang Hsi emperor. This treaty, as already noted, gave the Russians the right to send Orthodox priests to Peking; it also made trade relations between Russia and China somewhat more practical than they had previously been. Camel caravan

routes were now developed that crossed the Mongolian Desert and linked the two great empires in trade, much of which was smuggling. Russia thus became a prominent and lengthy span in the exchange of goods and culture between East and West. After 1727 a vast commerce, both legal and illegal, between Russia and China enriched the subjects of both states. Exchanging Siberian furs for Chinese porcelains, ginger, tea, and silk, some of the merchants of the Eurasian state made particularly splendid fortunes.

*Restriction
of foreign trade to Canton*

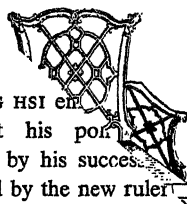
MEANWHILE, the western Europeans had been deprived of their trade privileges and had proved

willing to resort to the illicit trade in opium for their profit. The great influx of Chinese goods into western Europe had remained possible only so long as the feelings of the K'ang Hsi emperor remained friendly toward Roman Catholic missionaries. But the traders at Canton, who had formerly basked in the imperial favor toward the Jesuits, began early to feel the reflected wrath of the "Son of Heaven." The appointment of an overseer of trade at Canton in 1702 foreshadowed tighter regulation of foreign commerce in the south. Fifteen years later, upon initiating its series of anti-Christian decrees, the Manchu government returned to the Ming policy of restricting trade to Canton. In 1720, a merchants' guild (*co-hong*) replaced the overseer of trade at Canton, acquiring his exclusive trading privileges and his responsibility for the conduct of foreigners. For a long time thereafter, the China trade was subjected to vigorous restrictions, and the traders themselves were closely watched and strictly limited in their activities.



*The problem
of the opium trade in China*

THE K'ANG HSI emperor
1722, but his policies
carried on by his successors



Yung Chên emperor. One of the first problems faced by the new ruler was the growing consumption by the Chinese of opium. This new evil was directly attributable, it was feared, to the opening of China to trade with western Europeans. Early in the seventeenth century, the Dutch had introduced into India the practice of smoking a mixture of American tobacco and opium to ward off malaria. Soon, however, the tobacco was dropped from the prescription, presumably on the assumption that if a little bit of opium is good, a large amount would be better still. By the end of the seventeenth century opium was being widely eaten or smoked for its drug rather than its medicinal effects. The increasing addiction to opium was welcomed by many foreign merchants, for it meant that they finally had in their possession a commodity really in demand by the Chinese. The dried juice of the opium poppy could be easily obtained in India, easily transported to China, and easily disposed of to Cantonese merchants. Thus, for the first time in the history of China's trade with the West, the Europeans had a golden opportunity to establish a favorable balance.

The rapid spread of opium smoking from the port cities of China to every quarter of the land agitated the government in Peking and forced it to take positive action. In 1729, the emperor issued a decree against the opening of smoking dens and prohibited the sale of opium to smokers. Despite the imperial restrictions, the "bootleg" sale and smoking of opium increased until it became almost the only commodity brought by the foreigners for sale in China. The willful disobedience to the imperial wish by Chinese and foreign merchants alike at Canton continued to be the major domestic and international problem of China all during the eighteenth century and, in the next, was to result in serious international difficulties.

*The wave
of Sinophilism in Europe*

AT THE BEGINNING of the eighteenth century, the Rites Controversy led to the publication of

many works on Confucius and the Chinese concept of God. The divergent accounts of the Confucian rites published by champions of the conflicting religious orders whetted the appetite of the "enlightened" thinkers of Europe for more information. In Germany, Leibnitz and Christian von Wolff (page 531) studied Chinese thought and found in it a respectable philosophy based upon human reason. In France, Voltaire, Quesnay, and other *philosophes* learned as much as they could about the oriental world in order to sharpen their arguments about the universal nature of "enlightened despotism." It is likely that the knowledge that Europeans now acquired of the Chinese merit system of examinations contributed significantly to the western system of

competitive examination for civil service positions, which began to appear during the seventeenth century.

Although these influences were based upon information transmitted to Europe by competent missionary scholars, the use made of it was often sentimental or polemical and without regard to or full understanding of oriental conditions. Deists and *philosophes* were eager, among other things, to show that a non-Christian people to whom Revelation had not been vouchsafed had nevertheless developed a healthy and respectable morality. The "Chinese sage" became almost as much a literary stereotype of the eighteenth century as the "noble savage."

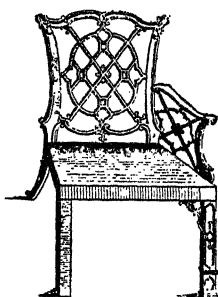
Art objects from the oriental countries also exerted a considerable influence upon European craftsmen, architects, and painters. Imitation not alone of Chinese but also of Indian and Japanese "oddities" became a vogue of the eighteenth century. European craftsmen worked diligently to make successful imitations of Indian textiles, Japanese lacquer, and Chinese porcelain. Indian princes, Japanese goddesses, and Chinese mandarins were used as decoration motifs on European-made porcelains and on drawing-room tapestries. In England, especially, gardens were carefully designed in the Chinese style of careless grace. In the famous palaces of France and Germany, special cham-



766 This design for the lid of a comb box illustrates the influence of Chinese art upon European craftsmen in the eighteenth century.



Chinese art exerted an influence upon European furniture design. Left: A sideboard table decorated with a figure and birds from Chinese porcelain designs. Right: A Chippendale elbow chair showing Chinese influence in the openwork of the back, arm, and leg.



bers were set aside as display rooms for highly prized products of the Orient, where collections of jade and ivory carvings, silk and cotton cloth, brilliantly colored glassware, lacquered boxes and furniture, cloisonné vases and table tops, paper and silk wall hangings or delicate porcelains would excite the visitor's admiration and envy, as he drank Chinese tea. So far the East had given to the West more of cultural value than it had received in return.

DECLINE

OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

AS INDICATED earlier (page 210), the last great resurgence of Ottoman power in Europe took place during the latter half of the seventeenth century. Spurred on by the Kuprili viziers, the Turks penetrated the Danube Valley to the gates of Vienna. But they were thwarted at the Habsburg capital by the armies of King John Sobieski of Poland, and after 1683 they were forced slowly to recede to the southeast. The Ottoman Empire never took the offensive again, and until its modernization in recent times, it steadily lost territory and prestige.

*The Holy League
formed against the Moslems*

IN AN effort to follow up their successes, the Christians of Europe under Pope Innocent XI and

the Holy Roman emperor launched a Holy League against the Moslems, which has sometimes been called "the last crusade." Even the "heretic" Czar Peter the Great cooperated in this prolonged drive to force the Turkish invaders back into their Asiatic homeland. The crusade against the infidel, however, was obliged to share Christian Europe's attention with the conflicts of Russia and Sweden in northern Europe (pages 431-432) and with the rivalry of France, Austria, and England in the west. Constant bickering among its members delayed the Holy League's advance and presented to the Turks a splendid opportunity to rehabilitate themselves materially and morally for the eventual onslaught. The "crusaders'" lack of zeal thus prevented a decision from being reached until the end of the century.

*Significance
of the Treaty of Karlowitz*

IN 1699, the Turks finally sued for peace and signed the Treaty of Karlowitz. By its provisions

they agreed to surrender their former conquests north of the Danube, and thereby enabled all of Hungary to be reunited to the Habsburg realm. The political and military significance to the Habsburgs of the Karlowitz arrangement was greater than appeared at first, for the eclipse of Ottoman power in the Near East was accompanied by a decline of Louis XIV's and France's prestige and influence in the west. More secure than at any time since the Ottomans first menaced central Europe in the sixteenth century (page 206), the Habsburgs after 1699 could afford to pay less attention to their eastern borders while preparing to strike out more aggressively toward the west.

*The problems
and the degeneration of the Porte*

THE MOSLEMS of eastern Europe were less menacing now not only because of their military defeat

but also because of the multitudinous internal problems that beset the Porte. The Turks had been strong and frightening conquerors only so long as they could preserve their soldierly spirit and their military organization. Like other conquerors, however, they soon lost their enthusiasm for battle and even relaxed their vigilance in the foreign territories under their control. The sixteenth-century despotism of Suleiman the Magnificent (page 206) was succeeded by an easy-going absolutism that retained the autocratic forms but little of the energetic spirit sometimes associated with despotism, and only the sporadic efforts of the Kupriliis (pages 209-210) had imparted glory to the still vast empire. Degeneracy was particularly apparent in the central government. Lacking the ability to control their advisers, the weak sultans who succeeded Suleiman were soon controlled by them. Educated in seclusion, the latter-day rulers took but little interest in the actual direction of affairs. The bureaucracy, the provincial governors, and the chiefs of the armed forces ruled in the name of the sultan but without reference to his decisions.

*Deterioration
of the Ottoman bureaucracy*

THE DECLINE of the sultan's position during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was re-

flected by the transformation in character of the dominant class known as the "Ruling Institution." Originally comprising a body of slaves to do the sultan's bidding, the Ruling Institution became a self-perpetuating organization. Since it included the officials of the sultan's household, the royal advisers, and the standing army, with the passing of time it divided into numerous semi-independent units. This division of the Ruling Institution aided the shift in the Ottoman state toward hopeless decentralization. Slaves, who originally had been the only ones admitted to the Ruling Institution, were joined after 1637 by native Moslems who wished to share in the spoils.

*Decline
of discipline among the janissaries*

PROBABLY the most important section of the Ruling Institution was the janissary (infantry) unit

of the standing army (page 202). The janissaries were particularly important at times of disputed succession, when their weight was often enough to secure the throne for one of the more fortunate candidates, and each crisis increased their influence. In the course of years their numbers increased. Not more than 14,000 in Suleiman's time, the janissaries in 1700 numbered almost 100,000, including Moslems and non-Moslems. Nevertheless, they still constituted a closed caste of unruly bandits, who existed by preying upon and terrorizing the countryside. Most firmly entrenched in the European possessions of the Porte, they were universally feared among the common people.

With the admission of Moslems to their ranks and the decline of central authority, the janissaries relinquished the institution of celibacy. Thereafter they subdivided into a number of hereditary fighting units willing to sell their services to the highest bidders—sometimes even to the enemies of the Porte. Ravaging, pillaging, and living upon the farmers, the janissaries came to be identified in Europe as almost the worst of the visitations inflicted upon Christendom by the Moslem infidels. The sultan, on the other hand, frequently found the privileged janissaries useless and at critical moments had to call out the spahis, a feudal levy of cavalry supplied by the Moslem aristocrats. Although efforts were made to organize a military force along modern lines, it was not until the Greeks achieved their independence in 1829 (page 874) that such a force came into being and that the insubordinate janissary corps were finally dissolved.

*Provincial decentralization
and division among the Moslems*

DECENTRALIZATION brought other changes in its wake. Persia effected its independence in 1735

under an aggressive leader named Nadir, who the next year took the title of *shah*. The provincial governors of Egypt, Greece, Rumania, and other parts of the far-flung Ottoman possessions became virtually autonomous rulers. Almost the only unifying element remaining in the Turkish system was the devotion of the ruling elements to the Moslem faith. Even in religion, however, the traditional divisions became deeper, unswerving devotion to the Koran became less common, and the Turks, like their contemporaries in Europe, became ever more interested in worldly achievements.

*Turkish culture
in the eighteenth century*

THE DEGENERACY that characterized Ottoman politics during the eighteenth century did not

extend to all aspects of Turkish culture. The great cities of western Asia, such as Constantinople and Mecca, rivaled Paris and London in the brilliance of their social and intellectual life. Poets, musicians, and architects were

handsomely patronized by the court. The Moslem ban on printing was removed in 1727 for all Arabic and Turkish books except the sacred Koran. Widespread dissemination of Turkish literature thereafter inspired European students to inquire more carefully into the languages and traditions of the Moslem world (page 63). The wealth of imaginative Arabic literature also became more generally available.

The majority of Moslems did not accept unquestioningly the brilliant cultural life of the cities. Radical departures from custom were greeted in conservative quarters by open antagonism. In the middle of the eighteenth century appeared a reforming sect of "old Arabs" called the "Wahhabis," followers of Ibn Abdul Wahhab. They believed, somewhat like the contemporary Pietists and Jansenists of the West, in the literal interpretation of their holy scripture. They protested openly and vigorously against the Turkish failure to uphold the old Mohammedan doctrines, against the introduction of the printing press, and against the degeneracy of Mecca, the holy city. For two centuries the Wahhabis were to carry on their agitation, which sometimes took the form of holy war (*Jihad*) against unbelievers at home or abroad. Support for their uncompromising zeal was widespread, and the Wahhabis quickly succeeded in checking the enlightenment of the cities of western Asia.

Neglect

and decline of Ottoman commerce

NO STRONG middle class developed among the Turks, and

Turkish industry continued to be

limited to local crafts and small establishments. Trade with Europeans was mainly in the hands of Jewish, Armenian, and Greek subjects of the sultan. Many of the Turks possessed extensive holdings in land and were ready to play their part as landlords, but they left commerce and banking to the lesser peoples of the empire. The failure to appreciate fully the importance of foreign trade rapidly became one of the empire's most serious weaknesses. This weakness increased as the European countries, profiting from the opening of new sea routes to the East and West, were more and more enabled to ignore the trade routes of the Mediterranean and the trading cities of the Levant. The Ottoman Empire of the eighteenth century was thus speeding downhill economically as well as politically and culturally.

STRUGGLE

FOR INDIA

THE DECLINE of the Ottoman Empire in western Asia was paralleled in India. Internal discord furnished the European nations with opportunities and pretexts for intervention. In the eighteenth century, the wars of Britain and France for control hastened the disintegration of the subcontinent.

Disunion

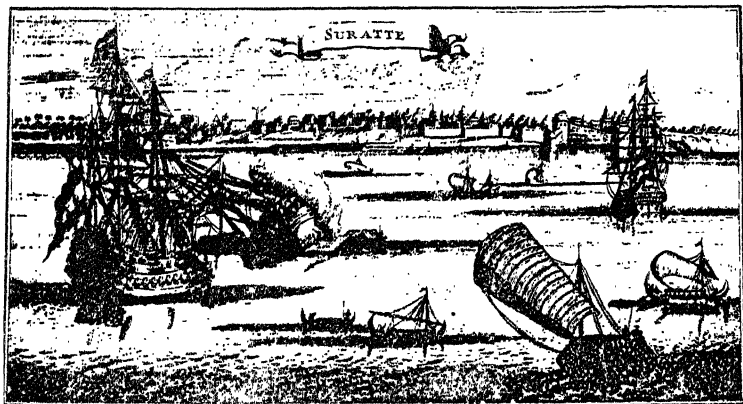
and the Persian invasion of India

CONTINUOUS hostilities between Aurangzeb, the religiously fanatic Moslem ruler of India, and the Hindus of the Mahratta (or Marathi-speaking) group of west and central India divided the country hopelessly in the last half of the seventeenth century. To make the confusion worse, the two major religious groups (Hindus and Mohammedans) were also disunited internally. Following the death in 1707 of Aurangzeb, the last of the powerful Mogul rulers, the central authority at Delhi became continually weaker, and the local rulers, whether Moslems or Hindus, became correspondingly more independent. As the country divided into numerous hostile camps, the aspirants to power began to cast about openly for support from abroad. The Europeans were not the only ones to take advantage of India's disunity. Nadir Shah, the energetic ruler of Persia, invaded India in 1739 and plundered the Moslem city of Delhi. Thus, Asiatics, co-religionists of the Moslems, also hastened the foreign conquest of India.

Development

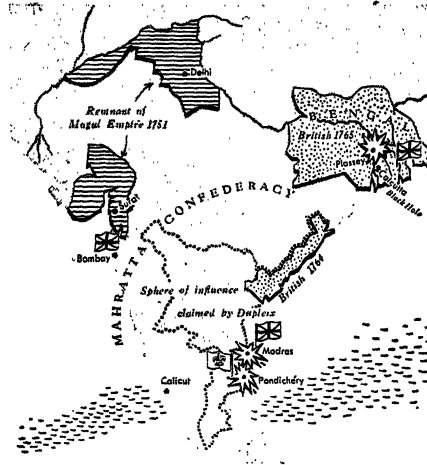
of Anglo-French rivalry

UNTIL 1744, the French and the British companies in India, despite the increasing chaos, enjoyed a period of quiet growth and steadily increasing prosperity. Both organizations had been involved in the European financial booms and bubbles of the early eighteenth century (pages 488-489), and both had managed to survive the crash that followed. The English, however, proved stronger in India than the French, for much the same reasons as had prevailed in America. In material resources and strategic holdings, the British company was



This eighteenth-century French view of Surat shows it at its height as a port. The Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English at one time or another had factories here.

FRENCH-BRITISH CONFLICT IN INDIA



In the critical years between 1750 and 1765, European predominance in India passed from the French to the British. It was to remain with the British until the mid-twentieth century.

considerably better off than its French counterpart. Moreover, the fact that Britain was not, like France, almost automatically involved in continental upheavals made it possible for the British to concentrate more unreservedly upon their Indian ventures. Nevertheless, the French steadily improved their foothold, and the British

at Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta observed with undisguised hostility the expanding activities of their rivals at Surat and Pondichéry.

The War of the Austrian Succession in India

AFTER the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession, Joseph Francis Dupleix was appointed governor of the French colonies in India. He roused the particular suspicion of the British, since he met with outstanding success in ranging the native rulers behind the French. The war in Europe presented the British with a reason for armed attack upon the French positions in India. After a few years of delay and preparation, actual hostilities commenced in 1744. In the struggle that ensued, the French at first had the upper hand. Persuaded by Dupleix, Mahé de La Bourdonnais, a free-lance sea captain in the service of the French, attacked Madras in 1746 and forced its capitulation. Dupleix and La Bourdonnais quarreled over the spoils, however, while the British readied themselves for a revenge attack against Pondichéry. With the arrival of a substantial British fleet in 1748, the French city was vigorously besieged. But the War of the Austrian Succession ended in Europe during the siege, and the contestants in India also agreed to a truce. The siege of Pondichéry was lifted and Madras was returned to England.

Intervention by Dupleix in India's wars

UNABLE to compete commercially with the British, Dupleix now used the military means at his command to intervene advantageously in India's dynastic wars. In the bitter battles between the Moguls and the Mahrattas, Dupleix used his su-

perior fighting forces to support whichever side was willing to make him the greater concessions. After several years of brilliant intrigue, the French governor claimed to control through puppet rulers most of southern India. Although this claim was certainly exaggerated, Dupleix's policy of intervention had been astonishingly successful and foreboded ill for the future independence of India.

*Clive's efforts
to counteract Dupleix's success*

DAZED by the rapidity of Dupleix's successes, the British endeavored to follow his example.

A young English officer named Robert Clive, destined to become one of the foremost empire builders in British history, checked the progress of the French by enlisting native support on the British side. It was not difficult to win the mercenary native rulers away from the French through bigger and better promises, intrigues, and threats. Gradually, despite the fact that the British and the French governments in Europe were formally on peaceful terms, the seething plots and counterplots in India became open warfare.

*The recall
and disgrace of Dupleix*

IN 1754, after several years of this undeclared warfare in India, Dupleix was suddenly superseded

and recalled to Paris. Daring though his policy had been, it might have met with success had he managed to make his acquisitions self-supporting and potential sources of wealth. He had been confronted, however, by an enemy with greater material resources under the leadership of the bold and practical Clive. Dupleix's policy collapsed quickly after its initial successes. The French government now came to realize that their brilliant but erratic governor had pursued his own ambitions without due regard for the national interest and without reporting accurately on his own activities or those of the enemy. His troops in India were without pay, and his allies, bought with cash, had vanished when the British outbid him. The directors of the French East India Company were outraged by Dupleix's high-handed policy of borrowing money on the company's credit without proper authorization. French investors were troubled by the huge sums of money diverted from their pockets to finance enterprises in India that appeared fantastic or hazardous at best. Although Dupleix wrote lengthy tracts defending his actions in India, he remained without honor in his own country for the rest of his life. He was never able to recover a penny of the personal fortune he had risked in his India ventures and died impoverished in 1763.

*The atrocity
at the "Black Hole" of Calcutta*

SHORTLY after Dupleix's return to Paris, the British in India were molested by native attacks of

serious proportions. In 1756, the nawab (viceroys) of Bengal sent a big force against the English in Calcutta. Since the small garrison in the city was no

match for the nawab's army, many of the Europeans were evacuated by the vessels in the harbor before the arrival of the attackers. Those who remained behind were captured after a feeble resistance and shut up in the Calcutta fortress' punishment cell known as "The Black Hole." One hundred and forty-six miserable prisoners were jammed tightly together into a small, poorly ventilated space on a sultry summer's night. With less than two square feet per person and only two barred windows to provide air, they struggled all night against suffocation, thirst, and trampling. Only twenty-three of them survived until the next morning. Outraged by this atrocity, the English, and Clive in particular, determined to recapture Calcutta.

*Clive's victory
at the Battle of Plassey*

IN EUROPE, meanwhile, hostilities between France and England had been resumed in 1756. De-

spite the need for troops in other theaters of the Seven Years' War, a sizable force was immediately dispatched from England to Bengal. Calcutta was quickly retaken, and in 1757 the nawab was forced to sign an offensive and defensive alliance with England. Clive, however, was not satisfied merely with the nawab's capitulation. Confident that the French could not take Madras or other important English settlements, he concentrated his attention upon dethroning the nawab and establishing his own puppet as ruler of Bengal. This he achieved by the decisive Battle of Plassey in 1757. Owing his position to English support, the new nawab could do nothing but agree to the British demands. Plassey was the first great European military victory in modern times over an oriental potentate on his own soil. By this battle, in Edmund Burke's somewhat pompous phrase, "one of the races of the north-west cast into the heart of Asia new manners, new doctrines, new institutions." Clive's victory at Plassey established English supremacy in northeast India and virtually settled the outcome of the struggle with the French.

*French defeat in India
and the fall of Pondichéry*

IN 1758 France's military forces in India were placed under the authority of Count Thomas

Arthur de Lally, a military tactician of great reputation. He failed to get on with his naval and civilian colleagues, however, or to acknowledge the need for diplomatic intrigue in the conduct of war in India. Time after time he struck at strategic points, but with almost no success. Even though Clive was preoccupied by events in Bengal, Lally found it impossible to meet the expectations of the people at home.

Lally's position slowly became untenable, as the British built up their naval power in the surrounding seas. Lacking funds and supplies, the French were forced to take the defensive. One by one, the French fortresses were reduced, until in 1760 the British stood before Pondichéry, the seat of French power in India. The French resisted siege for almost four months. Finally,

with the aid of a powerful fleet that arrived opportunely, the British obliged the fortress to capitulate.

*The assurance
of English control of India*

restored to the French by the Peace of Paris of 1763 (pages 510-511), the company founded by Colbert was dissolved ignominiously less than a decade later, and the French crown took over the administration of the French settlements in India. Scattered and limited, they have mostly remained under the colonial administration of the French government ever since, while control of the great subcontinent passed to England.

*Clive
as Indian administrator*

THE VICTORY over the French in India helped to stimulate a greater interest on the part of the London government in the administration of overseas areas. London itself had been aghast at Clive's methods and the exactions he had procured. He had used British power to garner large sums of money for the British East India Company and to obtain sovereign rights to huge tracts of land. Subsequently, as governor of Madras and then of Bengal, he was to succeed in abolishing some of the corruption of the company, and distinguished himself as an able administrator. The problem of India, nevertheless, remained a difficult one for London because of the complicated relations that bound nominally independent and native-ruled states to the semi-private East India Company.

This political cartoon reveals the popular resentment of corruption in India. Company officials beg for mercy, the investigating committee demands more "hush-money," and Justice is forced to yield.





Political opponents of Fox picture his attempt at Indian reform as a "temptation in the wilderness," with Fox pointing to a barren Madras while London falls in ruins.

Official investigation of the company's administration was started in 1768, and the directorate was soon found to be corrupt. A severe famine in Bengal in 1770 made public opinion peculiarly sensitive. Demands for government regulation of the company's activities became overwhelming, particularly after the voyages and discoveries of Captain James Cook opened new Pacific vistas to England (page 779).

*The impeachment
and death of Clive in 1774*

CLIVE, now Baron Clive of Plassey, had returned to England a few years earlier and was now a member of Parliament. In 1773 he was himself accused, as we shall see, of having enriched himself in India. Parliament found that he had indeed made a large sum of money at one time, but also declared that he "did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country." Nevertheless, worn out by disease and chagrin, Clive was to take his own life in 1774. He had been one of England's greatest empire builders—ruthless to her enemies, domineering to the natives, energetic in administration, daring in conquest, and occasionally suspected (but never convicted) of corruption.

*European wealth
in the opium trade of the Orient*

MEANWHILE, India had become a producer of a new source of wealth to Europeans and of pleasure and degeneration to Orientals. The wealth derived from the opium traffic had grown enormously. In 1773, the British East India Company succeeded in getting an opium monopoly in British India. The British, however, were not the only opium peddlers. The Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French also profited from it. And when the Americans entered the China trade in 1784 they too participated.

*Reform attempted
by the Regulating Act of 1773*

IN 1772 a Commons committee that had investigated the East India Company made a shocking report of malfeasance and mismanagement. In the next year the company acquired its monopoly of opium, and Clive was impeached of corruption while in India. Englishmen were outraged. To still the public indignation, Lord North, with Clive's support, steered a Regulating Act through Parliament. This was the first of several measures designed to define more precisely the relations of the company to the crown. The Regulating Act laid particular emphasis upon the restriction of the private enterprise of India officials and the centralization of Britain's holdings in India. It placed the other governors under the governor of Bengal, who thus became a governor-general. Moreover, it enabled Parliament to nominate the first four men to function as a resident council in the administration of India. The subsequent appointments of governor and councillors were to be made by the company. The Regulating Act was the first step in the direction of an important governmental principle for India—that it should have a centralized administration under controlling direction at home. This measure, however, proved ineffective, and it soon became apparent that a more thoroughgoing reform was required. But at this juncture the thirteen American colonies of England claimed the British ministry's major attention. Although the British East India Company's tea was involved in the American complications (pages 563-565), any new program for India had to be postponed until the growing revolutionary crisis in the American colonies should be resolved.

*Governmental reorganization
achieved by the India Act of 1784*

A DECADE after Lord North's Regulating Act, Charles James Fox introduced the India Act into Parliament. At its first trial the bill was defeated by Fox's political enemies. The following year, however, Prime Minister William Pitt the Younger successfully guided a similar measure through Parliament. This India Act of 1784 thoroughly reorganized the management of India, placing political affairs in

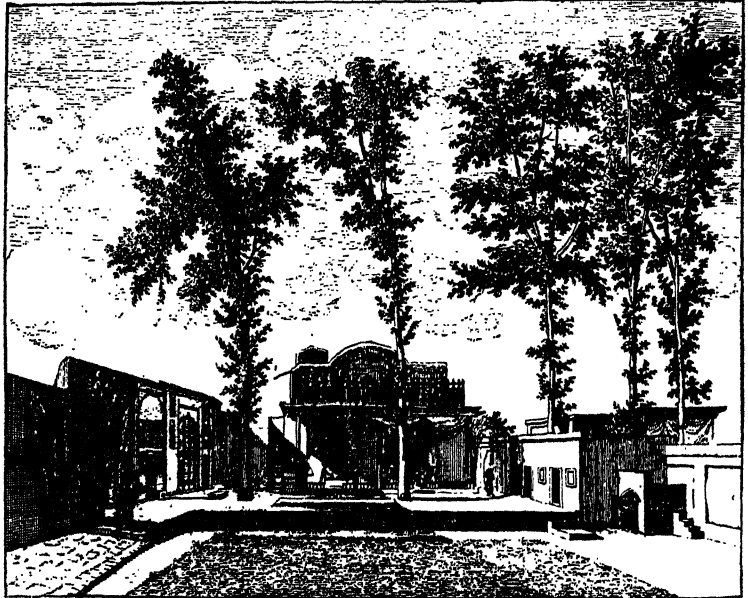
Critics of the India Act of 1784 caricature Pitt and Fox as robbing the East India Company of "dividends" after placing it under "proprietary controul."



the hands of the home government but leaving the trading interests to the company. The crown was authorized to appoint a Board of Control, whose chief was a cabinet minister, to supervise civil and military administration. The company was still permitted to exploit India economically and to appoint with the crown's approval the highest ranking officials in the government of India except the governor-general. The Board of Control, however, had the power to veto such appointments, to modify the company's instructions, and to communicate directly with officials in India. Minor changes in this administrative system were made from time to time, but the basic system of dual control went unaltered, and functioned awkwardly but successfully until 1858.

COMPETITION IN OCEANIA AND SOUTHEASTERN ASIA

WHILE the British were struggling with the French in India, other Englishmen were exploring and conquering the southern Pacific. Here, too, Britain encountered competition from other European powers, particularly the Dutch, but was to emerge victorious.



*Annexations
by the British in the Pacific*

THE SPANISH, Portuguese, and Dutch were already established in the Pacific islands when the English arrived. During the War of Jenkins' Ear, Admiral George Anson voyaged around the world (1740) to attack Spanish sea power, and was most active in preying upon the Spanish galleons plying the route from Manila in the Philippines to Acapulco in Mexico. In 1768, Captain James Cook sailed an astronomical expedition to Tahiti to observe a transit of the planet Venus. Instructed also to search for the great "South Land" (probably Tasmania, discovered over a century earlier by the Dutch seaman Abel Janszoon Tasman), Captain Cook circumnavigated New Zealand and landed in 1770 on the eastern coast of Australia at an anchorage he called Botany Bay. After several expeditions northward along the coast, Cook took possession of the land in the name of the British king. Upon returning to England, Cook and his cohorts successfully stirred up sentiment for colonization of Australia. In 1778, he returned to the Pacific waters and explored the islands that he named in honor of the Earl of Sandwich, the first lord of the admiralty. In the course of these explorations, Cook was killed by the frightened natives of the Sandwich Islands (now known as the "Hawaiian Islands").

*The liquidation
of the Dutch East India Company*

BRITISH progress in the Pacific, taking place at the same time that British power was growing in India, constituted a serious threat to the Dutch in the East Indies. The British successes were particularly alarming to them because of the now straitened circumstances of the Dutch East India Company. Mismanagement and graft, coupled with the gradual loss of spice sources and markets, had combined to throw the company hopelessly into debt, and in 1782 it paid its last dividend. In 1798, while the Dutch were allies of Revolutionary France (page 674), its assets and liabilities were taken over by the Dutch government in the public interest. Thereupon the company was permanently disbanded, and its empire became the possession of the Dutch government.

*The Dutch empire
during the Napoleonic period*

DURING the Napoleonic era, the Dutch suffered heavy losses in their overseas possessions. Napoleon's domination of the Netherlands meant that they were forced to collaborate with the French conqueror. Controlling the seas, the British took advantage of Holland's predicament to sever the Dutch Indies from the mother country. In 1802 they acquired permanent control of Ceylon, and nine years later they temporarily took over the East Indies. Until the overthrow of Napoleon, the only place in the world where the Dutch flag flew openly was on the little Japanese island of Deshima in the harbor of Nagasaki.

Under the leadership of another of Britain's great empire builders, Sir Stamford Raffles, the English meanwhile began to realize his aim "to make Java the center of an Eastern Insular Empire." Recognizing the strategic importance of the Straits of Malacca to the trade with the countries of eastern Asia, Raffles and his associates sought to have the British retain the East Indies. Despite their pleas, Castlereagh evidently decided in 1815 that other considerations were of greater importance, for he consented to return to the Dutch all their overseas possessions except Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope. This arrangement was confirmed at the Congress of Vienna.

*English supremacy
in the Malay Peninsula*

THWARTED in his initial attempt, Raffles persisted in the effort to gain control for Britain of the

direct sea route to eastern Asia. After lengthy negotiations, he concluded in 1819 a treaty with the sultan of Johore in the Malay Peninsula for transfer of the island of Singapore to the British East India Company. This strategic outpost provided Britain with a counterpoise to the Dutch-controlled Straits of Malacca and reduced the city of Malacca to a position of secondary importance. The Dutch, realizing that it would be difficult for them to compete against the superior resources of the British empire, sought by diplomacy to divert the English from the East Indies toward southeastern Asia. In 1824 the Dutch surrendered Malacca, the last link needed to complete the chain of outposts desired by Raffles, in return for control of Sumatra and a tacit British agreement that the Dutch be permitted to exploit the East India islands unmolested.

*British victory
in the First Burmese War*

THEREAFTER the British directed their attention to those countries of the southeastern Asiatic con-

tinent that would form natural adjuncts to their Indian empire. Because of its geographical proximity to the British holdings in India, Burma was the first state in southeastern Asia engaged in conflict. The establishment of British dominion in eastern India roughly coincided with the reunion of Burma into a single native kingdom. Since both powers were aggressively minded and emboldened by recent successes, each sought to press the other on questions such as border taxes and boundary problems. In 1824 a major conflict arose over control of the small state of Assam lying between Bengal and Burma. The British were determined that Assam should remain an independent buffer state under British protection, while the Burmese were equally determined to annex it. After two years of war, the British forced Burma to abandon her claims to the tiny kingdom, and required her also to cede the Tenasserim coast on the Malay Peninsula to the East India Company—a concession that enabled the British to penetrate farther into southeastern Asia directly from the sea.

*Decline
of the Dutch empire in the East*

THE NADIR of Dutch fortunes meanwhile had been reached. The immense empire of the small European nation never fully recovered from the effects of conquest during the Napoleonic era. The Indies were nominally retroceded in 1815 and actually returned to the Dutch in 1816, and British cooperation was won through the cession of Malacca in 1824, but the Spice Islands never again produced riches comparable to the fabulous yields of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, they remained a source of wealth to many individual Dutchmen, a means of employment to others, and a symbol of greatness to the nation at large, until they won their independence within the Dutch Union as the United States of Indonesia in 1949.

*The British victory in Asia
over the French and the Dutch*

THUS, by 1830, the French and Dutch had been eclipsed as competitors of the British in the race for empire. India lay prostrate at the feet of Great Britain. Although the Dutch were permitted to rule more or less benignly in the Indies, the British zealously guarded the maritime route to the East, and sought to open for exploitation greater areas of southeastern Asia. In 1830 it appeared that no European power could halt the inexorable British groping for greatness, gold, glory, and God.

EMERGENCE

OF THE NEAR EASTERN QUESTION

WHILE France, Holland, and England were competing for control of Asia and North America, the eastern European nations, particularly Russia, kept pressing ever harder against the divided and beleaguered Ottoman Empire. As the Turks languished, hope revived in Europe once again that the infidel invaders of Christendom could be exterminated. The Russians, obliged to halt and mark time on the Chinese frontier during most of the eighteenth century, began to develop a policy that became more conspicuous in the nineteenth century and subsequently: they shifted their major attention from the Far East to the Near East as circumstances required.

*The expansion
of Russia at Turkish expense*

IN 1736, Cardinal Giulio Alberoni pleaded for a united attack upon the Turks and for the establishment in Europe of a nonsectarian and permanent diet to take over the administration of the territories freed from Turkish control. The secular rulers, particularly the czars and czarinas of Russia, were not to be impressed by the cardinal's proposal. The Russian rulers were more in favor,



Chodowiecki's etching of Catherine of Russia and the sultan of Turkey beside a statue of peace, symbolizes the settlement achieved by the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji.

once the Ottoman grip on the lands surrounding the Black Sea was broken, of adding the "liberated" territories to Russia than of handing them over to international administration. They preferred the policy inaugurated by Peter the Great of taking Turkish lands whenever an opportunity offered. This policy had consistently achieved a number of minor triumphs, particularly whenever Russia could keep the sultan occupied in Persia or some other disgruntled province of his empire.

*Russian gains
in the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji*

IT WAS not until the time of Catherine the Great, however, that Russia could claim a major victory over the Turkish state. After six years of war, during which Russia also participated in the first partition of Poland (page 512), the Turks were forced in 1774 to agree to the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji. Its provisions made public the weakness of the sprawling but disunited Moslem state. The Turks were required to renounce sovereignty over Azov and the north coast of the Black Sea, a provision which at last guaranteed Russia's "window on the south." Free navigation of Ottoman waters, including the Straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, was guaranteed to Russian merchant vessels. The Porte was also obliged to promise better government for certain Christian provinces in Europe and to recognize the czar as protector of all Eastern Orthodox Christians within the Ottoman Empire.

*The "Near Eastern Question"
or the problem of Turkish survival*

THE LAST concession made it increasingly simple for Russia to foment discord in the sultan's realm. The rulers of Russia used to great advantage their role as protectors of the Greek Orthodox Christians within the Ottoman dominions. They were thereafter able to interfere easily in the domestic and international affairs of the Turkish state. Less than ten years later, Russia annexed the Crimea; and after a renewal of warfare and a new defeat of Turkey, a treaty in 1792 pushed the Turks to the west bank of the Dniester River, which was now designated as the European boundary between the two empires. This series of agreements between Catherine the Great and the Porte from 1774 on raised the "Near Eastern Question"—the question whether the Otto-

man Empire should be permitted to survive and if so, under whose domination—which was to remain an issue of first-rank importance in European diplomacy all during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

*The occupation
of Egypt by the French*

THE EASTERN powers were again embroiled in hostilities by the military strategy of the French

Directory (pages 679-680). In 1798 Turkey was forced into war against the French Republic by General Bonaparte's descent upon Egypt. Russia also took alarm at the French invasion of the eastern Mediterranean, and soon committed itself to cooperation with an anti-French coalition. Although determined to oust the French from Egypt, the eastern powers were shortly relieved of their obligation by the effective action of the British fleet in severing Bonaparte's lines of communication and supply, and in harassing his armies. Two years after the flight of Bonaparte from Egypt, his beleaguered forces capitulated to an English expeditionary force, and the French occupation of Egypt came to an end. If the Directory's plans for Egypt had succeeded, the French would not only have begun a great African empire but they would have been in a better position to threaten the British empire in India.

*Napoleon
and nationalism of the South Slavs*

ALTHOUGH Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition failed, his proximity had kindled hope among the east-

ern European subjects of the sultan and even the Palestinian Jews that the French conqueror might eventually help liberate them. After Bonaparte became emperor of the French, they also derived great satisfaction from his establishment of the "independent" Duchy of Warsaw (page 716). In 1807, while Napoleon was fighting against Alexander of Russia on the plains of northern Poland, revolts broke out among the sultan's subjects living on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea. Under the leadership of George Peter Karageorge, the Serbs rebelled and added to the sultan's problems. Though inspired by French ideals of Liberty and Equality, they looked to Russia for material support. Joined in their resistance by their fellow Slavs, the Croats and Slovenes, the Serbian nationalists held out against the Porte until 1812. When Czar Alexander I made peace with Turkey in order to have a free hand against Napoleon, the southern Slavs were forced into submission and Karageorge was killed. Subsequently the nationalist movement in Serbia was driven underground. Headed by Milos Obrenovic, it continued to look to Russia for aid. Meanwhile, Napoleon had created the Illyrian Provinces, including Adriatic areas inhabited by Serbs and Croats, and had given them a taste of Napoleonic reforms and efficiency. These areas, long facing westward because of their Roman Catholicism and their previous domination by the now defunct Republic of Venice (page 679),

were thus further confirmed in their western ways, and they became culturally still more different from the other Yugoslav (i.e., South Slav) peoples, with whom they continue even today to be associated politically.

Independence

achieved by the Greeks in 1829

THE GREEKS were also fired into activity by the precepts of the French Revolution and by the ex-

ample of Napoleon. Unlike the Serbs, the Greeks could depend upon a large merchant and middle-class following, since the traders of Hellas were among the wealthiest and most influential in the Ottoman Empire. Secret societies were organized and supported with funds subscribed by the great trading families. The czar was called upon to assist his religious and "racial" confrères in their fight for freedom. After almost a decade of sporadic war and constant political intrigue, the Greeks, supported by Russia, were able in 1829 (pages 873-874) to effect their divorce from the Ottoman Empire.

The disintegration

of the Turkish empire after 1830

INSPIRED by the Greeks' success, the other Europeans living under the Ottoman state began to or-

ganize for their respective national struggles. The Greek pattern for achieving independence was followed faithfully after 1830 as the divergent groups in Turkish Europe sought to win national freedom. For the Ottoman Empire with its heterogeneous population, the nationalist movements of the nineteenth century were to be disastrous. Area after area revolted against the "despotism" of the sultan.

Moreover, in 1830, the doomed government of the Bourbons, seeking an easy glory abroad, invaded Algeria; and thus began the gradual dismemberment of the Turkish empire in Africa by the European imperial powers. Unable to build a powerful army and navy or to exercise effective control over local problems, the government in Constantinople was to prove too feeble to halt the encroachments in northern Africa or the uprisings that spread throughout the Balkans. To be sure, the defeat of Turkey in the Greek war brought about the abolition of the janissaries and a reorganization of the Turkish army (page 769). Such efforts were, however, of little avail. The Turks could do almost nothing about their own predicament; the disruption of their European and African empires merely waited for agreement among the sultan's numerous enemies.

BRITAIN'S FAR EASTERN PROBLEMS

(TO 1830)

784 **I**N THE lands east of Egypt, Great Britain had assumed by the end of the eighteenth century a position of supremacy. Back in London, however, the

statesmen in charge of Britain's destiny had begun to count up the costs of empire. British possessions in the New World had constantly involved the government in hard problems of diplomacy. The British government wished to proceed in the East with caution. Further expansion might mean possible risks out of all proportion to the possible gains.

*The conquests
of the Ch'ien Lung emperor*

THE BRITISH government was particularly wary of China. At the close of the eighteenth century

China was ruled by an especially proud monarch. In 1736 the emperor generally known as Ch'ien Lung, one of the greatest rulers in China's history, had ascended the Dragon Throne. He was to abdicate in 1795, not wishing to rule longer than his glorious grandfather, the K'ang Hsi emperor, but he continued to control his successor until his death in 1799. Thus his domination of China lasted for well over sixty years. Notable as a conqueror, he extended the boundaries of Manchu China westward and southward.

*China
involved in competition for empire*

THE CONQUESTS of Ch'ien Lung brought China into close contact with areas in which other powers

had important interests. The British looked with fear and suspicion upon the appearance of Chinese armies in Tibet and Burma, both areas in disquieting proximity to the British-controlled sections of India. Meanwhile, the Russians, although gravely occupied in eastern Europe with the declining Ottoman Empire, had begun to apprehend the extension of Chinese dominion into Turkestan, the wedge that separates India from Siberia. Thus, in a sense, China, by pursuing its traditional policy of controlling its inner Asian frontiers, entered into the international struggle for supremacy over the lesser lands of Asia.

*Direct diplomacy
in Sino-European affairs*

THE END of the eighteenth century, as we have seen, marked the gradual adoption of a policy of

official regulation of the British East India Company. As the government assumed a greater degree of responsibility for national trading in the Far East, it sought to establish formal diplomatic relations with the court at Peking. Recalling Russia's success in the directly negotiated Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689), the British hopefully believed that they would be accorded equal treatment.

*The Macartney mission
from London to Peking in 1792*

DESPITE opposition from the apprehensive directors of the British East India Company, the London

government decided in 1792 to dispatch a diplomatic mission directly to Peking. Earl Macartney, who had previously been active in India, was appointed to head the embassy and was instructed to seek improvement in the commercial relations between the two countries. Macartney bore a letter from

*These are drawings of Europeans who brought presents to the Chinese emperor. They appeared in the Chinese book, *Foreigners Who Have Made Presents to the Emperors of China*, 1752.*



King George III to the Chinese emperor that was couched in the traditional language of Chinese court ceremony. The king of England addressed the emperor of China as "a great and benevolent sovereign...whom Providence had seated upon the throne for the good of mankind"; and Macartney's cortege carried flags indicating that he was an "ambassador bearing tribute from the country of England." The Englishmen were courteously received. Although Macartney refused to perform the kotow, he was admitted to an audience with the Ch'ien Lung emperor. But the Chinese advertised for domestic consumption that the Macartney mission was a "tribute-bearing" embassy.

*Chinese discouragement
of trade with the British and Dutch*

NOTHING constructive was accomplished for Sino-British trade by the Macartney mission. The emperor's reply to King George III clearly depicted the attitude of the Chinese imperial regime toward the barbarians from western Europe. The Manchu ruler of China wrote in characteristic style: "You, O King, live beyond the confines of many seas. Nevertheless, impelled by your humble desire to partake of the benefits of our civilization, you have dispatched a mission respectfully bearing your memorial." He refused to permit a British national accredited to his Celestial Court to be placed in control of England's trade with China. "As your ambassador can see for himself, we possess all things. I set



manufactures." But recognizing that "the tea, silk, and porcelain which the Celestial Empire produces are absolute necessities to European nations and yourselves," he had graciously permitted foreign factories to be established at Canton and would permit them to remain. "It is your bounden duty reverently to appreciate my feelings and to obey these instructions."

The courteous treatment accorded the British envoy was in marked contrast to the cavalier manner in which some earlier ambassadors had been received. Macartney's demand for respect as an equal certainly had not jeopardized his chances of improving Sino-British commercial relations. In fact, his stiff-necked attitude won the admiration of the court at Peking. Two years later when two Dutch emissaries were sent on a similar mission, even though they agreed to perform whatever

was demanded of them and to concede whatever the Chinese requested, their mission was equally without result.

*The failure
of the Amherst diplomatic mission*

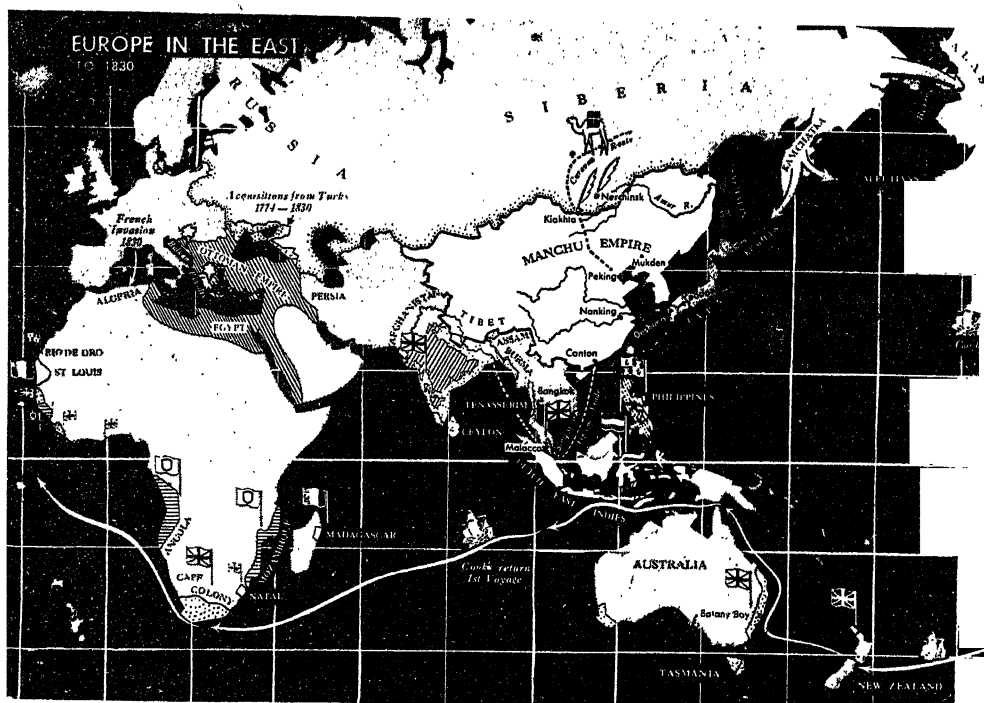
OCCUPIED until 1815 with the Napoleonic wars, the British were unable to follow the lead given in

China by the Macartney embassy. But in 1816 a second English diplomatic mission, this time under Lord Amherst, arrived in Peking, instructed to pave the way for smoother trade relations. The Chinese, however, were even more insistent than before that the barbarian envoy should perform the kotow. In fact, they would not even wait for him to rest from his journey or to receive his baggage with fresh uniforms. Lord Amherst firmly refused to kotow. Exasperated by his persistence, the Chinese officials ordered him to return to Canton. Without having appeared before the emperor, Amherst left Peking on the same day he arrived.

*Robert Morrison
as missionary and scholar*

IN A LESS conspicuous fashion another British mission was meeting with enduring success as Amherst's was failing.

In 1807 Robert Morrison had landed at Canton, the first Protestant missionary to China, envoy of the London Missionary Society. Morrison learned Chinese, translated the New Testament (1814), helped to translate the Old Testament (1818), and published a *Chinese Grammar*



By 1830 European expansion in the East had acquired pretensions that definitely threatened the native empire. Although the Manchu Empire held its own in China and even claimed suzerainty over Burma and Indo-China, it was flanked on the north by a vast, if sparsely settled, Russian Empire and menaced on the south by increasing British power. In India the Mogul Empire had succumbed, and most Indian lands were either British outright (dotted areas) or British-controlled (hatched areas). Britain had significant possessions also in Africa and Oceania. In the Near East France and Russia were nibbling at the edges of the Ottoman Empire and revolts of subject peoples were threatening it from within. Despite sparse settlements and unsure claims, in Africa and the Orient the nations of Europe were in 1830 on the verge of a great colonial race.

(1814) and a six-volume *Chinese Dictionary* (1821). Before he died (1834), he also had established an Anglo-Chinese college at Malacca and a dispensary that was an ancestor of the modern medical mission. Morrison's work set the pattern for subsequent Protestant missionary work, which emphasized schools, medicine, and the translation of literary works, along with preaching and converting.

Resentment of the monopoly of the British East India Company

THE FAILURE of the British government to establish relations with China through the diplomatic pro-

cedures customary in the western world strengthened its resolve to resort to extraordinary methods. Furthermore, English merchants in China, as well as many of their backers at home, had become annoyed with the interference of the tradition-bound and apprehensive British East India Company, and their annoyance was not diminished because of the greater freedom enjoyed

by American traders at Canton. The economic theory now prevalent back home also expounded the virtues of free and unregulated trade (pages 602-604). And British factory owners were anxious to have free access to the resources of China and the opportunity to sell the products of British industry in what they fondly hoped would be an almost insatiable market. By 1830, the pressure from these diverse but related groups had become well articulated, but it was not until 1834 that the British government was to be forced to abolish the monopoly of the East India Company in the China trade.

*Frustration of the effort
to deal with the Chinese emperor*

MEANWHILE, the British government continued its quest for an opportunity to deal directly with

the Chinese throne in the effort to open China's doors to British merchants and enterprisers. Conscious of the vast possibilities of the China trade, the English took the lead in what was a general European effort to win recognition, to receive equal treatment, and to be permitted to establish permanent diplomatic relations with China. This effort, however, was destined to frustration in the early years of the nineteenth century. Not until China was forced by military action (1839-1842) were the Manchu rulers to agree to open "All under Heaven" to free intercourse and to negotiate with the westerners on something approaching a basis of equality.

*The problems
of the English in India*

IN INDIA, however, the problems of the British were not those of suppliants but of sahibs. Their

position imposed a double obligation upon them—that of military pacification and that of domestic order. No matter how true it may have been that the British were prompted in India by self-interest, and no matter how justified critics may seem in accusing the British of bleeding India and of ignoring the plight of India's millions, the British thought of themselves also as reformers. They brought a certain degree of national solidarity, a sense of order, and a spirit of equality to India along with the modern political, commercial, and technological methods by which they ruled and exploited it.

*Hastings and Cornwallis
as governors-general in India*

DESPITE the limitations placed in 1784 upon the British East India Company's authority, it continued

to grow at the expense of India. Warren Hastings had been appointed the first governor-general of India under the Regulating Act of 1773, and still held that office at the time of the India Act of 1784. During that period, he had laid the real foundations of Britain's empire in India. Following Clive's policy of interfering in Indian affairs in order to enhance the British position, Hastings used all means at his disposal, whether bordering on the unscrupulous or not, to reap benefits for the company. Displeased with the

Critics of Warren Hastings' regime in India accused him of corruption. In this cartoon Hastings is shown receiving a bribe from a kneeling Indian potentate.

India Act, he retired from his post in 1784, and was subsequently impeached in Parliament for high crimes and misdemeanors while in India. His trial was made famous by Edmund Burke's accusations and the historical essay later written by Lord Macaulay, but in the end he was acquitted. The impeachments of Clive and Hastings nevertheless tended to indicate that the company's servants in India were accountable to a higher authority.



Hastings was succeeded in India by Lord Cornwallis. Cornwallis and his successors continued painstakingly the work begun by Clive and Hastings, and they were able through the powers granted to them by the India Act of 1784 to proceed even more vigorously. Cornwallis put the civil servants in India on a better wage basis, and then ruthlessly suppressed corruption and graft in the public service. He also reformed the police system and endeavored, by combining native and English codes and judicial procedures, to make legal practices as nearly uniform as possible. Moreover, the British under Cornwallis carried through the so-called "Permanent Settlement of Bengal." Inaugurated at the outset of Hastings' regime, this was an effort to straighten out the system of land tenure and to simplify the collection of land taxes.

*Bentinck
as governor-general in India*

ALTHOUGH the Permanent Settlement failed to protect the cultivators adequately, it was appreciated in many parts of India as a sincere attempt to improve the conditions

of the native population. Under pressure from humanitarian groups in

Europe and in the hope that the profits of the East India Company could thereby be increased, the British continued their efforts to suppress native violence, cruel and superstitious traditions, illiteracy, and inefficiency. Lord William Bentinck, governor-general from 1828 to 1835, undertook a series of police and educational reforms that were destined to make him remembered as one of the most enlightened rulers of India. Thus in a limited but striking sense Bentinck brought the reform movement of the 1830's to India.

While British reforms inspired gratitude among some of the Indians, important groups resented foreign domination and continued to wage war against the invaders. Three military campaigns had to be fought against the belligerent Mahrattas of southern and central India, but by 1828 the diligence of the East India Company's servants had brought most of the peninsula under British control. Despite their efforts to better the life of the natives, the British continued to be mainly concerned with their own power, prestige, and profits.

*The influence
of India on occidental letters*

WITH THE extension of British control in India, the attention of English and continental scholars,

thinkers, and artists shifted away from China to India. In the late eighteenth century, while Europe was embroiled in war over American independence, the spiritual ties between India and England were drawn even tighter as England sought to guard her remaining empire more zealously than ever before. Although the Jesuit fathers in India had learned the vernacular languages of the subcontinent, they had been prohibited by Hindu religious traditions from learning and teaching Sanskrit, the language of the Hindu sacred writings. When Warren Hastings was governor-general, he took the initial steps to secure permission for Sir William Jones and Sir Charles Wilkins to study under Hindu teachers, and they were finally allowed to do so. It was not until 1790, however, that the first Sanskrit grammar was published in the west. Thereafter the wealth of Hindu thought and tradition could be seriously explored by European scholars. Students of comparative linguistics employed the new knowledge of Sanskrit profitably in their studies. The translation and publication of the Hindu sacred writings also opened new horizons to contemporary Europeans. In an age when revolution, industrialism, and commercialism were winning many adherents, the mysticism, spiritualism, and exoticism of the Hindu traditions came as something of a relief and a release. The romantics (pages 850-852) especially were eager to understand and appropriate the institutions and spiritual values of the Orient as materialism became more widely accepted in the West. In the opening lines of his *West-East Divan* (1819), Goethe expressed this romantic view of the Orient:

North and West and South are crumbling,
Kingdoms tremble, thrones are tumbling;

To the East fly from annoyance,
Seeking patriarchal joyance.

THE DECADE of 1830-1840 marked a departure in European imperialism. At the beginning of that period, the French opened Africa to new colonial enterprise by their attack upon Algeria. Before the decade was over, proud China began to be treated as prey by frankly competing European conquerors. Two great stretches of territory in the Eastern Hemisphere hitherto largely unknown thus opened up before the nations which had recently been notified by the Monroe Doctrine (page 833) that the territories of the Western Hemisphere were "henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers."

In 1830 the future of Asia appeared to be in the hands of Britain, Russia, and China. Internal turmoil, however, had already begun to weaken the Manchu government of China. The Ch'ien Lung emperor's words of admonition to King George III had been bold but had corresponded only roughly to the facts. Indeed, the very boldness of the Manchu government had been designed to impress domestic malcontents with its display of confidence and strength. Slightly over a decade after 1830, it was to become obvious to the world that China was a huge but stumbling giant. It was simultaneously to become apparent that the future of Asia would probably be determined only in part by Asiatics, for Europeans and Americans were already pressing irresistibly against the greatest centers of oriental civilization.

Until 1830 the history of the Dutch empire in Asia was the reverse of that of the British. Initially successful in driving the Portuguese from the Indies, the small Dutch nation was unable to extend its territories much farther. Dutch merchantmen confined their activities to trade with the countries of eastern Asia, although they explored in the seventeenth century the seas surrounding Australia and New Zealand. Unlike England, the Dutch homeland became a battlefield in several European wars and was frequently ravaged. In the eighteenth century, as England's preponderance on the seas and in the colonies was more firmly established, the Dutch found it increasingly difficult to retain unchallenged possession of their overseas empire.

The British, meanwhile, expanded their Asiatic domain. Possessing but a few precarious footholds in Asia at the end of the seventeenth century, the British East India Company had quickly extended its hold in India. From their small settlements at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta the British had quietly concentrated their attention upon establishing commercial relations on a sound footing. The threat to their interests coming from the French in the middle of the eighteenth century required that they participate in the

intrigue and warfare attending the scramble for territory. Learning without difficulty the technique of advantageous interference, the British soon bested the French in India and proceeded to extend their hold upon Indian territory and upon individual princes. The French, beaten in Asia as well as America, by 1830 were forced to look to Algeria and the vast unclaimed reaches of Africa for a new empire.

By the time "the industrial revolution" had begun to affect the British economy seriously, the East India Company had acquired almost complete control over the destinies of India's millions. Realizing the potentialities of the company's holdings, the British government had undertaken to regulate it through the India Act enough to prevent gross injustices and subsequent revolts that might conceivably take from the English the fruits of conquest. Peace and order seemed particularly important once the British became aware of India's value as a supplier of opium and of raw materials to their rapidly developing industries.

From India, England reached out to Burma, Tibet, and the Malay Peninsula, and tried to bring China into her commercial sphere more fully. This expansion was not always the result of deliberate planning and clear-cut objectives. It was sometimes rather an opportunistic policy, shaped by the hazards that enabled energetic leaders to follow their own bents. To offset or to profit from those hazards the government then had to adapt its own course to the accomplished facts. Thus England "blundered into empire."

Russia, directed by an absolute monarch, and proceeding, much like the United States, step by step overland, was more systematic in her imperialism. By 1830 the two great empires—Russian and British—faced each other menacingly not only in the Near East, where the one was resolved to profit as much as possible from the impending dismemberment of Turkey and the other was equally resolved to prevent that dismemberment, but also in the areas north of India, where each tried to find spheres of influence before the other might. By moving across the Bering Straits into Alaska, Russia also faced the British in America and had, in addition, roused the apprehension of the young American Union that was then sprawling across the center of the North American continent. The same Alexis de Tocqueville who in 1835 foresaw the ultimate triumph of democracy (page 893) forecast also an ultimate clash between the great Russian absolutist state and the growing American republic: "All other nations seem to have nearly reached their natural limits, and they have only to maintain their power; but these two are still in the act of growth."⁴⁵

Neither the British nor the Russians had been able to crack the hard shell of Japan's isolation. Although the Russians tried on several occasions to

⁴⁵Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Henry Reeve (New York: The Century Co., 1898), I, 559.



The Russian ambassador to Japan with members of his embassy, as a Japanese artist saw them in 1854.

establish relations with the sons of Nippon, they were regularly rebuffed. Before 1830, the British were too much occupied with their problems elsewhere in Asia to concern themselves seriously about the closure of Japan. The Dutch were the only Europeans permitted to trade in Japan, but they were limited to token interchanges through the port of Nagasaki.

Yet, from their contacts with the Dutch, the Chinese, and the Koreans, informed Japanese had come to realize by the early nineteenth century that their era of isolation had almost ended. To those Japanese willing to listen, accounts had been given of the technical superiority of the westerners, of their persistence in achieving their purpose, and of the real profits that could be had by trading with them. The stubborn efforts of the Russians also impressed the shogunal court at Yedo with the imminence of a European invasion of the mikado's precincts. Japanese scholars warned repeatedly that the government and the country should prepare for the inevitable. Strangely enough, and contrary to most predictions, Japan was to be opened neither by Russia, the colossus of northern Asia, nor by Britain, the colossus of southern Asia. The task was to be accomplished in the generation that followed by a new Pacific power, the United States of America.

Thus the post-Napoleonic period marked the transition from an old imperialism to a new imperialism, in which Russia and England and eventually Japan and the United States were to be the protagonists. The Portuguese, the Dutch, and the Spanish were left behind in the race for new colonies and spheres of influence, and France kept up only by opening new areas in Africa and ultimately elsewhere. Asia became the great theater of competi-

tion for empire, since sovereign republics and the Monroe Doctrine kept the Americas closed. The new industrialism likewise was a factor in the new imperialism. Except for Russia, the leading powers in the new imperialism were to be the industrialized nations. More than in earlier centuries, the overseas quest was now for markets, sources of raw material, spheres of influence, and investment opportunities rather than for land, gold, and Christians.

And so, on the list of the aspirations represented in the post-Napoleonic period in Europe by such rubrics as "democracy" (whether in constitutional monarchies or in republics) and "nationalism" (whether in the self-determination of minorities or in the unification of scattered ethnic groups) and "socialism" (whether in utopian schemes or in class-conscious labor organizations) must be included "imperialism" (whether for glory or for cash). With the new imperialism, European influences, in the next century and more, were to spread rapidly from Europe and the Europeanized areas of America, Asia, and Africa; and Europe's nationalistic, secular, bourgeois, urban, and industrial culture was to spread with them to all corners of the earth.

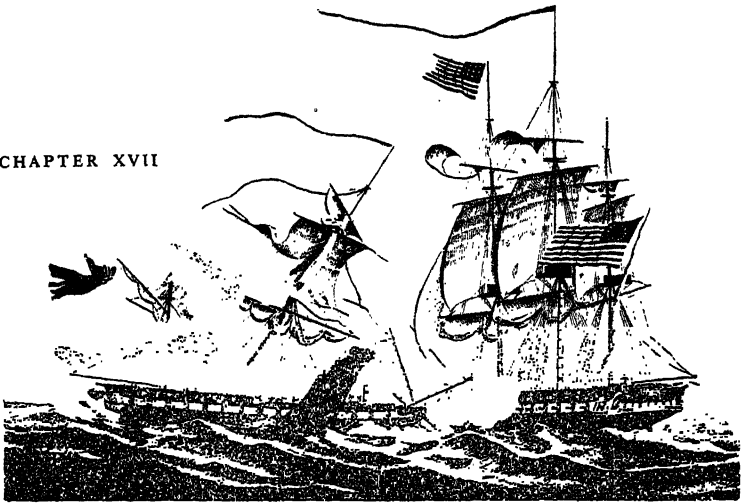


Japanese woodcut of a Russian, a Chinese, and a Dutchman.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1638 The Pacific reached by Russian pioneers for the first time
- 1662-1722 Reign of the K'ang Hsi emperor, "the Louis xiv of the East"
- 1664 The French East India Company organized by Colbert
- 1685 The Brandenburg East India Company organized
- 1685 The pacification of China and the opening of Chinese ports to trade
- 1689 The Treaty of Nerchinsk, first Sino-European treaty
- 1699 The Treaty of Karlowitz
- 1717 Publication of numerous anti-Christian decrees in China and reversion to the Ming policy of restricting trade to Canton
- 1727 The Treaty of Kiakhta
- 1727 Removal of the Moslem ban on printing
- 1728 Passage of the Russian Captain Vitus Bering between America and Asia through the straits now bearing his name
- 1729 A decree issued by the Chinese emperor to regulate the rapidly growing opium trade
- 1736-1795 The Ch'ien Lung reign, one of China's greatest periods
- 1744-1748 Indian phase of the War of the Austrian Succession
- 1748-1754 The extension of French control in India by Dupleix, ultimately checked by Clive
- 1756-1763 Hostilities resumed in India during the Seven Years' War
 - 1770 Australia claimed for England by James Cook
 - 1773 The Regulating Act, an ineffective attempt to regulate the administrative powers of the British East India Company
 - 1774 The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji
 - 1784 Reorganization of the government of India by Pitt's India Act
 - 1792 The unsuccessful Macartney mission from London to Peking
 - 1792 Conclusion of a Russo-Turkish treaty, pushing the Turks to the west bank of the Dniester River
 - 1800 Termination of the French occupation of Egypt
- 1804-1812 An unsuccessful Serbian nationalist revolt
 - 1814 Translation of the New Testament into Chinese and publication of a *Chinese Grammar* by Robert Morrison, British missionary
 - 1816 A second British mission to Peking, led by Lord Amherst
 - 1824 Dutch surrender of Malacca to the British
- 1824-1826 The First Burmese War
- 1828-1835 Reform program of Bentinck, governor-general of India
 - 1829 Formal independence from the Ottoman Empire achieved by Greece
- 1830 French invasion of Algeria

CHAPTER XVII



Republicanism and European entanglements in America

IN THE series of revolutions that rocked the western world from 1776 to 1830, the Western Hemisphere, as we have noted time and again, played a considerable role. The first decisive eighteenth-century revolution had occurred in the United States, and it was expected in some quarters of Europe that Americans would favor revolution abroad and be generally sympathetic with revolutionary France, especially since the Franco-American alliance had been so important in winning American independence. Indeed, some in the new republic felt that the destiny of their country was so intimately tied up with the triumph of Liberty and Equality that they expressed a warm enthusiasm for the French and their revolutionary slogans. But others were no less convinced that America's destiny was to be wrought in America alone, outside of and free from foreign alliances. Much of the young country's early history centered around the disputes of these two factions—one that today we might call "isolationist" and the other that favored cooperation with friendly powers.

Despite this and other factional disputes the new nation prospered materially, developed an independent culture, and became the world's foremost

champion of republicanism—almost its lone champion after the triumph of “legitimacy” in Europe. It would perhaps be too bold to claim that because republicanism remained alive in America it ultimately triumphed in most of the modern world, but had it failed in America, as many Europeans hoped it would, probably that ultimate triumph would have been less complete and longer postponed. That the United States not only endured as a republic but grew stronger as a republican federation caused many Europeans to doubt the truth of the proposition, generally considered axiomatic in the eighteenth century, that republics were necessarily weak and that federation among them was likely to be precarious. In fact, it took the Civil War to determine how strong the American federation really was. But even in the earlier events we are about to examine, the prosperity and the growing popular base of the American republic became manifest; and its federal authority, though challenged, accumulated that strength which was ultimately to lead to its victory over its challengers.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNION'S

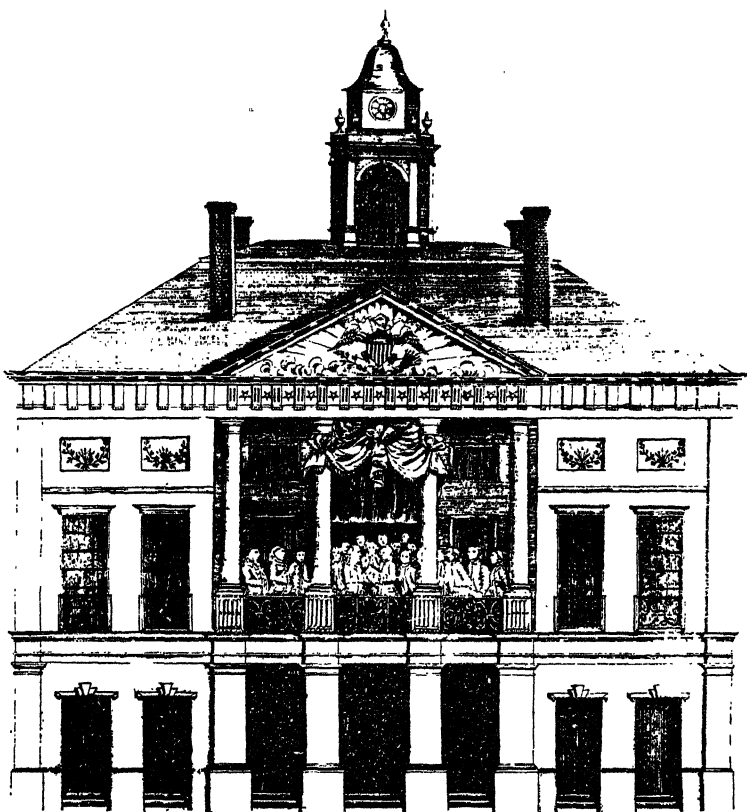
DIGNITY AT HOME AND ABROAD (1789-1801)

THE BEGINNING of the new constitutional regime in the United States coincided with the first steps in the French Revolution. The Americans were to establish a lasting government while the French were to fail. Several reasons account for the Americans' success. Among them are the facts that the Americans had a long experience with self-government behind them, that their social caste system was not deeply entrenched, that their economic structure was flexible, and that they were three thousand miles removed from the armies and the diplomatic intrigues of Europe. In all these regards they were more fortunate than the French.

The inauguration of the new government in 1789

SHORTLY after the constitution had been ratified, an election was held for the first Congress of the

new federation. The results were overwhelmingly in favor of those men who had drafted or supported the constitution. No other candidate being considered, the College of Electors chose for president the man who had led the Revolutionary armies and had later been chairman of the Constitutional Convention, George Washington. On April 30, 1789 (the day before the opening of the Estates General at Versailles), he was administered the oath of office on the balcony of Federal Hall in Wall Street, New York, before a wildly cheering crowd. Then he repaired to the Senate Chamber, where he delivered a simple but earnest inaugural address.



The inauguration of George Washington at Federal Hall in New York City.

*The first ten amendments
of the United States Constitution*

THE NEW government immediately set to work on a number of important tasks. One of these was the amending of the constitution in order to satisfy its many critics. Madison now presented a series of amendments, which Congress adopted and sent to the states for ratification. Ten of the amendments were ratified and in 1791 became part of the constitution. The first nine have generally been called "the Bill of Rights," and they safeguard specific individual liberties, such as freedom of religion, speech, press, and assembly, the right to speedy and public trial and trial by jury, the right to bear arms and to be secure "against unreasonable searches and seizures." The tenth amendment is a

clear indication of the persistent anti-Federalist sentiment, for it states: "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."

The American "Bill of Rights" came into being shortly after the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen of 1789 (page 646). Both documents set forth the same faith in the natural rights of man—with some differences, however. Both were derived largely from the same sources—religious, philosophical, historical. The most striking difference between them was that while the Declaration of 1789 was largely a set of political aspirations, the first amendments to the American Constitution were largely restrictions upon the powers of an already active government. Every one of the first ten amendments except the sixth (on public trials by jury) is couched in the negative. In other words, the French Declaration, drawn up before the shape of the new French regime was clearly discerned, set forth a political creed to which it was hoped the as yet unborn regime would conform, while the American amendments, supplementing a set of fundamental laws already in operation, ascribed definite boundaries to the authority of an already existing regime. The American document has proved the more enduring, though the spirit of both still prevails.

*Differences of opinion
in Washington's cabinet*

THE FINANCIAL and mercantile elements of the United States were staunch supporters of a

strong centralized government, because they believed that it would best advance their interests. They had not long to wait for favorable results, thanks to the brilliant championing of their cause by Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, who was opposed by Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson. Hamilton advocated a strong federal authority, without which the United States, he believed, would never attain power and eminence. Jefferson championed states' rights and a broader democracy, without which, he believed, the United States would never enjoy true freedom and dignity. In the ever-threatening conflict between Freedom and Order, Individualism and Authority, Hamilton, if he had to choose, could be expected to favor Order and Authority, and Jefferson to favor Freedom and Individualism.

*Hamilton
and the government's credit*

AS SECRETARY of the treasury, Hamilton set immediately to work upon a plan that was to make him

perhaps the outstanding finance official in United States history. The earliest great document submitted to Congress was his *First Report on the Public Credit*, in which he set forth proposals for creating a common fund to carry not only the large federal debt but also the state debts, and both at full

value. While his opponents agreed that obligations to foreign countries such as France, Holland, and Spain should be honored, as well as certain parts of the domestic debt, they heatedly denied the right or the wisdom of paying interest upon the full face value. They pointed out that Continental money had depreciated until it was almost worthless and had been bought up in vast quantities by speculators. Hamilton, on the other hand, was backed not only by security-holders but also by others who out of self-interest or political conviction wished to bolster the new government's reputation for meeting its debts. And so the Funding Bill was passed.

The secretary's proposal that the state debts should be assumed for the sake of stability and closer union evoked even more heated debate, especially among the small farmer class and those states that had relatively small debts. Hamilton's proposal was finally adopted in an Assumption Bill, but only after some shrewd political bargaining.

*The debate
over the Bank of the United States*

HAMILTON'S *Report on the National Bank* likewise stirred up opposition. The secretary believed

that the republic needed a national bank modeled somewhat along the lines of the Bank of England—one that could increase the number of notes in circulation, provide banking facilities, and act as a depository for public funds. Jefferson and Madison, however, led a vociferous fight against the proposal on the ground that it would add immeasurably to the centralizing powers of the federal government. Their argument was based on the constitutional provision that all powers not delegated to the federal government by the constitution are reserved to the states or to the people.

Hamilton's view ultimately prevailed. He argued that the federal government had in addition to "express" powers those which were "implied;" because it would have been impractical to enumerate specifically all the powers of the national government. Implied powers, he contended, are granted by the constitution, since it permits Congress "to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper" for carrying into execution the authority vested in the government of the United States. Because the constitution granted the federal government the authority to levy taxes, to pay debts, and to borrow money, and a bank has "a natural relation" to that authority, it was within the implied powers of Congress to create a national bank. This reasoning convinced Washington, and he signed a bill setting up the Bank of the United States.

*Hamilton
and the excise tax on liquors*

HAMILTON also urged the raising of revenue through excise taxes. The result was the passage by

Congress in 1791 of a tax on spirituous liquors. In the East, the distillers were able to transfer the tax to the consumer. But the backwoodsmen of

western Pennsylvania—largely Scotch-Irish—found that harder to do. Because of high transportation costs, they had to change much of their grain into whiskey and dispose of it near their own homes, and they were not able to dodge the burden of the tax. They regarded the restriction on their own use of their own grain as an unjustifiable interference with their liberty, about which, because of the reverberations of the French Revolution, there was already much talk in “Democratic Societies” and “Jacobin Clubs” in America. These frontier farmers also thought of the new excise tax as a device of the government to raise revenue without imposing direct taxes on the propertied and business interests of the East. Jefferson agreed with them that the new law was “odious” and warned Washington of its dangerous implications, for it committed “the authority of the government in parts where resistance is most probable and coercion least practicable.” But Hamilton was not merely interested in collecting revenue; he wanted to prove to the western farmers and others that the authority of the federal government must be respected.

*Hamilton
and the protective tariff*

THE FARMERS also took strong issue with Hamilton's *Report on Manufactures* of 1791. Here the

secretary urged the promotion of American industry by means of protective tariffs. The farmers put up a strong protest against Hamilton's proposal, for they saw in tariffs a device for protecting manufacturers at their expense. In 1789 and 1792 Congress passed tariff acts that were of some assistance to American manufacturers, but the duties imposed were low. Hamilton's proposal was a classic enunciation of the doctrine of protection, and was to be a conspicuous issue in many later elections.

*The reelection
of George Washington in 1792*

THE HAMILTONIANS had to obtain confirmation of their policies in the elections of 1792. Washington

had not wanted to stand for reelection because of his ill health and the trials of faction, and had accepted only after Hamilton and Jefferson both argued that his prestige was indispensable to the young republic. He was unanimously reelected. But Hamilton's party, the Federalists, did not fare so well. They lost control of the House of Representatives, and their vice-president, John Adams, was reelected by a majority of but twenty-seven electoral votes.

*The United States
and the new French Republic*

POLITICAL strife was increased all the while by the revolution that had been taking place in France

since 1789 and was making itself felt throughout the western world. After the fall of the Bastille, Lafayette sent Washington one of the keys of the old fortress as “a tribute which I owe as a son to my adoptive father, as

an aide-de-camp to my general, as a missionary of liberty to its patriarch." When France began to demolish her ancient feudal structure and gave to the world the stirring Declaration of the Rights of Man, Americans were delighted by this triumph of the principles for which they themselves had fought, and they agreed with Tom Paine that "the principles of America opened the Bastille."

But as power in France passed increasingly into the hands of more radical elements, reactions in America began to differ sharply and bitterly. News of the proclamation of the French Republic in 1792 increased the satisfaction of some American liberals. The words "Liberty" and "Equality" were stamped on children's cakes in Boston, while their elders addressed each other as "Citizen"; and a great civic celebration in honor of the new French Republic made short work of a huge roast ox, two hogsheads of punch, and a cartload of bread. Dinners and balls were held in Newport, Savannah, and Philadelphia; liberty poles were erected, and citizens jauntily sported liberty caps. The Anti-Federalists, or the "Republicans" (as Jefferson's party was now generally called), took their cue from the French and organized political clubs the length of the land. The Federalists, on the other hand, saw in this network of clubs a reincarnation of the old Committees of Correspondence by which Sam Adams had plotted the overthrow of an earlier status quo. They feared a popular movement that defied tradition, razed privilege, and unblushingly demanded power for the common man. The excesses of the French Revolution gave them the excuse to damn every American sympathizer for spreading "atheistical, anarchical, and, in other respects, immoral principles." They condemned the new political clubs as "demoniacal societies" and "hot-beds of treason."

*American neutrality
in the Anglo-French war*

WHILE this spirit of party rancor was increasing, England became a member of the coalition of

powers arrayed against France. By the terms of the Treaty of Alliance of 1778, the United States could be expected to show friendliness to France in its war against the old enemy England. Jefferson and his party, whose political and economic philosophies made them Francophiles and Anglo-phobes, wanted the terms of the treaty to be observed. But Hamilton and the Federalists, who by economic ties and political predilection were strongly pro-British, took the opposite view. Hamilton argued that the treaty of 1778 no longer applied because it had been negotiated with a Bourbon king who had been repudiated and beheaded. Washington, who inclined more readily to Hamilton's conservatism than Jefferson's radicalism, and was motivated by a strong desire to keep the struggling young nation out of foreign imbrolios, issued a proclamation on April 22, 1793, announcing "a conduct friendly and impartial towards the belligerent powers." 803

Though it studiously avoided the word "neutrality," it was the first public announcement of a policy that, until the twentieth century, was to be dominant in American foreign affairs—the determination, if possible, to avoid involvement in European conflicts in order to be free to concentrate on national development. A year later (June 5, 1794), Congress passed the first American Neutrality Law.

*The Genêt Affair
and its domestic repercussions*

WASHINGTON'S action was scarcely to the liking of a recent arrival from France. Citizen Edouard

Genêt, the handsome, elegant young Girondin minister from the French Republic, had landed early in April 1793 in Charleston and was enthusiastically fêted by the Francophiles along the road to the American capital, now at Philadelphia. The cold reception that the president gave him angered Genêt but did not deter him from a high-handed course of action. Ignoring Washington's proclamation of neutrality, Genêt started to use American ports as bases for French privateers and made contacts with frontier leaders for expeditions against the Spanish territories of Florida and Louisiana. When taken to task by Jefferson, the French minister angrily denounced the administration and tried to appeal directly to the American people. Washington demanded and received his recall.

The aristocratic Gouverneur Morris, the American minister to Paris, was correspondingly recalled. Morris, despite his role as a leading figure in the American Revolution, had been alienated by the popular politics of the Jacobins in the French Revolution. He had consistently befriended the French nobility and royal family and was now *persona non grata* to the more radical republicans. By this time, the Girondin party that had sent Genêt from France to America was itself proscribed (page 664). So Washington humanely refused to extradite Genêt, who married into the family of the New York Clintons and lived there peaceably until his death in 1835.

Jefferson was convinced that Washington was completely under the influence of Hamilton. The Genêt episode only increased the deep-rooted faction in Washington's cabinet, and Jefferson at length resigned as secretary of state in December 1793. Hamilton remained at his post as secretary of the treasury until 1795, defending himself vigorously against the attacks of Republicans in Congress.

*The defeat
of the Whiskey Rebellion*

THE DISSATISFACTION of the farmers with Hamilton's tax program and particularly with the tax

on liquor had been steadily mounting since the Excise Act of 1791. They refused to pay their excises. In the summer of 1794, an attempt by a

United States marshal to arrest some men who had defied revenue officers resulted in a flare-up of violence known as "the Whiskey Rebellion." Washington took Hamilton's advice and decided upon a strong show of force to quiet the demonstrators. He called out 15,000 militia and soon overawed the western Pennsylvanians.

The defeat of the Whiskey Rebellion was greeted with mixed emotions. It was hailed with delight by those who shared Hamilton's view not only that the rebels and their sympathizers were an ignorant, contemptible, and unpatriotic lot but also that the outcome of the rebellion was a signal victory for federal authority. But Jefferson and the Republicans denounced the government's acts as militaristic and arbitrary, and they rallied the resentful western farmers to their support. The Jeffersonians were to repeal the excise once they got the chance (page 842). But meanwhile it had been demonstrated that the executive of the young federation could and would use the militia of the states to enforce the dignity of the federal law inside state boundaries.

*Grievances
in America against England*

THE EFFORT to win respect abroad for the authority of the new federation encountered greater ob-

stacles. When England and France went to war in 1793 the English naturally thought of ways to offset the expected French advantages from the Franco-American alliance. The British navy set about destroying French commerce and attacking the French West Indies, and the effects were particularly hard on the American merchants engaged in the West Indies trade. The British government also ordered the capture of neutral ships carrying French-owned cargoes. Though this order was later somewhat relaxed, it was not long before the British navy seized several American ships—to the growing bitterness and resentment of anti-British elements in America, who seemed ready to overlook the fact that French privateers were likewise disrespectful of the American flag.

Various other causes of friction aroused great numbers of Americans against Britain—and against the Federalists, too, for taking a conciliatory and even friendly attitude toward London. One grievance was the boarding of American ships and the impressment of naturalized American sailors into the royal navy—a procedure that was certainly arrogant and that Americans generally considered unjust. Another was Britain's refusal to evacuate various northwestern posts as stipulated by the peace treaty of 1783. Still another was her continuation of the policy of inciting the Indians against the American government. In addition, many southern planters were demanding compensation for the thousands of slaves allegedly carried off by the British at the end of the American War of Independence.

*Economic ties
between America and Britain*

the Federalists advocated peace. They argued that 90 per cent of the country's imports came from Britain; therefore, to sever relations would mean the collapse of the promising financial structure that Hamilton had lately erected. War would also destroy valuable markets abroad for American producers and shippers and, at the same time, prevent English investors, already heavily committed, from embarking on new enterprises in the United States. And the fact that Britain was engaged in war against the detested radicals of the French Republic was not without its influence upon ardent Federalists.

*Americans
incited by Jay's Treaty*

THE UPSHOT was that Washington sent the chief justice of the Supreme Court, John Jay, to England to negotiate a new treaty designed to clear away the causes of friction. Jay negotiated a treaty that was signed on November 19, 1794. It stipulated that "His Majesty will withdraw all his troops and garrisons from all posts and places within the boundary lines assigned by the treaty of peace to the United States," but British subjects were to be allowed to continue fur-trading operations on American soil. The boundary line between the United States and Canada was to be determined by a mixed commission, as were losses suffered by the illegal capture of ships and cargoes of both nations. So too were other debts and compensations (except for Negro slaves carried off during the war). Britain opened English and East Indian ports to the American vessels, and American ports were opened to the British as a "most favored" nation (although the article regarding West Indian trade was so restrictive that it was excluded when the treaty was ratified by the United States Senate). No mention was made of the impressment of sailors from American ships, and British seizure of certain goods defined as contraband of war was expressly permitted on condition that full compensation should eventually be made.

The proposed treaty brought violent repercussions everywhere. Hamilton was even stoned while defending the treaty, and Washington himself was publicly excoriated. The signer of the document was burned in effigy to the accompaniment of curses such as: "Damn John Jay! Damn everyone who won't damn John Jay! Damn everyone who won't put out lights in his window and sit up all night damning John Jay!" Hamilton took up cudgels on the treaty's behalf, and wrote thirty-eight essays under the name of "Camillus" to bring out its favorable aspects. Thanks to his efforts and Washington's prestige, the Senate ratified the treaty (except for the West Indies trade provisions) in June 1795. But the pro-English Hamil-

tonians suffered a great loss in public esteem, while the pro-French Jeffersonians gained many new converts. *

Washington's address

on his retirement from presidency

THE FEDERALISTS suffered another heavy blow when Washington determined to retire at the end of his second term. In his famous "Farewell Address," published on September 17, 1796, the retiring president warned against sectional suspicions and rivalries. "The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles." He also cautioned against factional excess, stating that in governments "of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged." Finally, he suggested that the keystone of American foreign policy should be "to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." Thus the new policy of isolation, begun with the neutrality proclamation of 1793, was strongly reinforced by the prestige of the man who was "first in the hearts of his countrymen." The succeeding election was hotly contested. The Federalist candidates were John Adams and Thomas Pinckney, and the Republican candidates were Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Despite Hamilton's dislike of him, Adams won enough Federalist support to scrape into the presidency.

Growing complications

in American relations with France

FROM THE outset, the new president found himself embroiled in the European conflict. He was an excellent choice for handling the intricacies of the diplomatic struggle because of his intimate knowledge of European politics, and he was not likely to be drawn into rash action. Adams' first task was to decide what to do in view of open hostility of the French Republic. A kind of "cold war" (to borrow a phrase used to describe more recent American involvements with a revolutionary government) had been going on since the American declaration of neutrality in 1793. When Gouverneur Morris was recalled from Paris, Washington, as a friendly gesture to the Francophiles, had named in his place James Monroe, one of Jefferson's staunchest friends. Monroe proved so favorable to the French Convention as to rebuke and to be rebuked by his own government, and in 1796 a new envoy was appointed who was expected to be more representative of American commercial interests and American doubts concerning French revolutionary practices. He was Charles C. Pinckney, a loyal Federalist. The French government, now the Directory, irritated by Jay's Treaty, refused to receive Pinckney, and, after the election of Adams, ordered him to leave France, at the same time withdrawing his own minister. They even ordered French warships to seize and confiscate all

American vessels bound to and from British ports and carrying British goods. By June 1797, more than 300 American ships with their cargoes had been confiscated, and the Federalist shipowners were demanding stern action against France.

*French demands
in the XYZ Affair*

ADAMS decided on a more conciliatory course, however, and appointed a three-man commission, including Pinckney, to secure redress from Paris. When the three commissioners arrived in France, they were met with constant rebuffs. Talleyrand, the French foreign minister, refused to meet them officially but sent three agents to carry on negotiations informally. These agents made most unacceptable demands: an apology from the American government for its past conduct, the American purchase of greatly depreciated Dutch bonds at par for the benefit of France, and—most disagreeable of all—a consideration, hardly distinguishable from a bribe, of \$250,000 for certain French officials. The negotiations broke down after months of haggling, and the commissioners reported their impossible situation to President Adams. Adams sent an account of the mission's transactions to Congress, referring to the three French agents as Mr. X, Mr. Y, and Mr. Z.

*The "Undeclared War"
between America and France*

ADAMS astutely figured that this disclosure would embarrass the pro-French elements, strengthen the Federalists, and put an end to the split in public opinion over the revolution in France. He was right. The country rapidly developed an almost hysterical anti-French mood. Even Jeffersonians joined Federalists in shouting as a slogan of defiance the words, probably legendary, that Pinckney was supposed to have thrown at the French agents: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute!" Congress increased the army, and Washington was summoned to take command. It created a navy department and ordered the construction of new warships. As a result, in 1798 an "Undeclared War" broke out which was to last until 1800. The "Undeclared War" was no longer a "cold war." Its warmth was revealed by the fact that in 1798 alone more than eighty French armed vessels were seized by American warships and privateers. Without being formally associated with England and her monarchical allies, the United States had been edged over to the conservative side by its effort to maintain a dignified place in international affairs. Hamilton and his followers felt vindicated.

*The drastic nature
of the Alien and Sedition Acts*

THE FEDERALISTS now pushed through Congress a number of drastic measures which, although designed to crush the opposition, soon boomeranged and went a long way toward rallying the discredited Jeffersonians. The first was a new naturaliza-

tion law, which changed the residence requirements for citizenship from five to fourteen years. The second was the Alien Act, which gave the president the power "at any time during the continuance of this act, to order all such aliens as he shall judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States ...to depart out of the territory of the United States." The third was the Alien Enemies Act, which made all subjects of a hostile nation liable to be "apprehended, restrained, secured and removed" by a proclamation of the president. The fourth, the most drastic law of all, was the Sedition Act. It imposed severe fines and jail sentences upon persons convicted of unlawfully conspiring to oppose the execution of the laws or attempting "to procure any insurrection, riot, unlawful assembly, or combination." In addition, fines and jail sentences were also prescribed for those who were convicted of printing, uttering, or publishing sentiments intended to defame the government, the Congress, or the president of the United States, or to excite against them "the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States."⁴⁸

These extreme measures were aimed by the Federalists at Irish and French residents especially, several of whom were actively engaged as jour-

A contemporary cartoon shows the first instance of physical combat in Congress (February 15, 1798). The contestants are a Jeffersonian, Matthew Lyon, and a Federalist, Roger Griswold.



He is a wiser drunk than I am
Upon his head, away'd sir,

Who said the tongue is not his weapon,
And Griswold thus engag'd, sir.

Congress Hall,
Feb. 15, 1798.

⁴⁸William MacDonald (ed.), *Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1926* (3d ed. rev.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926), pp. 258-267.

nalists on the side of the Republicans. While the acts concerning aliens were not uniformly enforced and President Adams refused to use his power to expel aliens, they caused apprehension among many foreigners. The Sedition Act, however, was vigorously executed, and in a short time twenty-four editors were arrested and ten convicted, including various prominent Republicans. In vain did Hamilton warn his fellow-Federalists that the act was tyrannous.

Resolutions

passed by Kentucky and Virginia

AT LAST public hostility rose beyond the point where legal gagging would quiet it. In November

1798, clear-cut resolutions were passed by the legislature of Kentucky, recently admitted into the Union. These "Kentucky Resolutions," as they came to be called, had been drafted by Jefferson and embodied his own political philosophy. They maintained that "the several States composing the United States of America are not united on the principle of unlimited submission to their general government" but are joined "by compact," all reserving the "right to their own self-government," and "that whensoever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void, and of no force." Of such a nature, Jefferson argued, were the Alien and Sedition Acts. The Virginia Resolutions, drafted about the same time by Madison, were shorter and less emphatic, but they likewise affirmed the philosophy of state sovereignty while condemning the obnoxious Alien and Sedition Acts. Both sets of resolutions called on the separate states to join in declaring those acts unconstitutional.

These resolutions evoked unsympathetic replies from the other states. The Kentucky legislature was persistent, however, and passed more resolutions in 1799. It not only reasserted its faith in its original resolutions but announced the far-reaching doctrine that the sovereign states had "the unquestionable right" to judge infractions of the constitution and nullify those measures which they considered unauthorized. This newly enunciated doctrine of nullification was to crop up again in the years to come, and with fateful results. For the time being, however, it was brought forward not to wreck the federal union but rather the Federalist party—and, aided by other grounds for dissatisfaction, it soon fulfilled its immediate purpose.

The Peace

of Morte-fontaine with France

THE FEDERALISTS hoped that the undeclared hostilities with France would result in formal warfare.

But Adams preferred peace if it could be obtained without loss of honor. So did the new French government, now in the hands of Napoleon Bonaparte as first consul. Adams sent another commission to Paris, and the first consul received it cordially. In 1800 a convention was signed in which France agreed to respect the rights of the Americans as neutrals. Final settlement, however,

of indemnification for American ships and cargoes that had been forcibly seized was postponed till "a convenient time" and, along with it, the decision concerning French demands for the execution of the Alliance of 1778. Adams now found himself alienated from his own party more than ever, for his refusal to continue the popular conflict with revolutionary France caused grumbling among many Federalists.

*Jefferson
chosen the third president*

IN THE election of 1800 the Republicans (now generally called "Democratic Republicans" and

soon to drop the name "Republicans" altogether) were led by Jefferson. They now triumphed over the Federalists, who had again chosen Adams as their standardbearer. The electoral balloting resulted in seventy-three votes alike for Jefferson and Aaron Burr, sixty-five for Adams, and sixty-four for Charles Cotesworth Pinckney. The House of Representatives, as provided by the constitution in case of a tie, had to decide which of the two top candidates should be elected president. Jefferson's old rival, Hamilton, believing Burr untrustworthy, threw his weight to Jefferson's side and thus made the Virginian's election possible.

JEFFERSONIAN DEMOCRACY

AND FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS

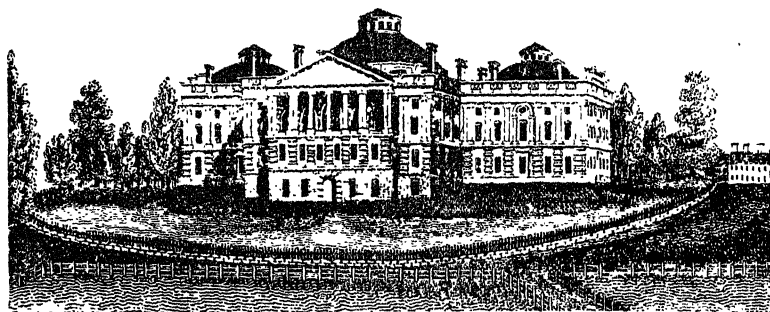
WHEN THOMAS JEFFERSON—six feet, two and a half inches of "tall, high-boned man" with curly, reddish hair, freckled face, plain manners, and plain dress—strode from his boarding house to the unfinished Capitol on the morning of March 4, 1801, and took his oath of office, many Federalists were convinced that the end of sedate law and of strong union was at hand. When Jefferson left the White House eight years later the law was still respected and the union was much firmer than ever before.

*The political philosophy
and ideals of Thomas Jefferson*

THE FEDERALISTS' fears were based not alone on the charge that Jefferson was an "atheist"

—he was in reality a deist—but also on his political philosophy, Jefferson had infinite faith in both the reason and reasonableness of the common man, and he believed wholeheartedly that good government depended on popular participation. Man must control government; the reverse was tyranny. Human happiness was more important than constitutions, and revolutions were preferable to unyielding governments.

Jefferson believed that the more centralized a government, the more out of touch with the popular will it becomes, and therefore the more unyielding and tyrannical. Hence he had so far fought against the aggrandizement of

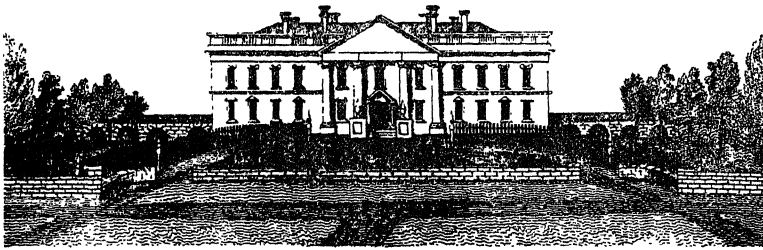


At the close of Adams' administration, the national government was transferred from Philadelphia to the new Federal City of Washington, originally planned by the Franco-American engineer, Pierre Charles L'Enfant. This is an early view of the Capitol.

power by the federal government, and demanded a strict interpretation of the constitution to keep government as decentralized as possible. He was an agrarian by experience and social philosophy. He saw and loved the sturdiness displayed by the independent farmer on the American frontier, and his voluminous reading had led him to a philosophy like that of the French Physiocrats: i.e., land furnished the raw materials of all industry; hence, land was the only source of wealth, and all obstructions to agriculture in the form of restrictive legislation should be removed. In 1782 Jefferson had written: "For the general operations of manufacture, let our work-shops remain in Europe. ...The mobs of great cities add just so much to the support of pure government, as sores do to the strength of the human body."¹⁷ Years later he modified his views enough to say: "We must now place the manufacturer by the side of the agriculturist," but it is doubtful whether he would ever have approved of big-scale industrialism. Certainly, when he assumed the presidency in 1801, Jefferson was still an uncompromising champion of agriculture and the agricultural classes, and the outspoken foe of political and economic centralization.

The Jeffersonians had perhaps been more "isolationist" in their philosophy than the Federalists. Yet the most notable successes of Jefferson's administration were to lie in the field of foreign relations. Furthermore, it was to achieve its signal success by departing from its philosophy of strict constitutional interpretation and making use of Federalist doctrines. And, no less strange, the Federalists were soon to be found on the side of a narrow provincialism in domestic affairs and a strict interpretation of the constitution. This reversal of roles by the two parties was to result from an interesting chain of events.

¹⁷Thomas Jefferson, "Notes on Virginia," *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by Paul L. Ford (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894), III, 269.



The Executive Mansion, or White House, at Washington was designed by the Irish-American architect, James Hoban, in the neo-classic style. The prints on these pages capture the rural atmosphere of the new, unfinished national capital.

*The purchase
of the Louisiana territory*

DURING President Washington's administration thousands of settlers had moved westward into the fertile lands beyond the Alleghenies. As a result, Kentucky had been admitted as a state in 1792 and Tennessee in 1796, and thousands of Americans had settled in Ohio. These settlers in the West depended upon the Mississippi River system and a sure outlet to the sea at Spanish New Orleans for the sale of their wheat, lumber, tobacco, corn, pork, and hemp. The Spanish had continually threatened to close the Mississippi at New Orleans until in 1795 Thomas Pinckney negotiated a treaty granting American shipments the right to pass through.

But in 1800, a weak Spain had secretly ceded Louisiana back to the France of the Consulate (page 695), and Americans were naturally apprehensive of Bonaparte's imperialistic ambitions. As soon as Jefferson learned of this new threat, he realized that action had to be taken swiftly to prevent the establishment of a flourishing French colonial empire on the west bank of the Mississippi, with an attendant paralysis of American commerce in the West. France once more appeared a great menace, especially since the French had resumed the practice of capturing American vessels engaged in trade with their enemies. The president wrote Robert R. Livingston, the American minister in Paris: "The day that France takes possession of N. Orleans fixes the sentence which is to restrain her [the United States] forever within her low water mark....From that moment we must marry ourselves to the British fleet and nation." Livingston was instructed to try to purchase New Orleans and Florida, and Monroe was dispatched as minister extraordinary to help swing the deal.

Meanwhile, in a rapid change of political strategy—largely the result of a successful Negro revolt in Santo Domingo under Toussaint L'Ouverture and



A contemporary idealization of Toussaint L'Ouverture, leader of the revolt in Santo Domingo against the French.

his successors (page 705)—Bonaparte decided to abandon all colonial ambitions in the New World and to renew his aggressive European policy. And so, after Livingston had attempted vainly for months to purchase the territory in the vicinity of New Orleans, Bonaparte's representatives unexpectedly offered to sell the entire vast Louisiana domain to the United States. Livingston, at first astounded by the dazzling offer, was led to a favorable decision by the newly arrived Monroe, and together they consummated one of the most important transfers of territory in American history. The republic acquired nearly a million square miles of land together with the thriving seaport of New Orleans—enough to double the size of the country. At the same time Americans secured a satisfactory settlement of their claims against France for shipping losses

through French violation of neutral rights on the high seas. For the purchase price was fixed at 80,000,000 francs (roughly \$15,000,000), of which 20,000,000 francs were turned over to the American government to pay the shipping claims. Interest payments eventually brought the cost to \$27,267,622, or about four cents an acre.

*Federalist opposition
to the Louisiana Purchase*

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE was ratified on October 21, 1803. But ratification came only over

the bitter opposition of the Federalists, who now turned up as strict constructionists. They did not oppose the acquisition itself so much as the stipulation that the inhabitants of Louisiana "shall be incorporated in the Union...as soon as possible"—i.e., that the area should be admitted as states equal to the ones already in the union. They could find no warrant in the constitution for such an acquisition, and no excuse to plunge the already debt-ridden country into further poverty for the sake of what they termed worthless wilderness. This dramatic turnabout by both parties indicated that the Federalists and the Democrats were separated not so much by constitutional differences as by issues much more immediate—issues that were economic and sectional. The

Democrats saw in this territorial acquisition the means of satisfying the land hunger of the frontier, and the political and economic strengthening of the western farmer. The Federalists of New England dreaded the day when the Atlantic seaboard would decline in relative importance.

American victory

in the Tripolitan War (1801-1805)

MEANWHILE another foreign complication was obliging Jefferson to act as the executive of a

self-respecting federal union. He was spending large sums of money and risking American lives and naval vessels in a war that Congress had not declared. The Moslems of the Barbary Coast of Africa—Moroccans, Algerians, Tunisians, and Tripolitanians—were still engaged, as they had been for centuries, in piracy at the expense of Christian commerce and captives. England had been able to afford protection to American shipping in the Mediterranean before independence, but President Washington had agreed to pay tribute, and Adams had followed suit. Jefferson, when minister to France, had advocated a policy of armed resistance, and when the pasha of Tripoli now insisted that Americans were worth more than Jefferson was prepared to pay in tribute, the president as commander-in-chief of the navy sent a naval expedition to blockade Tripoli. An undeclared war ensued and lasted for four years. In 1805 the pasha accepted a down payment for prisoners captured during the war and agreed to require no tribute in the future. The young United States thus showed to the older countries that the way to deal with the Barbary corsairs was by force rather than appeasement.

"Judicial review"

and the election of 1804

DESPITE a series of quarrels with Federalist-controlled law courts, Jefferson's first administration

had been a huge success, marked as it was by an improvement in national unification, a reduction of the federal debt, a lowering of taxes, and an increase in international prestige. Even the quarrel with the courts ultimately proved to have results generally regarded as beneficial. Chief Justice John Marshall in a famous decision rendered in 1803 argued that the Supreme Court has the power to declare an act of Congress void when in the court's opinion the act is "repugnant to the Constitution." Moreover, "it is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is." Jefferson contended, on the other hand, that the Constitution established three independent departments that should check and balance one another. Marshall's interpretation, he declared, made "the judiciary a despotic branch. Nevertheless, Marshall's decision prevailed, and the right of American courts to pass on the constitutionality of laws has remained unshaken to the present day. But Marshall's victory did not destroy Jefferson's prestige. Proof of Jefferson's popularity was demonstrated in the election of 1804, when he defeated his Federalist opponent by carrying every state except Connecticut

and Delaware. Jefferson assured his countrymen in his second inaugural address that "not a cloud appeared on the horizon."

The United States

and the European blockades

CLOUDS appeared soon enough, however. The Napoleonic wars had reopened in 1803, with

France mistress of Europe and England mistress of the seas. Jefferson might have been spared foreign complications, and American commerce might have been allowed to continue reaping rich commercial profits from the European war, had not the vexing problem of neutral rights arisen again. Upon the renewal of war, France's merchantmen were almost completely driven from the seas by the British navy, and she depended largely on American vessels to bring in supplies from her overseas colonies. American exports jumped from under \$21,000,000 in 1792 to over \$108,000,000 in 1807, while imports rose from about \$32,000,000 to nearly \$140,000,000.⁴⁸

To cut off this source of supplies for France, Britain instituted stiff measures. A decision of an English prize court in 1805 held that enemy goods carried in a neutral vessel and destined ultimately for an enemy port did not become neutral goods simply because the vessel broke its journey by stopping at a neutral port. In other words, the British maintained that even if an American ship loaded with French West Indian goods destined for France might first sail to some port in the United States, this so-called "broken voyage" did not render the shipment free from capture by the British as a prize of war. This decision meant a marked increase in the number of prizes captured by the British among the American vessels engaged in trade with French territories.

Next, in order to starve Napoleon into submission, England in May 1806 declared that her blockade of the coast of Europe extended (with certain exceptions) from France to the mouth of the Elbe. Napoleon struck back in November 1806 with his Berlin Decree, which forbade all commerce with the British Isles and ordered the seizure of any ships coming from England or her colonies. In retaliation, the British announced new orders in council by which all European ports were declared blockaded, and neutrals were required to stop at British ports to pay duty and to clear again. The British object was to maintain England as a trade center. Equally anxious to destroy British trade, Napoleon topped these orders with his Milan Decree (December 1807), which declared that all ships sailing to and from the British Isles or submitting to English search would be seized and confiscated.

On the high seas the decrees of Napoleon constituted only a paper blockade, but he could and did capture American vessels accused of violating his decrees when they came to ports under his control. The orders of the British

816 ⁴⁸H. U. Faulkner, *American Economic History* (6th ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), pp. 232-234.

were much more effectively enforced. The huge profits of the contraband trade nevertheless encouraged Americans to risk the double hazard, with the result that some sixteen hundred American ships were captured with a property loss of \$60,000,000. American resentment was, on this score, directed against both France and England.

Impressment

of American sailors by the British

STILL another hazard in the carrying trade sharply increased American hostility toward Britain. This was the British navy's persistence in impressing presumed British subjects found on American ships. Because of stern treatment on British warships and the inducement of higher pay on American merchantmen, British sailors frequently deserted their ships. In 1807, for example, the U.S.S. *Constitution's* crew of 419 had 149 avowed British subjects. Very often British naval captains disregarded the claims of American citizenship by naturalization of former British subjects and were also not above impressing native American sailors. The problem was aggravated by the American practice of inducing British sailors to desert and providing them with forged papers. By 1810 about 400 cases of impressment had occurred.

Ill feeling reached a high pitch in 1807, when the British man-of-war *Leopard* fired upon an American naval vessel, the *Chesapeake*. The commander of the *Leopard* suspected that the *Chesapeake* carried some British deserters. When he was refused permission to search, he fired a broadside into the American frigate, killing three men and wounding eighteen. The *Chesapeake* submitted and the British commander seized four of her crew. This violent action caused Canning, the British foreign secretary, to express his "concern and sorrow," while in America it made even the pro-English Federalists manifest keen resentment.

The American embargo

of foreign trade and its results

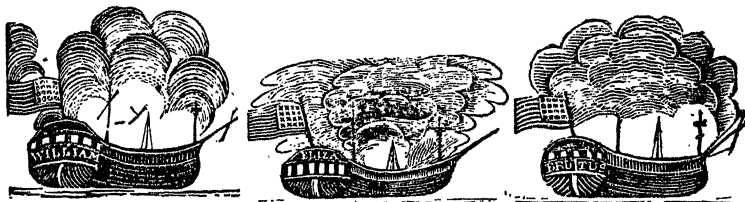
HAD JEFFERSON so desired, Congress would have declared war.

But the president hoped to preserve peace and simply instructed Monroe, now the American minister in London, to demand an apology and reparations. Jefferson believed that the boycott would prove a more potent weapon than the sword. Already, in 1806, in answer to the British order blockading the Continent, Congress had excluded the importation of certain British goods through passage of the Non-Importation Act. Now, in December 1807, incensed by both French and English disregard of neutral rights, Congress passed the Embargo Act, which forbade all American vessels to clear American ports for any foreign shores.

To Jefferson's embarrassment, the Embargo Act backfired completely. First of all, it did not force Britain to change her policy. Even more important, American commerce suffered catastrophically. The embargo threw thousands of sailors and mechanics out of work, and the government lost millions

AMERICANS!

See the EXECUTION of BONAPARTE's Orders
to *Burn, Sink, and Destroy* your Ships !



A broadside printed in Boston during the presidential election of 1808. It is directed against the allegedly pro-French, anti-British Jeffersonians.

in customs. A fourteen-year-old Massachusetts boy named William Cullen Bryant, destined to be one of his country's greatest poets, called the embargo

"Curse of our nation, source of countless woes,
From whose dark womb unreckon'd misery flows."

And, apostrophizing Jefferson, he cried:

"Go, wretch, resign the Presidential chair."

*The repeal
of the Embargo Act*

IT WAS in this atmosphere that the presidential election of 1808 took place. Although the Feder-

alists gained seats in both the Senate and the House of Representatives, Jefferson's influence was sufficient to get his friend James Madison elected. During the expiring months of Jefferson's administration, Congress passed an enforcement act, which permitted federal officials even without warrant to seize goods suspected of foreign destination. The town meetings of New England now talked bitterly not only of nullifying the embargo but even of secession. Finally Congress passed a bill repealing the embargo, and Jefferson regretfully approved it on March 1, 1809, three days before he retired from office. To take the place of the Embargo Act, Congress passed a Nonintercourse Act, which, while prohibiting trade with Britain and France, restored American commerce to the rest of the world.

WAR WITH ENGLAND (1812-1815)

JAMES MADISON was an unimposing little man, whose scholarship and joviality and vivacious wife still did not enable him to measure up to the

political stature of his predecessor. Madison was not forceful enough to provide leadership for Congress. Despite his peaceful inclinations, the country during his administration drifted into a war which wiser statesmanship might perhaps have avoided and for which it was not prepared. The war, nevertheless, had a telling effect upon the development of national unity.

Madison's efforts

to preserve peace with England

MADISON started out auspiciously enough, and within a few weeks of his inauguration was hailed as a peacemaker. The British minister at Washington, David M. Erskine, on orders from Canning, the British minister of foreign affairs, began negotiations for the exemption of American vessels from the orders in council, in return for the retraction of all commercial boycotts against Britain and the prohibition of trade with France. American mercantile interests were overjoyed as Madison lifted all restrictions on commerce with England, and trade revived rapidly. Unfortunately, Erskine promised more than his instructions permitted, and Canning, repudiating the agreement, recalled the envoy. Shortly afterwards Napoleon by the Rambouillet Decree ordered the sale of American shipping seized by the French.

Macon's Bill No. 2

and Napoleon's deception

FACED once more by an unrelenting England and an impervious France, Congress finally passed Macon's Bill No. 2. This measure restored commercial intercourse with both Britain and France but held out the promise that if either nation would stop violating American commerce, the United States would cut off its trade with the other. Such a bill was much to the taste of Napoleon. In a skillfully worded half-promise he implied that the Berlin and Milan Decrees would cease to have effect after November 1, 1810. Actually French privateers and port authorities continued to seize American ships, but in the days before the telegraph, the telephone, and steam navigation it was difficult to discover the emperor's deception. On November 2 Madison proclaimed that nonintercourse would be revived against Britain if the orders in council were not repealed in ninety days. The American minister in London tried to persuade the



This cartoon is entitled "The Death of the Terrapin." It implies that Jefferson managed to release himself from the embargo just in time.

British foreign secretary to take favorable action, but the secretary answered that he could see no evidence that the Milan and Berlin Decrees had been revoked—as in reality they had not. But Madison was adamant in preferring to take Napoleon's statement at face value, and in February 1811 forbade further commerce with Britain.

*British suspected
of inciting Indian disturbances*

OTHER circumstances also conspired to bring on conflict with England. Chief among these was

the frontier situation. Land-hungry frontiersmen coveted the rich forest lands of Illinois and Indiana, still in Indian hands. They also sought the acquisition of the fertile peninsula of Upper Canada with its borders on Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario. Ambitious pioneers pushed into Indiana Territory, created in 1800. It included all the Northwest Territory except Ohio, which had attained statehood in 1803. Often unscrupulous methods and large quantities of whiskey were employed to acquire land from the Indian chiefs. Between 1795 and 1809 the Indians of the territory lost some 48,000,000 acres.

Then, under the leadership of two remarkable chiefs, Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, the tribes organized a confederacy. The Prophet led a religious revival and persuaded great numbers of Indians to renounce intoxicating liquor and to avoid the society of white men except for trade. Tecumseh and the Prophet started a settlement on the Tippecanoe River in northwestern Indiana in 1809, to the consternation of the whites in the territory. William Henry Harrison, governor of the territory, then began some high-handed tactics. To deprive Tecumseh of the last of his hunting grounds, he concluded a treaty with some renegades who, he admitted, were "the most depraved wretches on earth." Tecumseh naturally termed this treaty fraudulent, and more tribes joined his confederacy. Then Harrison, in 1811, forced the issue by leading a troop of about 1000 men toward Tecumseh's village at the mouth of the Tippecanoe. Tecumseh was away at the time hostilities broke out. Although the Indian village was destroyed, Harrison's force was obliged to retreat. The upshot was the eventual withdrawal of the Indians into Canada.

The belief was general that British agents had encouraged Tecumseh's confederacy. This charge concealed the true cause of conflict—namely, the desperate attempt of the red man to retain some of his landed inheritance. But the popular conviction of British complicity was a substantial factor in fanning the current Anglophobia.

*The influence
of the "war-hawks" in Congress*

STILL another factor in the accumulating war spirit was the new make-up of Congress as a

820 result of the elections of 1810. Half of the peace-minded representatives who had voted for Macon's Bill No. 2 had failed to get reelected, and a new

generation gained prominence in Washington. It contained aggressive young men who were to influence profoundly the destiny of the nation—such as Henry Clay of Kentucky and John C. Calhoun of South Carolina. These “war-hawks” championed a conflict with Britain in order to acquire Canada and the British fur trade. They also considered the possibility of detaching Florida from Spain, now an ally of Britain (page 724). The “war-hawks” were only a minority in the House, but they managed to place Clay in the speaker’s chair. They confidently predicted that Canada could be conquered in six weeks. Despite the contempt hurled at their “cant of patriotism” and their “agrarian cupidity” by the antiwar spokesmen, these “war-hawks” pushed the reluctant Madison into a belligerent attitude toward England.

*The declaration
of war by the United States*

SINCE Napoleon’s Continental System closed European ports to British ships and Madison’s pro-

hibition denied the British any intercourse with America, economic conditions in Britain, engrossed in the Peninsular War with France (page 723), deteriorated seriously. Finally, after much pressure from manufacturing interests at home, the British government announced that the orders in council would be immediately suspended. The announcement was made on June 23, 1812, too late to save the peace. Madison had sent his war message to Congress on June 1, 1812. On June 18 the House voted for war by 79 to 49, the Senate by 19 to 13. If communications had been faster in those days, war would probably have been postponed and perhaps even averted. Thus, at a time when England was uniting with a huge coalition of European powers to liberate the conquered areas within the Napoleonic empire (page 736), the United States found itself at war with England. The causes specified in the formal declaration were impressment, the violation of American territorial waters, the blockade, and the orders in council.

*The failure
of the attack on Canada*

THE WAR OF 1812 was something of a fiasco, marked by incompetence on the part of most of the

military leaders. The United States was unprepared for war; it managed to come out of the conflict undefeated chiefly because Britain had mobilized her imperial resources to defeat Napoleon. The American army counted less than seven thousand men, thanks to the economy measures of Jefferson. It was supported by untrained militia whose leaders were usually too old or incompetent. The results were inglorious failures on more than one occasion. The offensive against Canada failed to measure up to the war-hawks’ prophecies of easy conquest. On the contrary, this phase of the war has come to be treated in Canadian national history as a gallant and successful stand of Empire forces against superior numbers. Canada was cleared of American troops by the close of the second year of the war.

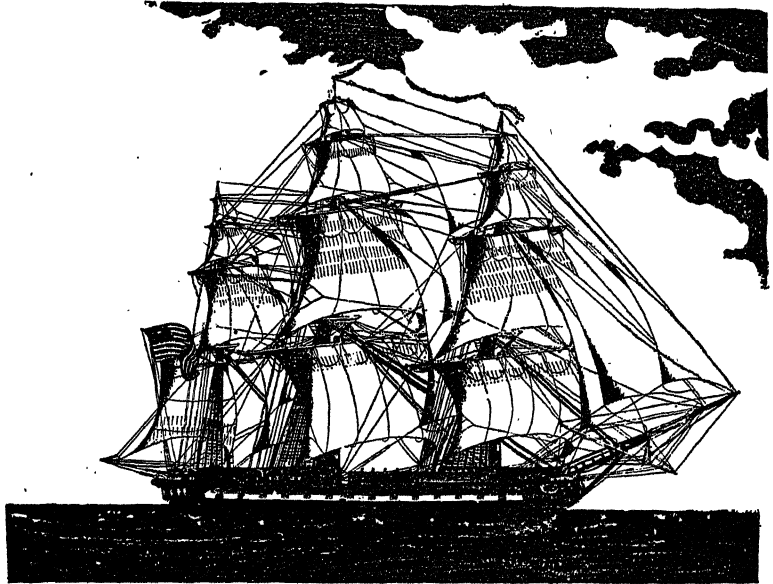
*Naval warfare
on the Great Lakes and Atlantic*

MILITARY failure was offset by the exploits of the small but efficient American navy, led by such famous frigates as the *Constitution*, the *United States*, and the *President*. Faster, more heavily armed, and better manned than British 44's, these sturdy vessels achieved several notable victories on the Atlantic, while fleets of smaller vessels performed heroically on the Great Lakes. Furthermore, American privateers captured over 1300 British ships, valued at approximately \$39,000,000. Canning admitted to the British Parliament that "the sacred spell of the invincibility of the British navy was broken by those unfortunate captures."⁴⁰ But in the end the superior numbers of the British navy prevailed, and the enemy was able to blockade the chief ports and to raid the coast of the United States almost at will.

*Invasions
and defense of the United States*

IN 1814, following the first abdication of Napoleon, the British took the offensive in America, their army reinforced by several thousand regulars from Wellington's forces. An invasion from Canada threatened to overrun New York, but when a twenty-eight-year-old American, Commodore Thomas MacDonough, led his

Engraving of the U. S. Frigate Constitution.



Contemporary woodcut of the Battle of Lake Champlain.



navy squadron to victory at Plattsburg on Lake Champlain, the British army's communications were thereby threatened, and it retreated. Another British expeditionary force landed near Washington

and was met by seven thousand militia, who, upon losing ten of their number, broke and ran for Washington. Since earlier in the war American troops had destroyed government buildings at York (now Toronto) in Canada, the British now in retaliation deliberately burned Washington's public buildings but did no looting. Shortly afterwards, the British forces proceeded to Baltimore, where they were more militantly received. They were unable to reduce Fort McHenry, and the campaign ended without any permanent results, except for the writing of some thankful verses by Francis Scott Key upon beholding "the star-spangled banner" "in full glory reflected" after an anxious night of "battle's confusion."

*The opposition
in New England to the war*

NEW ENGLAND, New York, and New Jersey were the sections of the United States whose com-

merce and sailors had suffered principally at the hands of British orders and impressments. They provided three-quarters of the country's merchant tonnage and most of the seamen. Their congressmen nevertheless had voted against the declaration of war, and they were most vehement in their opposition to its continuation. The New England states went to particular extremes. In October 1814, the Federalist-dominated Massachusetts legislature issued an invitation to other states to send delegates to a conference to be held at Hartford, Connecticut. Rhode Island and Connecticut were the only other states that officially complied. The so-called Hartford Convention opened on December 15, 1814. It was called to protect the interests of New England against those of the southern planters and the western farmers, and some of the Federalist hotheads wanted to force a revision of the federal constitution to that end. Indeed, in the event of failure to accomplish that objective, these men were willing to work for a separate peace between England and New England. But the moderates won out, and the convention contented itself with proposing several constitutional amendments and with denouncing the administration at Washington and the war itself.



This Philadelphia cartoon shows John Bull (who has become a symbol of England) making demands upon Washingtonians, kneeling, their hair on end with fright, at the time Washington was burned. (Porter and Perry, victorious American naval commanders, had names similar to well-known American liquors.)

Peace and the Battle of New Orleans

THESE denunciations suddenly backfired with the news of a great victory at New Orleans and the belated announcement that peace had been negotiated. The paradoxical nature of the war was symbolized by the strange fact that its most notable battle came after the actual signing of the peace treaty but before knowledge of that treaty reached America. On January 8, 1815, the veteran general, Andrew Jackson, successfully defended New Orleans against the onslaught of a large force of British veterans. Jackson and his strongly entrenched militiamen killed two thousand of the enemy together with their commander. While the victory had no effect on the peace treaty signed two weeks previously, it made Jackson a national hero and gave rise to a new burst of nationalist fervor. As a result, the New England Federalists were branded as unpatriotic, an accusation from which they never recovered.

The signing of the Treaty of Ghent

THE TREATY OF PEACE was signed in Ghent, Belgium, on December 24, 1814, after many weeks of sparring on the part of both countries' envoys. The British commissioners were instructed in August by their government, which was emboldened by its

victories over Napoleon, not to admit impressment of sailors or neutral rights as topics of discussion. On the other hand, they were to demand the cession of land in Maine and northern New York to Canada, the abandonment by the United States of her right to the Newfoundland and Labrador fisheries, and the creation of a neutral Indian buffer state south of the Great Lakes. But the British backed down from these demands in anxiety over the ominous trend of events at the Congress of Vienna (page 742) and upon learning of Commodore MacDonough's unexpected victory at Plattsburg. Eventually they agreed to a peace based on the status quo ante bellum. Thus the Treaty of Ghent, as paradoxical as the war it ended, carried no mention of impressment, blockades, or neutral rights. It simply concluded hostilities and set up machinery for the settlement of boundary disputes with Canada.

THE NEW WEST AND AMERICAN CULTURE

AFTER the War of 1812, economic conditions in the east once more fostered a growing tide of migration toward the west. Census figures reflect the westward trek. In 1810 the population of the New West was 1,080,000; in 1820 it had risen to 2,217,474; by 1830 it had spurted to almost 3,700,000. Between 1812 and 1821 alone, six western states were added to the union: Louisiana (1812), Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), and Missouri (1821). By 1830 Ohio alone had a population of almost a million, surpassing the combined population of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

*Growth
of the towns of the New West*

SOCIAL and economic differences
between the upper and the lower
Mississippi Valley largely re-

flected the differences imported respectively from the northern and the southern regions of the Atlantic seaboard. Despite these differences, the New West had a uniqueness and an inherent unity which set it off from the rest of the country. This unity stemmed from the economic development of the Mississippi Valley and the interdependence of its various parts. Chicago and Milwaukee were still small fur-trading posts in the Indian country in the decade 1820-1830. Pittsburgh was beginning to develop its foundries and rolling-shops, and although its population consisted of only some 12,000 in 1830, the city was already being called the "young Manchester" and the "Birmingham" of the United States. Cincinnati was the most flourishing and populous city in the New West, and its 25,000 inhabitants were exceeded in numbers only by those of New Orleans. Cincinnati was the center of steamboat-build-

ing, while its pork-packing industry won for it the unenviable nickname of "Porkopolis." Louisville exported tobacco, and St. Louis with its 6000 inhabitants was a commercial center for Illinois and the Missouri settlements. Few large places were encountered farther down the Mississippi until New Orleans was reached. Its population of almost 50,000 in 1830 was engaged to a considerable degree in exporting abroad the products of the Valley.

It was perhaps because so many young men went west and devoted their energies and talents to the creation of a new frontier culture that American letters, art, and science were graced by only a few distinguished names before 1830. Several of these distinguished persons derived their inspiration from Europe and went there, when they could, to study or to live. Yet their native land often furnished them—especially the writers—with engaging subjects.

*Developments
in the sciences in America*

THE SCIENTISTS of this period, reflecting the positivism of their age, tended to turn their attention to the descriptive study of materials at hand. As a result, physiography, geography, and geology made important advances. The boundaries of the territory acquired by the Louisiana Purchase had not been properly defined when it was acquired by the United States. In order to carry out a scientific exploration of the territory, Jefferson secured a grant from Congress and gave instructions to the leaders of the expedition, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark. In 1804 the two men left St. Louis with a small party and journeyed up the Missouri River. In the summer of 1805 the expedition moved from the



Missouri across the continental divide (where they left the Louisiana territory behind), and down the Columbia to the Pacific. They wintered at the river's mouth, and returned to St. Louis in 1806, having picked up much information, both reliable and unreliable, about the vast region. In 1815 the Coast and Geodetic Survey was established. In 1829 one of the country's most famous foundations was made possible when an English scientist, James Smithson, died and left \$515,169 to the United States for the establishment of an institution "for the increase and diffusion of knowledge among men," but it was not until 1846 that Congress chartered the Smithsonian Institution.

American letters

in the early nineteenth century

IN THE early decades of the century, New York was the center of what might be termed the first American literary school. It contained Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, and the young William Cullen Bryant. All three showed marked stylistic indebtedness to contemporary English authors, but their subject matter and perspective were strongly American. Irving poked sly fun at the old Dutch customs and other New York institutions in his *Salmagundi*, *Knickerbocker's History of New York*, and other writings. He later lived many years in England and Spain, in business and diplomatic capacities, and wrote on English and Spanish themes, but he returned eventually to the American scene and wrote several stories of the frontier. He also turned his considerable talents to the biographies of Columbus and of Washington.

Cooper was the American Scott, but chose his themes from the American frontier and the sea. His series of novels known as "The Leatherstocking Tales" was very successful. Leatherstocking was the scout, "philosopher of the wilderness," who appeared in all the series. It included *The Pioneers*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, and *The Prairie*. They became enormously popular among European readers, who were enchanted—if not accurately educated—by Cooper's descriptions of the American frontiersman and Indian. Natty Bumppo and Uncas, rising on the background of the adventurous West, were arch examples of nature's noble man and the noble savage. In them, as in Wordsworth's *Lucy* or Scott's *Ivanhoe*, the age of Romanticism (pages 850-852) found a fitting rebuke of effete modernity and of mere rationalism. Cooper went abroad in 1826 and lived there for seven years, mostly in France—like Irving, influenced by and writing upon both Europe and the frontier.

Bryant, swayed by the poetry of Wordsworth, early won recognition for his interpretation of nature, his technical maturity, and his earnestness. He became assistant editor of the *New York Evening Post* in 1825 and editor in chief in 1829, and for half a century, as literary critic, lecturer, and journalist, exerted a profound effect on American letters. His *Thanatopsis* (1817), a philosophical poem on death, is generally considered the first great poem in



This pioneer scene was an advertisement for the sale of shares in a company formed in 1804 to buy land in western America.

American literature. Bryant was eighteen when he wrote it. All three of these men lived beyond the decades under discussion in this chapter, but each did some of his best work before 1830—enough good poems, novels, tales, sketches, essays, editorials, and biographies to lay the foundation for a respectable American literary tradition.

*The dependence
of American art on Europe*

AMERICAN artists were especially likely to go to Europe in the early decades of the nineteenth century

and later. This migration was due to the great reputations of John Singleton Copley and Benjamin West, American-born painters who had moved to England to improve their art and had stayed there. Both became members of the Royal Academy, and West became its president in 1792. American painters like Washington Allston, Samuel Morse (better known for his later invention of the electric telegraph), Charles Willson Peale, John Trumbull, and Gilbert Stuart went to England to study or work with them. American artists also traveled to Paris, Florence, and Rome. Allston himself became a much-sought teacher, taking his pupil Morse with him when he left to study in England; and Stuart trained John Vanderlyn, among others. The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts was founded in 1805, largely through Peale's efforts, and Peale's family became the first American family of artists (one brother and three sons achieving some distinction). In 1825 Morse was one of the founders of the National Academy of Design. These artists were all portrait painters, but some of their pictures are also on historical and religious themes. With these men American painting came of age, but showed greater European and less American influence than did American letters. One of the first American-born architects to practice professionally in America was Charles Bullfinch, who in 1818 became architect of the Capitol at Washington. Pursuing plans laid down by his predecessors and drawing upon his European travel and observations, he helped to give to Washington its characteristic classical atmosphere.



Settlers in the New West are shown clearing the forests, building log cabins, and harvesting their crops. The river obviously is their major means of communication and trade.

*Nationalism
encouraged by Madison*

THE TRADITIONAL sectional rivalry of the North and the South continued as the regional solidarity of the New West crystallized. Nevertheless, other factors were tending to produce an intensified national patriotism. Despite the antiwar feeling in New England, patriotic zeal had been highly stimulated in 1812-1814 by the common effort against a common enemy. "Yankee Doodle" became virtually a national anthem, and "The Star-Spangled Banner," which was after a century to become in fact the national anthem, inspired greater respect for the flag. "Uncle Sam" emerged as a folk symbol capable of stimulating loyalty and affection. Americans as well as foreigners visiting America noticed a decided increase in national self-consciousness. Madison and the Democrats were now as staunchly nationalist and federalist as Hamilton could have desired. Madison, who had been reelected in 1812, submitted in his message of 1815 proposals for increased military and naval defense, new national roads and canals, and adequate protection of American manufactures. In 1816, Congress passed the first protective tariff in American history.

*Monroe's election
and the "Era of Good Feeling"*

IN 1817 the White House received a new occupant. He was the tall and raw-boned James Monroe, who in 1816 had defeated his opponent handsomely. Monroe was a friend of Jefferson and Madison and was to be the last of "the Virginia dynasty." Though he lacked many of the intellectual qualities of his predecessors, his public experience, along with the "good feeling" attendant upon the decline of the Federalists, enabled him to be reelected in 1820.

*Postwar boom,
panic, and depression (1815-1824)*

THE WAR OF 1812, as we have already implied, was followed by a sharp inflation. But panic struck the West in 1819 as the wildcat banks collapsed. Vast amounts of western lands were lost by default. Economic sectionalism became articulate as west-

ern debtors assailed their eastern creditors. A Public Land Law of 1820 stopped the purchase of land on credit, reduced the price of an acre, and permitted the poorer settler to buy a minimum of 80 acres instead of 160 as formerly. But depression lasted in the West until 1824 and provided a hotbed for even more radical ideas and reforms than the region had so far produced.

*Equilibrium
between the North and the South*

JUST AS financial suspicions were dividing East and West, a new and more important conflict arose

to intensify another sectional cleavage, this time between North and South. The census of 1820 gave the eleven free states a population of 5,152,000 and 105 representatives in the House, while the eleven slaveholding states could boast only 4,485,000 persons and 81 representatives, but as long as each section contained an equal number of states and each state was entitled to two senators, the Senate could be counted upon to preserve the balance of power between the two sections. Despite the smuggling of new slaves into the slaveholding areas, it looked as if the institution of slavery might be localized; and the issue of slavery had not been a prominent one in the national legislature in recent years, even though humanitarian efforts toward emancipation had continued unabated.

*Sectional conflict
over the status of Missouri*

BUT THIS precarious equilibrium was threatened by the possibility of the creation of new slavehold-

ing states out of the Louisiana Purchase. Many slaveowners had moved with their chattels into the rich lands of the lower Missouri River. The people of this area applied in February 1819 for admission into the union as the State of Missouri. Sectional animosities were set off when a New York representative proposed that admission as a state should be permitted only on condition that the further introduction of slaves be prohibited, and that children born to slave parents become free at the age of twenty-five. The admission of Missouri to the union on the proposed conditions might set a precedent for the admission of other states in the lower Mississippi Valley, and slavery might thus be kept localized. Acrimonious debate arose in Congress, the country's press, and the several state legislatures, sorely endangering the slowly maturing unity of the federation.

*The Missouri Compromise
and postponement of conflict*

FORTUNATELY Maine, having separated itself from Massachusetts, now applied for admission

into the union. This development provided a means of compromise. Both Missouri and Maine were admitted, thus keeping the balance between the North and South with twelve states each. It was further agreed that slavery should be excluded from all the Louisiana Purchase territory north of latitude 36° 30', the southern boundary of Missouri, except for Missouri itself.

The Missouri Compromise postponed further full-scale debate of the slavery issue for another fifteen years. But some statesmen had grim forebodings. John Quincy Adams, Monroe's secretary of state, confided to his diary: "I take it for granted that the present question is a mere preamble—a title page to a great tragic volume."⁵⁰

THE EXTENSION OF REPUBLICANISM

IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE (1808-1828)

MONROE's administration was marked by important developments in the foreign field. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams was an intense nationalist and promoted his country's interests ably. Relations with Britain improved, largely because of the far-sighted attitude of Lord Castlereagh, whose policy was to treat the United States as an equal. Relations were less cordial with Spain, however. They were rendered taut by conflicting interests in the Spanish-American states.

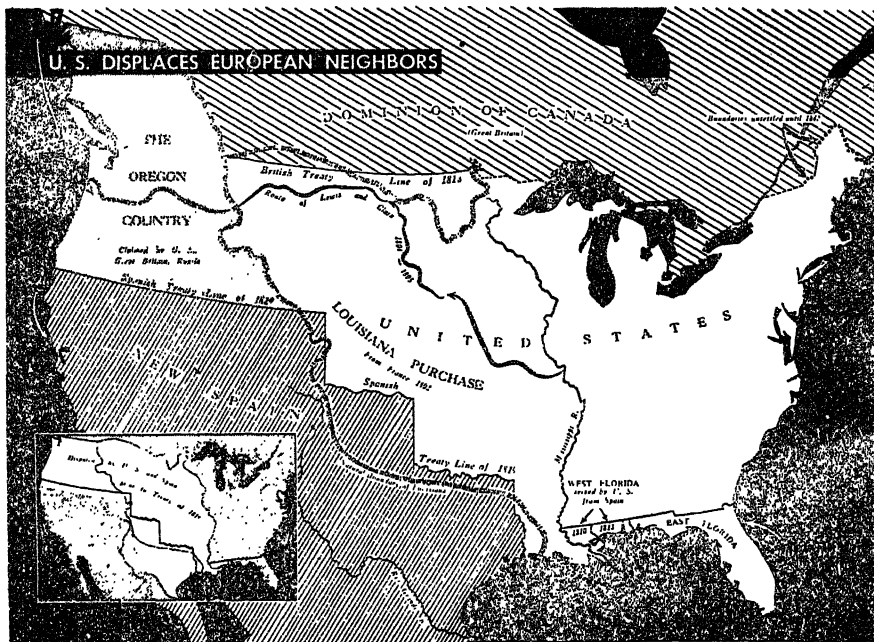
Permanent peace established with Canada

IN 1817, Britain and the United States made a treaty that resulted in a permanent peace between Canada and the United States. It was known from its negotiators as "the Rush-Bagot Agreement." Thereby the naval vessels of both countries on the Great Lakes were limited to the minimum required for policing the waterways. It was further agreed by the Convention of 1818 that the boundary between the United States and Canada should run west on the 49th parallel from the Lake of the Woods (partly in Minnesota) to the Rockies, while the unsettled Oregon country was to be left open to the citizens and vessels of both countries for ten years. These Anglo-American adjustments set the world the enviable precedent of 3000 miles of undefended international boundary.

The purchase of Florida from Spain in 1819

ON THE border of Florida, which was still a possession of the Spanish crown, a series of complications arose that nearly upset these pacific arrangements. In 1817 the Seminole Indians joined the dispossessed Creeks in harassing American border settlements. Believing that the Indians were abetted by the Spanish, General Andrew Jackson led a force of soldiers into Spanish territory, where he seized two Spanish forts and put two Englishmen to death on charges of supplying the Indians with firearms. Jackson was hailed as a hero in the West, but the more cautious Easterners feared war with England and Spain. English public

⁵⁰January 10, 1820, quoted in A. Koch and W. Peden, *The Selected Writings of John and John Quincy Adams* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1946), p. 301.



The Louisiana agreement, couched in ambiguous terms and concerning territories never formally surveyed, was a major source of boundary disputes between the United States and her European neighbors. In 1818 Great Britain and the United States amicably straightened the northern "natural boundary of Louisiana" by mutual cessions to follow the 49th parallel. Westward, the Oregon Country was left "free and open" to citizens of both nations. The inset shows the scope of conflicting Spanish and American territorial claims just prior to the Spanish-American treaty of 1819, all stemming from the Louisiana Purchase except for the American claim on Oregon by virtue of exploration. Russia also claimed jurisdictional rights to all territory southward as far as 41° N. Lat., though these claims were soon to shrink northward to 51° by 1821, to 50°40' by 1824. No great territorial aggrandizement of the United States would occur again for more than two decades, though American immigrants would soon swarm into Texas, encouraged by the independent regime that was to take over Mexico in 1821.

opinion was indeed so wrought up over the incident that it took all Castle-reagh's good judgment and forbearance to prevent conflict. Spain, having previously been approached on the subject, decided to sell Florida before the Americans seized that territory outright. By a treaty in 1819, Spain ceded to the United States all lands east of the Mississippi, and in return the American government assumed the claims of American citizens against Spain incurred during the Napoleonic wars to the extent of \$5,000,000. The United States also agreed to relinquish whatever claims to Texas might have been

*The successful revolt
of the Spanish-American colonies*

SPAIN demonstrated her military weakness in the Florida episode. Further proof of her declining

strength was furnished by the success of a series of revolutions in Latin America. As we have already seen (page 724), in 1808 Napoleon deposed the Spanish monarch and invaded Spain. The Spanish colonies in America formed provisional governments, which professed continued allegiance to Spain but meanwhile abolished the restrictive mercantilist system in favor of world commerce. By 1812 these colonies were actually, if not constitutionally, independent of Spain. When, however, the Spanish king was restored to his throne (page 865), all the Spanish-American colonies, with the exception of Argentina, were soon resubjugated.

Lasting independence for most of Spain's American colonies, nevertheless, was not long postponed. In 1817, the heroic José de San Martín led a band of 3500 men from one of the provinces of Argentina across the forbidding Andes, and on the Pacific slope defeated a royalist army. Thus came the liberation of Chile. Meanwhile, to the north, despite earlier defeats, the dogged Simón Bolívar was successful in establishing on the Orinoco the Republic of Venezuela. Revolution spread all over Spanish America. Argentina and Chile now helped Peru establish its independence, while Bolívar and his army consolidated the liberated lands of Colombia; and one of his officers, General Antonio José de Sucre, entered Quito (in Ecuador) in May 1821. By 1822 Mexico and Central America had also declared their independence from Spain, as had Brazil from Portugal. But it was not until Sucre won the decisive battle of Ayacucho in December 1824 that the independence of all South America (except the Guianas) was assured.

*American sympathy
with the Latin American republics*

AMERICAN sympathy was largely with these new republics, and Clay demanded that the United

States afford them recognition. But the astute Adams took a less dramatic and more politic view. During the period between 1819 and 1821, while the treaty ceding Florida to the United States was being signed and ratified, Adams did not want to offend Spain by affording recognition to Spain's revolted provinces. He was afraid that recognition might involve his country in a European conflict and, like President Monroe, preferred to let the issue be decided by the fortunes of war between Spain and her colonies.

*The proclamation
of the Monroe Doctrine*

AS WE SHALL see (page 868), in 1823 France invaded Spain to free the Spanish king from the

liberal constitution that he had been forced, by a revolution at home, to accept. Rumors soon spread that a Franco-Spanish expedition was in the offing to reconquer Spanish America for Spain. The English Tories did not



The wholesale disintegration of the Spanish-American empire was hastened by Joseph Bonaparte's usurpation of the Spanish throne in 1808. By 1828 Cuba and Puerto Rico were the only Hispanic-American areas to retain their colonial status. (Note that Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador were united at this time.) An independent Brazilian Empire was established in 1822. Haiti had been independent of France since 1804. The eastern, or Spanish, portion of the island (Santo Domingo) successfully revolted in 1821, only to be conquered in the following year by Haiti. The union lasted until 1844, when the eastern two thirds became the independent Dominican Republic.

relish the spread of republicanism in the Americas, but they liked even less the idea of losing the profitable commerce that had sprung up between England and the Latin Americas. Hence Canning, now British foreign minister, proposed that the United States join Britain in a public declaration against the use of force to reduce the Spanish colonies to subjugation once more. Monroe sent this proposal to his old friends and counselors, Jefferson and Madison, and they advocated acceptance. As Jefferson put it: "Great Britain is the nation which can do us the most harm of any one, or all on earth; and with her on our side, we need not fear the whole world. With her, then, we should most sedulously cherish a cordial friendship; and nothing would tend more to knit our affections than to be fighting once more, side by side, in the same cause."⁵¹

⁵¹Thomas Jefferson to President James Monroe, October 24, 1823, *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. by A. A. Lipscomb and A. E. Bergh (Washington: Issued under the auspices of the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association of the United States, 1905), XV, 477-478.

But John Quincy Adams finally converted Monroe to an independent course of action. It was presently enunciated in the president's annual message of 1823 and has since become known as "the Monroe Doctrine." Monroe declared: (1) "The American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers"; (2) "In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do"; (3) "We should consider any attempt on their part to extend their [political] system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety"; and (4) "With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered, and shall not interfere."³² The Monroe Doctrine thus constituted a candid warning to the European powers not to interfere in the political life of the Americas. It served notice not only on Spain that further efforts to reconquer her former colonies would be viewed as "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States," but also on Russia, which was then trying to stake out new claims on the west coast south of Alaska, that the Western Hemisphere was closed. It was also a dramatic proof of America's growing nationalism, and it announced the role which the United States expected to play as special defender of the Americas. Since England approved and revolutions nearer home kept the other great powers of Europe occupied (pages 865-868), none of "the Holy Alliance" made serious issue of the young republic's bold policy.

*The visit
of Lafayette in 1824-1825*

GENERAL LAFAYETTE came to America shortly after the Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed. In his own country, he had been both admired and despised as an outstanding opponent of "the Holy Alliance." He now was feted as such in America, as well as because he was the last surviving major-general of the American Revolution. Liberals in Europe found great consolation in the enthusiastic reception that every one of the twenty-four states of the grateful republic gave to their venerable guest. When Lafayette returned to France, he was, more than ever before, an unabashed spokesman for American ideals and an enthusiastic witness of American prosperity. Through him the American revolutionary spirit was to play a role among the antecedents of the Revolution of 1830. He gave his name and support to Greek, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Spanish-American, Polish, and Belgian revolutionary movements and, at least in part because of him as well as of their general interest in antimonarchical liberty, Americans volunteered their good will, their money, and sometimes their personal services to those causes. Although they were disappointed that he

³²December 2, 1823, *Documentary Source Book of American History, 1606-1926*, ed. by William MacDonald (3d ed. rev.; New York: The Macmillan Co., 1926), pp. 258-267.

accepted the constitutional monarchy of Louis Philippe in place of a republic (page 884), Americans were to be pleased with the Revolution of 1830 in France when it came, largely because they thought of it as a victory for Lafayette and his philo-American principles.

*The victory of Adams
in the heated elections of 1824*

BY THE time of the presidential election of 1824, the Federalist party had lost its power, and the

five candidates who stepped forward represented different factions of the Democrats. A bitter campaign, studded with explosive aspersions and epithets, brought out three leading candidates and ended "the Era of Good Feeling." Adams had the most outstanding qualifications of the three, but his background and personality limited his strength almost entirely to New England. Henry Clay hailed from the West, and his oratorical gifts and advocacy of "the American System" had won him a large and devoted following. General Andrew Jackson, "Old Hickory," the hero of New Orleans and the Florida campaign, was virtually uneducated and in many respects uncouth, but his very bluntness endeared him to the settlers of the frontier, who viewed him as the champion of western democracy against the tyranny of vested interests of the East. When the electoral votes were counted, none of the candidates had a majority. Hence, as the constitution required in such instances, the House had to make a final decision. Clay, who saw that he stood no chance of election, threw his influence behind Adams. Adams was elected president and immediately appointed Clay his secretary of state. The rivals of both promptly raised the charge of "corrupt bargain" and did all in their power to discredit the two men.

*The United States' part
in the Panama Congress of 1826*

THE ANIMOSITY between Adams' and Jackson's supporters, heightened by the hostility of North and

South, led to the fumbling of a great opportunity for Pan-American solidarity. In 1825 Bolívar proposed a meeting of certain American nations at Panama to discuss commercial matters and common political policies. Suspicion of American intentions kept Bolívar from inviting the United States to the Panama Congress. Mexico and Colombia, however, tendered the invitation, and the cautious Adams finally accepted. In December he sent the names of two delegates to the Senate for confirmation. The ensuing debate became an angry storm, since some senators feared entangling foreign commitments, while Southerners wanted no representation at a Congress that was to discuss the abolition of the slave trade and that would include delegates from the Negro republic of Haiti.

The wrangle of the Senate lasted until March 1826. After finally being confirmed, one of the delegates died en route to the Congress, and his associate arrived in Panama only after the meeting had adjourned. The Panama

Congress accomplished nothing, but the mismanagement of the episode worsened Adams' prestige at home and meant the loss by the United States of a chance to lead the Western Hemisphere toward a healthy Pan-Americanism. Nevertheless, even if the Latin American nations were not always, in the succeeding century, to preserve a wholesome republicanism or to remain free of embarrassing European entanglements, they did continue to be free of further European control.

*The "tariff
of abominations" of 1828*

SINCE the panic of 1819 the demand for protection of home manufacturers had grown, espe-

cially in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and the West. Only partly assuaged by the tariff law of 1824, the controversy stirred up by the tariff issue played into the hands of the Jacksonians. A bill proposed in 1828 provided high protection for woolen goods, iron, flax, glass, and other commodities. The Jacksonians knew that it would be opposed by the southern cotton-growers, who were apprehensive of increased prices of manufactured goods. They counted also on the bill's probable harmful effect on shipping to provide enough additional opposition from New England's mercantile interests to insure its defeat. Meanwhile, they curried favor with the protectionist groups of the middle and western states by supporting the proposed tariff.

This strategy was calculated to win Old Hickory new votes in circles where he was not strong. But the strategists had overlooked an all-important change that had taken place in New England. Industrialization was rapidly coming to America, and New England's importance as a shipping center had recently declined while its prominence as a manufacturing region had grown proportionately, with the result that New England's representatives unexpectedly voted for the tariff of 1828. And so what the South bitterly called the "tariff of abominations" became law.

*The election of 1828
and the power of the common man*

AS AT least one astute contemporary had remarked, the kind of infant industry that the propo-

nents of that tariff had had foremost in mind was "the manufacture of a President of the United States." In the electoral campaign of 1828, marked on both sides by scurrility and falsehood, Adams and Jackson fought it out. The administration press described Old Hickory as a drunken illiterate and a murderer (for having killed an adversary in a cold-blooded duel) and besmirched the reputation of his wife. Adams in turn was brazenly accused of the theft of vast sums of public money, of the "corrupt bargain" with Clay, and even of dissipated habits—a far cry from the Puritanical truth! The result of the election was a foregone conclusion. The South voted against Adams, and the West wished to show its new strength by electing Jackson. Even in the North, Old Hickory garnered many votes.

A drawing of President Jackson, from a book by an English visitor to America.



Jackson was the candidate of "the common man," and since the War of 1812 the common man had rapidly increased his political power. He already controlled the western states, and many of the older states by 1828 had fully or virtually granted white manhood suffrage, abolishing property qualifications. Since the elections of 1824 several states that had previously chosen their presidential electors by legislative designation had changed to direct election by the voters, and now only Delaware and South Carolina kept the old way. Even workingmen were becoming politically con-

scious as a group; they had organized in 1828 in Philadelphia a Workingmen's Party that quickly spread into other industrial cities. Middle-class intellectuals had begun to found communistic societies like the Owenite community (page 870) of New Harmony in Indiana. Peace societies, emancipation societies, and reform movement of many other varieties flourished. The result was a great increase in political activity on the part of the common citizen. More new votes were cast in 1828 than the total vote of 1824, and the overwhelming majority of them went to Jackson. Old Hickory was to be the first president who could rightly be described as "the people's choice."

THE FORTY YEARS separating the inaugurations of Washington and Jackson had been a period of dizzy oscillation—between nationalism and section-

alism, foreign entanglements and isolation, federal centralization and states' rights, prosperity and depression, war and peace. During this period the great North American republic had grown in stature and prestige among the powers of the world. Lacking a fixed foreign policy at its beginning—save for the injunction of Washington against permanent foreign alliances—in four decades the United States evolved a positive program. It adjusted its relations with Britain; it announced the role of guardianship that it intended to play in the Western Hemisphere; it was beginning to be recognized as a significant power in the world. That outsiders could not with impunity disrespect its rights or its federated might had been shown by the Genêt episode, the undeclared war with France, the Tripolitan War, the Indian wars, the War of 1812, and the Monroe Doctrine. That it would become a big and prosperous country might have been guessed by the way its people sailed the seven seas and sprawled across the Appalachians and the Mississippi and into Florida.

Still more recently it had begun to appear that this prosperous, proud, and stalwart union might not only become the largest of republics but might even strive toward democracy. Democracy had not been achieved by the constitutions, state or federal, and their bills of rights. It had not yet in fact been achieved in practice, which had for a long time tended rather toward limited franchise and indirect elections. But many, especially in the West, were becoming convinced that the people should be governed by the people and for the people. And it was as the head of a party that now regularly styled itself "the Democrats" that Jackson had gained the presidency. He had been supported by Westerners, who had detested the "aristocratic principles" in the policies of Adams, and by artisans in the eastern cities, who demanded a greater voice in politics (as well as by Southerners who favored states' rights). The name of Jackson carried with it, for some, the promise and, for others, the threat of a great popular share in government.

On the evening of March 3, 1829, John Quincy Adams left the White House, his mind filled with forebodings as to the future safety of the country that he had served so faithfully and that had now repudiated him overwhelmingly in favor of "mobocracy." The retiring president was not only leaving the White House forever; he was also shutting the door on an era. The new occupant of the White House would usher in a new age—that of Jacksonian democracy, in which Alexis de Tocqueville (page 893) was soon to discern the engulfing wave of the future. "The Age of Jackson" was to be the American counterpart of the period of Reform agitation in England and the more liberal years of the Bourgeois Monarchy in France (both of which we shall examine in the next chapter). But it was to be more democratic than either of those.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1789 Inauguration of the new federal government in the United States, with Washington as first president
- 1791 Incorporation of the "Bill of Rights" into the American Constitution
- 1793-1794 Washington's neutrality proclamation, confirmed by Congress in the first American Neutrality Law
- 1795 Senate ratification of the Jay Treaty with Great Britain
- 1796 Washington's "Farewell Address," reinforcing the American policy of neutrality and isolation
- 1797 The XYZ affair
- 1798 Passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts
- 1798-1800 An "Undeclared War" waged between the United States and France
- 1801-1805 Involvement of the United States in the Tripolitan War
- 1803 Completion of the Louisiana Purchase
- 1804-1806 Exploration of the trans-Mississippi country by the Lewis and Clark expedition
- 1806 Napoleon's Berlin Decree
- 1806 The Non-Importation Act passed by Congress in answer to the British blockade of Europe
- 1807 The *Chesapeake* incident
- 1807 Napoleon's Milan Decree
- 1807 Passage of the Embargo Act by Congress
- 1809 Repeal of the Embargo Act and substitution of the Non-Inter-course Act
- 1810 Passage of Macon's Bill No. 2
- 1811 Suppression of the Tecumseh Indian conspiracy at the Battle of Tippecanoe
- 1812-1814 The War of 1812, culminating in the Treaty of Ghent
- 1817 Limitation of naval forces on the Great Lakes by the Rush-Bagot Agreement between Great Britain and the United States
- 1818 The Convention of 1818, permanently establishing the Canadian-United States boundary
- 1819 Florida ceded by Spain to the United States
- 1823 Declaration of the Monroe Doctrine
- 1824 Victory of Sucre at the Battle of Ayacucho
- 1824-1825 Lionization of Lafayette as Europe's outstanding liberal
- 1826 The Pan-American conference at Panama
- 1829 Completion of the first steam-locomotive railroads in the United States



CHAPTER XVIII

Reaction, romanticism, and revolt

THE STRAINS of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, conducted by the composer himself, had hardly died away at Vienna when the Congress disbanded and the conferring statesmen left for their homes to face the problems of a new day. Their agreements, they believed, had written off the Napoleonic regime and had provided an international coalition that would prevent a return to the political disorder and the social chaos of the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. Europe, it was thought, desired peace and stability above everything else.

For five years this mood was to prevail despite mounting opposition. For five years it was possible for many statesmen and intellectuals to indulge in the happy delusion that simply by preserving the settlement fashioned at Vienna, peace would be successfully cushioned against shock, with a minimum of trouble to all concerned. For five years governments were able to operate on the premise that paternalism was a guarantee of order and that liberty was an invitation to revolt. After that, it became clear to all that the conflicts between national power and international peace, between the responsibilities of governments and the freedom of the individual, could not so easily be solved.

A great part of the cultural and political developments of the nineteenth century was to center around four major "isms." We have already seen what the slogan of the French Revolution, "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity," meant for the creeds of liberalism and nationalism. We have also seen that the diversified relations of Europe with non-European peoples led to an intensification of imperialism in the nineteenth century. The great strides in industrialization with the accompanying hardships of adjustment, already marked by 1815 in England and soon to become marked on the Continent

as well, were to increase the demands for community or government control or ownership of industry and the market. These demands have been loosely called "socialism," though there were many different kinds of socialist programs.

Liberalism, nationalism, imperialism, and socialism have sometimes been allies, but they are not necessarily so, and have at times been antagonistic. Liberalism's emphasis on liberty and equality has frequently collided with socialism's emphasis upon control. Nationalism's emphasis upon service to the state has at times meant equality only in obligations or only for the state's nationals but not for minority groups. Socialism's emphasis upon the solidarity of the working class throughout the world has conflicted with nationalist demands for solidarity among all classes at home. Imperialism's emphasis upon safety of settlements and investments has often meant colonial exploitation that liberals and socialists alike have denounced. The alliance and conflicts of these "isms" have been the core of much that made the nineteenth century "a century of progress."

We are now going to examine the European phases of these alliances and conflicts from 1815 to 1830. They were to reveal that the "legitimate" settlements of Vienna were not enough to preserve tranquillity within the several states and peace among them. The predominance of England in the Atlantic areas, however, and the influence of Metternich's political philosophy in Austria, Prussia, and Russia brought about either repression or compromise before domestic disturbances could result in large-scale international catastrophes. The rise of the revolutionary spirit of 1820-1830 and its outcome are the major theme of the following pages.

TORY DOMINATION

IN ENGLAND, 1815-1820

WHEN LORD CASTLEREAGH returned to London, he was greeted as a hero by conservatives and as a traitor by liberals. The Congress of Vienna had dashed the high hopes of many Britons who had hoped to see great and positive accomplishments emerge immediately from the chaos of revolution and war. Some had shared the sentiment of England's great lyric poet, William Wordsworth, about the brightness of the future, which he placed

Not in Utopia, subterranean fields,
Or some secreted island, Heaven knows where!
But in the very world, which is the world
Of all of us.

842 Even as Wordsworth himself, however, they were doomed to disillusionment.

*Tory reaction
and fears of liberalism*

of Lord Castlereagh in 1822. This policy was supported by the conservative aristocracy, who had been horrified by "the excesses" of the French. After 1815 the Tories continued to apprehend the possible revival of the stunned but far from dead spirit of freedom and equality released by the Revolution. The Tory party found support among the little people—shopkeepers, artisans, farmers—whose antipathy to the Revolution was based mainly upon the heretical and anti-Christian attitudes of the revolutionists.

*Britain's refusal
to join the Holy Alliance*

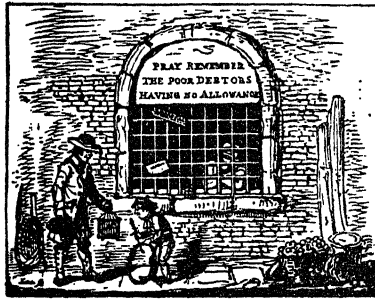
a party to Czar Alexander's Holy Alliance (page 746). Its old-fashioned implication of a special "divinity that doth hedge a king" seemed too great an affront to England's newer traditions of freedom. After all, Englishmen could recall their own revolution of the seventeenth century, their own struggle for governmental reform, and their own uphill fight for civil liberties. Had not even the ordinarily mild-tempered English been guilty of regicide? Had they not deposed the Stuarts on two occasions? Moreover, their revolution had helped to make possible the ascension of the new middle class and had brought to England an ever-increasing degree of economic prosperity. Why then should Englishmen participate in a continental alliance designed to perpetuate notions of divine right that the English nation had disputed for over a century? Taking advantage of the technicality that George III's mental state had caused his realm to be placed under his son as regent, the British did not join this alliance of Christian kings. Despite the strong liberal sentiment of a wide section of the British public, however,

This cartoon, showing the devil dancing with the members of the Holy Alliance as Liberty burns, indicates a widespread English opinion of the Alliance.

IN ENGLAND, a Tory government under Lord Liverpool pursued a policy of reaction until the suicide

DESPITE the strong support accorded the Tory regime, the British government refused to become





A scene outside a debtor's prison in London (left), and a wealthy man being robbed by thugs (right). From Life in London, by Pierce Egan, 1822.

Lord Liverpool's government persisted in supporting, even though half-heartedly, the agreements of Vienna abroad and a repressive policy at home.

*The industrialization
of Britain and its effects*

UNINTERRUPTED in Britain, the movement toward industrialization was more rapid and compre-

hensive there than anywhere else. With the expansion of Britain's national wealth and power her prestige was likewise increased. In a world where agriculture was still the major form of production, Britain's lead in mechanization gave her industrial preponderance and a consequently greater influence in international affairs.

Industrialization also had salient effects upon everyday life in England. As factories became more common, workers concentrated in their vicinity. Since most factories were originally located in towns, the urban population began to increase rapidly with the movement of families away from farms and domestic industries, and a host of new social and cultural problems came into being. No longer were families so independent as formerly. In the crowded industrial cities that were rapidly growing up, they no longer had their own little gardens to cultivate. In the age of industrialism, the fate of the worker hinged upon the success or failure of an enterprise about whose direction he had little or nothing to say. While the economic theorists were speaking in terms of economic individualism and freedom of enterprise, thousands of workers were gradually losing some of their freedom of action and of their ability to determine their own economic and social future.

*Thomas Malthus
and his theory of population*

ACCOMPANYING the movement toward the cities came a growth in population. Although the cities

were overcrowded and disease was rampant, the food supply increased because of improvements in farming, canning, and transportation; and medical,

hospital, and sanitation facilities became more readily available. Hence the number of deaths was gradually reduced. As the death rate decreased (although the birth rate also tended downward until 1840), the total population increased. Aware of the implications of steady population increases, Thomas Robert Malthus in 1798 had first published his *Essay on Population* and in 1803 had issued a revised version of it. In these famous tracts the author pointed out that population had the tendency to increase in geometrical progression (2:4:8:16:32) whereas food had the tendency to increase in arithmetical progression (2:4:6:8:10). Hence the population tended to increase more rapidly than the food supply and was constantly using up the lagging food supply as rapidly as it could be produced. Increases of food supply would presumably lead only to a larger population and not to a higher "standard of living." This calculation led Malthus to a cheerless theory of a constant standard of living, fixed by "habit" and unresponsive to changes in economic conditions. Checked only by "misery," "vice," or "moral restraints," population grew in good times and diminished in bad times, so that no real improvement in the condition of the working classes could be expected.

*Prevention
of collective bargaining*

MALTHUS' conviction regarding the unchangeable nature of living standards served the English in-

dustrialists in their attempts to check the growth of employees' organizations. Using his argument that misery and vice were inevitable and natural checks upon the growth of population, the employers prevailed upon Parliament to outlaw workingmen's associations formed for the purpose of demanding higher wages, fewer hours of work, and better living conditions. The Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 had outlawed the organization of such groups, and in 1815 they were still a criminal offense. Nor were the English employers unique in their attitude. In France and elsewhere, governments were equally opposed to the principle of collective bargaining.



A fish vendor clad in miserable rags hawks her wares in one of the decaying country villages produced by "the Industrial Revolution."

*New relations
between England and Ireland*

THE UNION of Ireland with England in 1800 had produced its own repercussions upon economic and social developments. Since the Act of Union, merging the English and Irish parliaments (page-696), the Irish "nationalists" had lost all hope of winning parliamentary representation. The traditional economic domination of the English overlords in Ireland had also been intensified. A cheap labor supply was made more readily available as economic connections between the two areas were more firmly interlaced. Hence the industrialist welcomed the union with Ireland. The landed nobility, on the other hand, feared the competition of Irish agricultural products in English markets.

*Agitation
for political and social reform*

NEITHER the Whigs (mainly industrial interests) nor the Tories (landed interests, for the most part) did anything fundamental about the increasing social misery and discontent. Radical agitators outside of Parliament, such as William Cobbett, called for parliamentary reform as a necessary prelude to alleviation of distress. New principles of representation were urged for the House of Commons, so as to furnish the new industrial working classes with adequate representation. Popular demonstrations were staged but were ruthlessly repressed. Until 1820, the Tory government, still haunted by the ghost of the French Revolution, remained firmly opposed to change.

*The Corn Law
and mounting discontent*

ONE OF the most significant of the Liverpool government's economic measures was the Corn Law of 1815. War and general crop failures before 1815 had raised the price of grain to an abnormally high level. It was feared, therefore, that the return

of peace and the re-opening of the normal channels of commerce would result in a drastic cut in the price of grain and of other agricultural commodities that had long been scarce. Following the policy of



THE CONSERVATIVE DINNER.

This Whig cartoon accuses the Tories of feasting on the unfair division of counties (i.e., of the representation in Parliament).

Power looms in an English mill, 1820. Note the lack of safety devices, fireproofing, light, and ventilation.



protectionism inaugurated as a response to Napoleon's "Continental System," the Tories adopted a high tariff which practically excluded foreign grain from Britain's home

markets. One motive behind this policy was, by preserving the high price of domestic grain, to retain the political support of the landed gentry.

The Corn Law, by creating an artificial scarcity of breadstuffs in Britain, protected the agricultural interests from heavy losses, but did so at the expense of other economic and social groups. Those to suffer most were the workingmen and their families. Hard hit by the war and financial difficulties produced by the Napoleonic Continental System (page 720), the unfranchised poor blamed their troubles more upon the new industrial machines that were taking away their jobs than upon political conditions. The disaffected discovered a new hero in Ned Ludd, a village idiot who some years earlier had made himself notorious by wrecking some stocking frames. "Luddite" pamphlets, blaming machinery and the industrial system for the country's ills, had begun to appear in 1811, at a time of general European crop failure. Made desperate by the high cost of living, workers launched out blindly against what was the most apparent cause of their difficulties. "Luddite" riots, aimed at the destruction of machines and the factory system, exploded and went on intermittently until 1816. To be sure, the dislocations attendant upon machine production and upon a sudden peace after nearly a generation of war had thrown many out of employment, but even some of those who were employed found it hard to live in any degree of comfort as long as breadstuffs were so expensive.

England's "industrial bourgeoisie," or "capitalist class," were also opposed to the government's protectionist policy. They did not enjoy the prospect of having to pay high tariffs in order to import raw materials and high wages in order to enable their workers to subsist. The growth of privately owned and large-scale enterprises in England had resulted in the marked development of this bourgeois, capitalist group, no longer new by the nineteenth century. These owners of factories or of industrial and commercial "stocks" came into conflict with the entrenched interests of the landed nobility in a struggle for political power in England. Each group sought allies among the

rest of the population. The industrialists supported the poor in their fight against the Corn Laws, and the landed gentry supported the factory workers in their struggle for better working conditions and shorter hours of labor.

*Robert Owen
and the new humanitarianism*

ONE OF the first to take serious notice of the workmen's plight was Robert Owen. In 1816 this

Scottish manufacturer published his *New View of Society*, in which he argued, as some eighteenth-century writers had, that character is the product of environment. Deploring the riotous actions of the Luddites, Owen contended that if the proper conditions of work were provided, production would increase and the workers would benefit. Mainly because of his exertions, a law was passed in 1819 forbidding child labor in the cotton mills and limiting the working day to twelve hours for those between nine and sixteen years of age. Although this measure was one in a series of so-called "Factory Acts," it applied only to the cotton mills. Other humanitarians pressed for government amelioration of working conditions, and Tory politicians, moved by humanitarian impulses as well as the desire to limit the expansion of industrial influence, also urged stricter regulation of industry.

*David Ricardo
and the "iron law of wages"*

BOTH INDUSTRIALISTS and their opponents found consolation in David Ricardo's *Principles of*

Political Economy and Taxation (1817). Ricardo was a practical man of affairs with little facility for writing but with a great gift for public speaking. Because of the difficulty in following Ricardo's complex writings, people of widely different economic and social beliefs looked upon him as their intellectual inspiration. Ricardo stated flatly that economic value is to be measured (though not necessarily caused) by the amount of labor involved in producing a commodity—"embodied labor." Social reformers who had embraced the teaching of Robert Owen took this "theory of value" out of context and pointed to it as clearly illustrating the injustices of the system of free enterprise. Assuming that Ricardo's theory was correct, Owen and other workingman's friends argued that the whole value, rather than a small part of it, should logically go to the workers or producers. Contrariwise, Ricardo's "iron law of wages" was welcomed by business groups as a rationale of their position. This "law" stated that wages tend to be limited to the minimum necessary for subsistence. It was interpreted by many as meaning that increased wages would effect both an increased demand upon the available food supply and a significant growth in the population. Since Malthus had already shown that population increased at a much faster rate than food, it was argued that higher wages would result ultimately in greater rather than less hardship for the working classes. James Mill and other liberal (i.e., free enterprise) thinkers expanded and popularized Ricardo's work, which seemed to lend

credence to the contention that government interference would handicap business without helping the workers. ,

*The "Peterloo Massacre"
followed by the Six Acts*

MEANWHILE agitation had begun
for a more popular franchise. In
1817, Jeremy Bentham in his

Catechism of Parliamentary Reform took up the cudgels for wider representation in the House of Commons. Workers could also read the candid articles of William Cobbett, regularly sent to his *Weekly Political Register* from America, where he had fled from British censorship. They heard much talk about reforming the system of parliamentary representation, became increasingly hostile to the existing regime, and expressed their bitterness in public demonstrations. The Tory government, however, remained immovable in its determination to resist change. In 1817, a tight censorship was clamped upon workingmen's publications and meetings, the writ of habeas corpus was suspended, and the government threatened even greater reprisals if the agitation continued. The government's uncompromising attitude and a good harvest in 1818 combined to make for a temporary period of peace and order.

It was not enough, however, as the Tory government soon learned, to hold the line hoping that the nation's social and economic wrongs would somehow right themselves. A bad harvest and a short industrial depression coincided in 1819 and precipitated one of the most serious demonstrations in English history. In St. Peter's Field near Manchester a meeting was held demanding "Equal Representation or Death." The Manchester yeomanry, made up of untrained businessmen in civilian life, was ordered to charge the crowd, and at least six hundred were wounded and eleven killed in what has come to be called "the Peterloo Massacre." Shortly thereafter, Parliament passed a series of repressive measures known as the "Six Acts," which revived and extended the temporary legislation of 1817.

A PETERLOO MEDAL.



A contemporary cartoon in protest against "the Peterloo Massacre."

*The rebellion
of the poets of the "Lake School"*

THE ENGLISH workers were, of course, not the only ones to struggle against repression. The poets

William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge were among the most idealistic of English romantic poets. Because they lived in the Lake District of England, the *Edinburgh Review* derisively called them—and certain writers loosely associated with them—the "Lake School." Firmly convinced in their early years that the French Revolution had released creative artists, as well as ordinary men, from the shackles of tradition, they struck out bravely to express imaginatively their political, social, esthetic, and intellectual beliefs. To them the poet was an inspired prophet through whose talents and insight truth could be made more easily perceptible to the less gifted. Discarding conventional esthetic aims and methods, Wordsworth defined poetry as "the breath and finer spirit of all knowledge" and, at the same time, "the spontaneous overflow of powerful feelings...recollected in tranquillity." He chose his subject matter from ordinary experience and stressed nature's mystical significance in human life. Around the turn of the century, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Robert Southey, watching the French Revolution change from phase to phase, became disillusioned with political revolution, and subsequently they moved in a fairly well-defined pattern from liberalism to conservatism. Yet all three continued to be focal points in the struggle toward esthetic, moral, and spiritual regeneration in the decades to come.

The spirit of political and social revolt—as well as of esthetic experiment—was, however, kept alive in the post-Napoleonic years by Lord Byron, Percy Bysshe Shelley, and John Keats, all three destined to die young and tragically. Byron and Shelley both came from established families and therefore could not be lightly dismissed by the voices of British criticism or by the leaders of British society. Having spoken and written on behalf of liberal activities during much of his life, Byron, the popularizer of the brooding and frequently violent "Byronic hero," was in 1824 to die for his beliefs while fighting for the liberation of Greece (page 865). Shelley, who was influenced by the current school of philosophical anarchism and whose poems were paeans to liberty, was even more passionate than Byron in his readiness to protest against institutions he thought evil and to take his stand against the suppression of ideas. Keats expressed revolt not so much in political as in literary radicalism. Experimental in his use of ideas as well as of forms, he treated ancient and medieval themes in a rich and highly imaginative way. He early denounced neo-classical models in literature and spoke of the poets of the eighteenth century as an

ill-fated, impious race!

That blasphemed the bright Lyrist to his face
And did not know it.

Romanticism

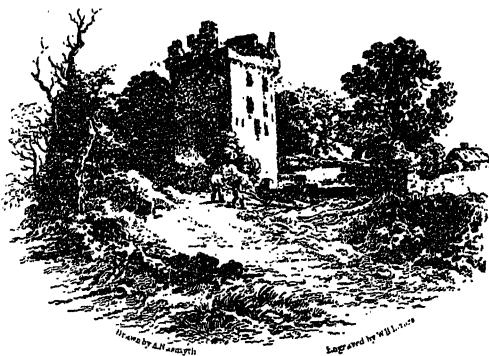
in nineteenth-century England

THESE literary hotbloods of England were part of the so-called "Romantic Movement" in European literature, although they were not typically "romantic" except in their revolt against certain aspects of neo-classicism. Perhaps nineteenth-century Romanticism can best be defined by comparison with the ideals of the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, by whose rationalism and materialism the "romanticists" were repelled. As a general rule, the romantics, instead of emphasizing reason and empiricism, trusted the emotions and the inner personality to mold men's minds and behavior. Instead of regarding the Middle Ages as a period of decline, the romantics glorified it as an adventurous and noble era. The indifferent watchmaker of the deists became for them a personal God, to whom they turned in active worship. Nature was dethroned as the impersonal arbiter of human affairs, but exalted as a source of benign inspiration. Tradition ruled over them in her place—except that some of them refused to respect the neo-classical modes of artistic expression and believed in social protest. Where the *philosophes* had affected a detached love of humanity, they breathed a patriotic devotion to their nations and their fellow countrymen. The Romantic Movement, at least in some of its phases, attempted in the intellectual sphere what the political Restoration attempted in the political: it tended to counteract the continued influence of the eighteenth-century revolutionary spirit—although, paradoxically, some of its brightest figures were rebels themselves.

The Waverley novels

and Ivanhoe by Sir Walter Scott

SIR WALTER SCOTT was in some ways more typical of Romanticism than were the poets of the "Lake School." He was from the beginning a strong Tory in politics and had almost no interest in the revolutionary idealism of many of his contemporaries. Unlike some romantics, he was conservative in many of his literary tastes. Realizing that his lyrical and narrative genius utterly lacked the mystical element, he did not attempt prophecy or any expression of "the great vision." About the time that Byron soared to fame, Scott declined to be poet laureate in favor of Robert Southey, and turned his attention to novel writing. Ultimately his reputation was built chiefly upon his Waverley novels, so called from the title of the first of them—*Waverley* (1814). Using a historical background to lend his tales probability, Scott produced life and blood characters rather than museum pieces—a literary feat not often accomplished before his day. Already famous for his ballads, often derived from medieval Scottish lore, and for his novels of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, Scott wrote perhaps his greatest story of medieval adventure during this period—*Ivanhoe* (1819). Before his death in 1832, he had completed over thirty novels, in addition to many poems, plays translated from the German, historical



A medieval ruin, which appeared as the frontispiece of Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy, 1821.

and biographical works, and essays of various kinds. He was also one of the important contributors—both of ideas and of articles—to the *Quarterly Review*.

Romanticism in English painting

LIKE THE Lake poets, the romantic painters of England did not feel bound by classical rules.

John Constable and William Turner were the leading figures among these painters. Constable, perhaps more than any other, gave impetus to the English landscape artists, lovingly transferring the white clouds, blue or gray skies, and green pastures of the English countryside to his canvases. Turner, who in the course of a long lifetime (1775-1851) produced nearly 20,000 separate paintings and drawings, is sometimes considered England's greatest colorist. He is most famous for his landscapes, depicting both English and continental scenes, but he also set forth mythological and historical subjects and made numerous designs for engravers. Both Turner and Constable used natural scenery directly as their model and thus achieved a sparkling but realistic coloring and atmospheric effect.

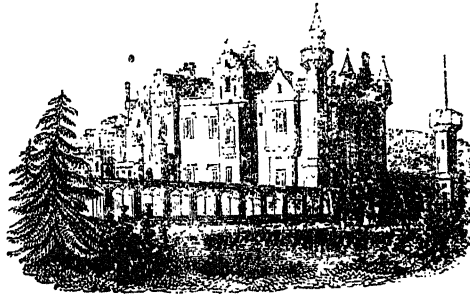
As early as 1804, a group of artistic rebels seceded from the Royal Academy to establish the Water Color Society. As a painter's medium, water colors, although requiring skill and a sharpened sense of tincture, had not been considered orthodox. It was possible, however, to employ them delicately in depicting the lights and hues of nature. The techniques for handling water colors skillfully were worked out largely by Thomas Girtin and Richard Parkes Bonington and were frequently employed by Constable and Turner. Of those in England who continued to paint in the classical tradition, Sir Thomas Lawrence was the leader. His portraits of statesmen, particularly of the personages at the Congress of Vienna, are especially familiar.

REACTION AND ROMANTICISM

ON THE CONTINENT (TO 1820)

AS IN England, the continental reaction was directed against the rationalism of the *philosophes*, the cosmopolitanism of the eighteenth century, and

Abbotsford, the residence of Sir Walter Scott, incorporated relics from various historical structures in a deliberate mixture of architectural styles.



the excesses of the French Revolution and Napoleon. Unlike England, the continental countries were not yet undergoing profound industrial and social changes. Furthermore, no continental country except France had a revolutionary tradition unless it was imported from France; and in 1815 the French Revolution was generally believed to have failed. For the most part, the continental rulers were concerned either with effecting a compromise between tradition and revolution or, more simply, with reestablishing the old order. Hence, the post-Napoleonic reaction in all its phases was much deeper on the Continent than in Britain. Nationalism was more intense, religious orthodoxy and revivalism were more common, and Romanticism followed a more clearly conservative line of development.

*The Charter of 1814
and the Restoration in France*

IN THE years just after Waterloo, the tide of political reaction spread steadily over the conti-

nenal countries. In France, where tradition had suffered its severest setbacks, the regime of Louis xviii was dedicated to the restoration of the old order, but with a grudging regard for Revolutionary changes that could not safely be ignored or revoked. The Charter of 1814 was presented to the French people by the Bourbons as a compromise, and was retained after the Hundred Days of 1815. Written in the form of a constitution, it grudgingly "granted" to the French as a royal favor of a king "by grace of God" most of the civil rights won during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic eras. As another bow to expediency, the Charter guaranteed the inviolability of private property, a paradoxical concession of utmost importance to those who had profited by the Revolutionary confiscation of ecclesiastical, royal, and noble properties. Furthermore, although Catholicism was again named as the state religion, other creeds were assured freedom of worship.

Despite its parading of the royal "grace," the "Restoration" government was at its outset a constitutional monarchy of the English type. Perhaps this constitutionalism was in part a reflection of the new king's long exile in England, but it was chiefly a recognition that the reforms accepted by Louis xvi in 1791 made an excellent basis for the future political organization of France. Astonishingly liberal though such a charter may appear for a Bour-

bon ruler to have granted, it nevertheless required a property qualification for voting, it gave great power to an upper Chamber of Peers (including the Napoleonic peers, however, as well as the peers of the Old Regime), and it left uncertain the degree of responsibility of the executive power to the lower Chamber of Deputies. In short, the Charter provided a more definitely monarchical and aristocratic government than the Constitution of 1791 had envisaged.

Whatever the merits of the Charter as a political instrument, it was widely resented in 1814 and, after Waterloo, was accepted apathetically by the war-weary people of France. In 1815, the form of government was of slight importance to most citizens of a nation that had experienced in less than a generation changes ranging from absolutism to extreme republicanism and back to absolutism again. So long as the important vested interests were allowed to retain their properties and position, most Frenchmen were quite willing to cooperate with any government that could preserve a moderate degree of peace and stability. Tired of the old Revolutionary names, and hopeful that "new blood" would revitalize the state, the French chose political unknowns to sit in the newly established Chamber of Deputies. A majority of embittered royalists were elected.

*Reactionary pressure
of the Chambre Introuvable*

FROM THE beginning, it was clear that these "ultra-royalists" and the clergy would not be satisfied

for long with the moderate position taken by Louis XVIII. Spurred on by the Comte d'Artois, younger brother of the king, the reactionaries brought relentless pressure to bear upon the government to limit or abolish the changes effected in France during the enforced absence of the Bourbons. A law forbidding "seditious" writings and another providing for quick and drastic action against antigovernmental conspirators were enacted almost at once by this so-called *Chambre Introuvable* ("Unmatchable Chamber"). Counter-pressure from liberals, *Doctrinaires* (moderates), and the representatives of the powers, who, still occupying France, were fearful of renewed unrest, soon forced the Chamber's dissolution. Nevertheless, the general trend toward reaction continued, though at a more guarded pace.

*Compromise
advocated by the Doctrinaires*

THE MOVING spirits among the Doctrinaires were Pierre Paul Royer-Collard and Victor Cousin.

Associated with them were three men who were soon to be recognized as among France's most famous historians: François Mignet, François Guizot, and Adolphe Thiers. Through their journalistic and historical writings these men advocated compromise rather than revolt, and taught that internal peace and stability could be achieved most easily through loyal adherence to the constitutional spirit of the Charter. Others who opposed the tyrannies of

reaction and revolution were Destutt de Tracy, leader of the *Idéologues*, and Benjamin Constant, the great prophet of limited government.

This moderate group had, however, little initiative or power in government until 1830. It lacked the strong support of a rapidly developing "industrial bourgeoisie." Unlike England, France at this period was not ceasing to be an essentially agricultural nation. In 1815 about 75 per cent of the total French population still resided and worked in rural areas. Association of the Restoration government with the landed aristocrats also materially retarded the growth of French industry. For example, the government did almost nothing to protect France's infant industries from the ruinous competition of the more fully developed British enterprises. The national education system inaugurated by the Revolution had, to be sure, given a large part of the population the ability to read and write, and careers had been somewhat opened to men of talent; yet censorship, repression, and preferences adopted by both the Napoleonic and the Restoration governments limited free advancement into the governing classes.

*Advances
in biological research*

IN THE realm of natural science, however, a high degree of freedom was permitted after 1815,

just as during the Napoleonic era. So long as scientific research had no relation to immediate political problems, it was encouraged. Like their predecessors, the French scientists of the Restoration were interested in animal origins. In this field of study, at least, the danger of political involvement was indirect. The problem of social origins, however, was a perilous one, and was not explored even superficially until the late twenties.

In 1816, Georges Cuvier published his conclusion that the animal world is not a unity but is divided into independent categories of vertebrata, mollusca, etc. Cuvier founded the science of vertebrate paleontology, discovering fossils and explaining certain prehistoric animal forms. His investigations led him to the contention that the various forms of life had not evolved one from the other but had originated separately by a succession of cataclysms. This theory ran counter to the hypotheses earlier presented by Lamarck and Treviranus (page 730) by which man and the other vertebrata were classified along with the lower animals. Cuvier's position was challenged by Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, of the French Academy of Sciences, who maintained that the discontinuity of form did not necessarily invalidate the theory of continuity of descent. Although Cuvier was a better known scientist than his adversary, the unpopular position taken by Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire was vindicated later in the century by the observations and conclusions of Charles Darwin and Alfred Russell Wallace. Contemporaneously, Cuvier waged an unsuccessful battle against the conclusions of Lamarck; yet he made important contributions to the fields of paleontology and comparative anatomy.



An engraving of Ingres's "Odalisque" (1825). Although the spirit of this picture is classical, its setting reveals that Ingres did not resist romantic exoticism entirely.

*The romantic painters
of the Restoration period*

THE RESTORATION era in France produced several notable painters. With the overthrow of Napoleon,

classicism once more lost its hold upon many of the French artists. Inspired by the Italian, Flemish, and Dutch masterpieces "acquired" for the Louvre by Napoleon, many of the younger painters rejoiced in their freedom from the classical restraints formerly demanded by David. By comparison with the smooth surfaces and the Greco-Roman repose of classical eighteenth-century painting, the canvases in oil of the older Baron Gros and the younger Théodore Géricault and Eugène Delacroix seem rough and their subjects daring, exotic, realistic, and disturbing. Some of the new generation in France adopted the techniques of the English landscape school. They generally were more attentive to details of light, shade, and color than those who continued to paint in the tradition of classicism. They were little interested in clearly delineating the outlines of all the subjects they represented.

*Classicism
in painting and the plastic arts*

THE GREATEST French painter between David and the mature Delacroix was Jean Auguste

Dominique Ingres. He and others closely associated with the Royal Academy of the Beaux Arts continued to employ classical techniques and classical subjects in their painting. Although he was not considered strictly classical by some of the more conservative critics, he abhorred the romantic innovations. He was not elected to the Academy until 1825.

Sculpture and architecture continued, for the most part, to follow the traditions of the classical past. Pierre Fontaine, the architect who had de-

signed the Arch of Triumph and restored the Malmaison château for the Empress Josephine, remained as court architect long after the defeat of Napoleon and dominated sculpture and architecture in France. Young artists continued to go to Rome to observe and imitate the remains of antiquity and to study under Canova. David d'Angers' statues show the influence of the *École des Beaux Arts* and Canova.

*The new medievalism
of scholars and writers in Europe*

PRACTITIONERS in fields other than natural science and the fine arts, however, had received little

or no inspiration during the Empire and were disposed in many cases to view the eighteenth century as degenerate and unstable. This view was generally taken by scholars and writers. From the Age of Faith they derived hope that, in spite of turmoil and defeat, France and Europe would eventually return to a social unity similar to that prevailing in medieval times:

The new medievalism was most pointed in the writings of the political philosophers, most of whom were rigidly Catholic. In 1815, with the revival of the Jesuit order, the church and its militant arm joined forces with the agents of political reaction. In his books *On the Pope* (1819) and *On the Gallican Church* (1821) Joseph de Maistre, who had been forced into exile

"Boxers" by Géricault.



from his beloved Savoy during Napoleon's reign, identified revolution with disorder and absolute authority with order. He candidly advocated a world government under papal rule. The Revolution, he believed, had been the result of the eighteenth-century repudiation of religion. Man is by nature sinful, he argued, and hence man is in constant need of authority. How can inadequate men create their own authorities and constitutions when society in all of its ramifications is a divine and not a human work? French Catholic traditionalism was expressed also in the writings of Louis de Bonald and in the essays and novels of Chateaubriand (page 733).

In 1816, Karl Ludwig von Haller, a Swiss jurist, published his *Restoration of Political Science*. He deplored economic and political individualism as out of harmony with the divine order and urged the revival of medieval political and social concepts. Accepting sovereignty as a proprietary power derived from "the Grace of God," he upheld its validity entirely independent of popular consent or, for that matter, of a people, since a prince could always find subjects. It has been said of Haller that he would have been considered illiberal even by medieval scholastics. Some of the German sovereigns of his own day, however, found his theory quite acceptable.

*The pessimistic philosophy
advanced by Arthur Schopenhauer*

AS IS generally true in times of crisis, there were those who were unwilling to look for escape in

a return to a golden age or a traditional unity. They doubted both man's divine inspiration and his natural goodness, and were ready to accept the logical conclusion from their skepticism that man must somehow continue unaided his struggle against his own base nature. This sobering individualism was set forth for this generation by Arthur Schopenhauer, sometimes called "the philosopher of pessimism." In 1819 Schopenhauer published *The World as Will and Idea*. It presented a philosophy of unceasing conflict among all individuals because of each man's never fully satisfied "will-to-live," with the resulting predominance of pain and sorrow in a world of struggle. Ennui results from success in the struggle, and morality is only the result of sympathy for fellow sufferers. From struggle may come, however, devotion to the arts and sciences and an effort to achieve the renunciation of self. Schopenhauer's pessimism was unacceptable not merely to those who found solace in their belief in God but also to those who sought relief in the contemplation of Utopia (pages 870-871).

*Metternich
and the policy of "legitimacy"*

METTERNICH'S political practices reflected pessimism similar to that found in Schopenhauer's

philosophical thought. To Metternich, Catholic traditionalism was a political ally. In his opinion, the system worked out at Vienna was designed to forestall the growth of political liberalism and to restore the rulers whom the

Restoration traditionalists considered instruments of God. Every action that smacked of the Revolutionary past Metternich viewed with apprehension. He feared nationalism as much as liberalism. Indeed, continued acceptance of the Habsburg rule in various parts of the Austrian Empire depended upon his ability to prevent the spread of nationalistic sentiment. The system of control that Metternich imposed upon Europe was designed as the best hope of preserving the Habsburg edifice from crumbling under the agitation of repressed nationalities in Italy, Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Croatia, and other non-German areas of the Austrian empire.

As constituted at Vienna according to Metternich's blueprint, the German Confederation was a defensive league of German sovereigns. The Federal Act of 1815 had pledged every member of the Confederation to grant his subjects a representative constitution within one year. The liberal-minded Duke of Saxe-Weimar, patron of Goethe, was the only monarch to observe this pledge to the letter. By 1818, however, the rulers of Bavaria and Baden, states in which the Revolutionary spirit of France had had a profound influence, had also granted constitutions to their subjects. Such concessions to liberal pressure did not keep the German states, including Prussia, from generally conforming to Metternich's repressive policy.

*The Burschenschaften
and the Wartburg Festival*

AGENTS of the European states
and churches managed to contain,
but they could not eradicate, the

liberal contagion. The universities in France and Germany continued to spread obnoxious doctrines. Subversive activity was especially vigorous among German students, many of whom were veterans of the War of Liberation. In opposition to the older fraternities, which tended to be aristocratic and particularist, they formed in 1815 new *Burschenschaften* (student associations) of a liberal stripe. On October 18, 1817, about four hundred students from twelve universities gathered to celebrate the tricentennial of the posting of Luther's theses (page 149), which had been the signal for the great revolution of his time. Their meeting place was the Wartburg Castle, which had been selected because it belonged to the liberal Duke of Saxe-Weimar and was the very castle in which Luther had lived when he completed his translation of the New Testament. At night they built a big bonfire and burned Haller's book, the Code Napoleon, a corporal's cane, a wig, and other symbols of reaction or foreign sway. The *Burschenschaften* became more than ever dedicated to the "holy cause of union and freedom" for Germany.

*Industrialization
and economic thought in Prussia*

ABOVE all the German govern-
ments, Prussia was looked to
hopefully by German liberals and

nationalists. Economically Prussia was certainly the most advanced of the German states. In her Silesian area the textile industry had already begun

to develop, and since 1815 in her newly acquired Rhenish provinces the coal fields of the Ruhr were gradually being opened. Iron factories were also founded at Essen by the Krupp family. Thus Prussia took the lead in Germany's industrialization.

Liberal theorists were not lacking in Prussia. Even before Waterloo, Wilhelm von Humboldt had formulated ideas like those of Montesquieu and Adam Smith, and in German terms. Although Humboldt and his sovereign, King Frederick William III, renounced, in revulsion to the French Revolution, all attachment to liberal doctrines, several German theorists nevertheless continued to write after English models.

Free-trade propaganda was adapted to German requirements by Friedrich List, who proposed in 1818 the organization of the *Zollverein* (a German customs union). Later, in his *National System of Political Economy* (1841), List made his theory plain. He contended that international free trade would run counter to the intrinsic interests of German enterprises; he advocated rather a system of free trade within the German Confederation coupled with a system of protectionism designed to defend German industrial undertakings from the deadly competition of more advanced industrial countries. Along the lines proposed by List a free, but protected, customs union began within Prussia in 1818 and was rapidly extended to neighboring states in the form of a north German *Zollverein*.

*The Congress
of Aix-la-Chapelle*

CONCERNED about the increase of liberal activity in Germany and elsewhere in Europe, Metternich

in 1818 called the powers into conference at Aix-la-Chapelle. The Bourbons, having proved their loyalty to the new European order, were permitted to send a representative to the meeting. Moreover, the victorious powers agreed to evacuate their armies from French territory and, under pressure from Castlereagh, admitted Bourbon-dominated France to membership in the Concert of Europe. A slight rift appeared at Aix-la-Chapelle between Great Britain and her continental partners. Metternich and Czar Alexander, still distressed by the Wartburg Festival, felt more strongly than ever that the powers ought to reserve the right to intervene in the internal affairs of any state where revolution might appear. Although Castlereagh hesitated to support this proposal, the congress ended amicably, confirming the belief that peace could be maintained by the "Congress System."

*The Carlsbad Decrees
and the Mainz Commission*

METTERNICH'S nervousness about student activities within the German Confederation reached a

climax in 1819, when Karl Sand, a student agitator, stabbed August Kotzebue, a reactionary German publicist in the service of Russia. Fearing open revolt by students, the German governments became panicky. The murder

of Kotzebue presented them with excellent grounds for the preparation of extraordinary measures of vigilance. At the Conference of Teplitz in July 1819, Metternich and Frederick William III of Prussia decided, as Parliament did contemporaneously in London, that repressive measures should be taken immediately. The other German monarchs the next September at Carlsbad agreed to a set of decrees on the subject. They provided for a rigorous censorship of the press and careful "supervision" of the universities. A special tribunal was established at Mainz to deal quickly and effectively with liberal agitators in whatever German state they dared put in an appearance.

*The reactionary effect
of the Vienna Resolutions*

FURTHERMORE, in November 1819, Metternich called a general conference of German states at

Vienna to amend the Federal Act in a conservative direction. After deliberating for six months, the conference published the Vienna Resolutions of 1820. Their major effect was to charge the federal government with maintaining the existing political organization in any German state unable to halt "disorder" by itself. Thus even the small German states, where advocates of liberalism had enjoyed a relative degree of security, were forced to acquiesce to a policy of repression.

*Alexander I's return
to reactionary government*

"ILLEGITIMATE" thought had made some progress in Russia and had added to the difficulties

of the conservatively inclined Alexander I. Early in his reign, the czar had himself encouraged education and reform. In 1804 the universities had been granted limited rights of self-government. Something like a public opinion began to take form in "benighted" Russia at about the time Napoleon was crushing all vocal opposition in "civilized" France. N. M. Karamzin, the leading Russian publicist and historian of this period, urged the government to "go back to Catherine"—that is, to the days of the enlightened despotism that many Russians considered the golden age of Russian history. Alexander listened, and some of his contemporaries were inclined to think that he was listening with sympathy. In 1815 his insistence that Louis XVIII should be a constitutional monarch, and his grant to Poland of a "liberal" constitution, encouraged his own people to feel that even Russia might benefit from its sovereign's enlightenment. His "piece of sublime mysticism and nonsense" (Castlereagh's description of Alexander's Holy Alliance) did not discourage them, since it pledged the monarchs who signed it to behave "toward their subjects and armies as fathers of families."

Unsettled agrarian conditions in Russia, however, were to frighten the "reformer" czar away from his more liberal pretensions. Between 1816 and 1818, the government, under pressure from important public figures such as Nicholas Turgeniev (uncle of the great novelist), granted liberation to

the serfs of the Balkan provinces. Free but without land, the "new peasants" were unable to fend for themselves economically, and they caused disorder. The murder of Kotzebue and student unrest in Germany added to Alexander's disillusionment and made him fearful of domestic revolution. He now adopted a more reactionary policy both at home and abroad. Encouraged by his associates in mysticism and by Metternich, the czar after 1820 gave up all pretense of liberalism. Censorship became more rigorous in Russia, and the independence granted to institutions of higher learning was gradually revoked.

*Literature
and philology in Germany*

UNTIL 1820, the uneasy rulers of Europe succeeded in keeping down the liberal movement. Sup-

pression did not extend, however, to all spheres of intellectual activity. Although political projects looking toward the unification of Germany were virtually outlawed, literary and scholarly efforts, even those with nationalistic implications, were allowed comparatively free rein. Poets, musicians, and scholars celebrated the nation in song and through scientific investigations into national origins. Ludwig Tieck, collector of medieval folk stories, poems, and *Minnelieder* (page 732), wrote short stories and historical novels of his own. Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm collected their *Fairy Tales*, which were nothing more than the folk legends of the German common people. The Grimm brothers also became interested in the history of the German language, and began to compile their great *Dictionary*, which is still a standard reference on questions relating to German philology. The interest in folklore and the history of language was a symptom of the current medievalism as well as of nationalism, for many European literary and linguistic influences stem from the Middle Ages.

*The study
of philology and languages*

A SIGNIFICANT by-product of the interest in medieval language and literature was the development of

comparative philology, which in turn reflected and fortified the romantic interest in the Orient. This interest, already marked in earlier centuries (pages 765-767), was promoted by the mingling of peoples forced by the Napoleonic invasions. It was also, in part, the outgrowth of some important literary discoveries. For example, the publication of the ancient Anglo-Saxon epic, *Beowulf*, in 1815, spurred the German linguists to renewed activity. Less than a year later, Franz Bopp, a German linguist, developed his *System of Conjugation* (1816), which displayed in striking fashion the common origin of the Germanic languages and their relationship to the other Indo-European languages, and laid the foundation for his *Comparative Grammar* (1833-1852). Jacob Grimm later showed that the changes in consonants among cognate words within related language groups (e.g., *pater* in Latin, *Vater* in German, and *father* in English) followed a regular law.

Working on the assumption that the Indo-European languages might all be offsprings of a parent tongue, Europe's linguists investigated the history of a great many languages, Indo-European and others. In 1820, Horace H. Wilson, an English scholar, published a Sanskrit dictionary, and Abel Rémusat in Paris published grammars, dictionaries, and other materials relating to Chinese, Japanese, and the ancient "Tartar" tongues. In the following year, another Frenchman, Jean François Champollion, published his deciphering of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics on the Rosetta Stone, found by the scholars who had accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt (page 679). Frederick Schlegel and others sought to reconstruct the ancient history of India through Sanskrit philology. Meanwhile Wilhelm von Humboldt, German philologist and statesman, contributed a history of the Basque language to the endless search for the most ancient of the European tongues and provided a classic for students of linguistics in his posthumously published study of the Kavi language of Java. Fully in accord with the spirit of his times, the American lexicographer, Noah Webster (page 587), issued his *American Dictionary of the English Language* in 1828.

*The study
of archaeology and antiquity*

CLOSELY related to the study of ancient tongues was the contemporary interest in archaeology.

The study of ancient Greek culture was aided materially by Parliament's purchase for the British Museum of the Parthenon sculptures transported to England by Lord Elgin and thereafter referred to as the "Elgin marbles." Rome's past also intrigued the archaeologists and sculptors. German scholars and artists were particularly interested in Rome, and in the critical evaluation of their finds. Illustrative of this interest was Karl Friedrich Schinkel's classical design of the museum at Berlin. Most significant, however, was the publication of Barthold Georg Niebuhr's *Roman History* (1811-1832). Based on a critical examination of archaeological as well as written sources, it became a landmark in the scholarly study of the past by the use of survivals and inference as a check and supplement of literary testimony and tradition.

*Romanticism in music
and virtuosity in performance*

MUSICAL composition of the day was characterized by a high degree of individualism. Neverthe-

less, certain common romantic characteristics stand out in the compositions of the Restoration composers. Even in Beethoven, romantic qualities show through occasionally. Less classical in style, and abounding in colorful melodies, the Sixth Symphony ("the Pastoral") attempts to portray the moods inspired by a country scene. In some of his other symphonies, too, and in many of his less important works, Beethoven, like the poets and painters of the Romantic Movement, sought to give explicit expression to human moods.



Portrait of Paganini, after a drawing by Ingres.

Others of his day were even more amenable to the popular romantic trend than Beethoven. Among the Germans, Carl Maria von Weber, sometimes called "the founder of Romanticism in music," affected varied rhythms and dramatic orchestrations. Franz Schubert and Felix Mendelssohn wrote sentimental songs, symphonies, and lyric pieces of haunting melody. Among the Italians, Gioachino Antonio Rossini was the most colorful and popular composer. In 1816, he

published his operatic version of *The Barber of Seville*, the earliest of his important compositions. Gay and light, his arias remain popular melodies.

The great composers were aided in their presentations by superb performers. In 1806, the unrivaled Niccolò Paganini began his notable violin tours of the major cities of Europe. In London, the Philharmonic Society, founded in 1813, provided music for the intelligent and cultivated public. Franz Liszt, brilliant Hungarian composer, made his debut as a pianist in Vienna in 1823 before he was twelve. According to Liszt himself, Beethoven came to hear his performance, and, weeping with joy, publicly kissed the young virtuoso; but no contemporary evidence corroborates the anecdote, and Beethoven, alas, was stone deaf by that time. Seven years later, the youthful Polish pianist and composer, Frédéric François Chopin, also displayed his precise and graceful virtuosity on his first tour of Europe.

THE REVOLTS OF 1820-1823

864 **W**HILE the conservative powers strove obstinately to prevent the spread of liberal creeds, the teachings of poets and scholars and the process of

industrialization were encouraging those creeds. The literary and artistic revolt against classicism gradually became, on the Continent, what it had already become in England—a revolt against traditional religious and political values as well as against the academic in literature and art. As industrialism also gradually spread to the Continent, new social groupings and institutions evolved that were more friendly to liberal aspirations.

*The revolutionary scare
on the Continent in the 1820's*

THE FIRST widespread liberal outburst after the Congress of Vienna took the form of a scat-

tered but spiritually connected series of political crises in 1820. The Duc de Berri, heir presumptive to the French throne, was assassinated by a lone fanatic. Shortly afterwards, Ferdinand VII, the recently restored Bourbon ruler of Spain, was confronted by a liberal revolt calling for the revival of the Spanish Constitution of 1812. The Freemasons, now more politically conscious than before, were particularly prominent in the Spanish revolt, their lodges having become since the French Revolution active centers of liberal agitation. They were also conspicuous in Latin America, where the former Spanish colonies, having tasted autonomy when they had refused to accept Joseph Bonaparte as their king, were now fighting for independence. The Portuguese also raised the flag of revolt.

In Italy, as elsewhere, repression had led to underground activity. Ferdinand IV of Naples, a likewise recently restored Bourbon ruler, had reigned in a particularly repressive fashion. He was opposed by a secret society sworn to promote national liberty. It had been founded in the liberal days of King Murat in Naples and was called "the Carbonari" (Charcoal Burners). At first pledged to liberate their country from French domination, the Carbonari now had become champions of constitutional reform. In 1820, under the leadership of General Guglielmo Pepe, they rose in insurrection and forced Ferdinand to grant the kingdom a constitution. Meanwhile, Victor Emmanuel in Piedmont (the mainland of the kingdom of Sardinia) was also attacked by irate subjects.

Even in eastern Europe, the urge toward liberty and national independence was felt. Christian Greece rebelled in 1821-1822, declaring itself independent of the Ottoman Empire. In England, Byron, soon to lose his life fighting for Greek independence, exulted to find that

On Andes' and Athos' peaks unfurled,
The self-same standard streams o'er either world.

Inspired by the same revolutionary struggle, Shelley wrote his lyrical drama *Hellas*, which prophesied an age of universal love and freedom.

*The Congresses
of Troppau and Laibach*

THESE abrupt and widespread
revolts provoked decisive coun-
termeasures by the "legitimate"

powers. For several years, Metternich had continued to warn that liberal conspiracies were in the making. The revolts of 1820 convinced him that holding the line was not enough; and Czar Alexander agreed with him that the time had come to take action against liberalism wherever and under whatever auspices it appeared. In October 1820, a conference of the powers was called to meet at Troppau in Austrian Silesia. Russia, Austria, and Prussia participated formally in the discussion, but Great Britain was represented only by an observer. After lengthy deliberations, the eastern European powers committed themselves explicitly to the principle of intervention in the domestic affairs of other states. This commitment was made in the famous Protocol of Troppau:

States which have undergone a change of government, due to revolution, the results of which threaten other states, *ipso facto* cease to be members of the European Alliance, and remain excluded from it until their situation gives guarantees for legal order and stability. If, owing to such alterations, immediate danger threatens other states, the powers bind themselves, by peaceful means, or if need be by arms, to bring back the guilty state into the bosom of the Great Alliance.

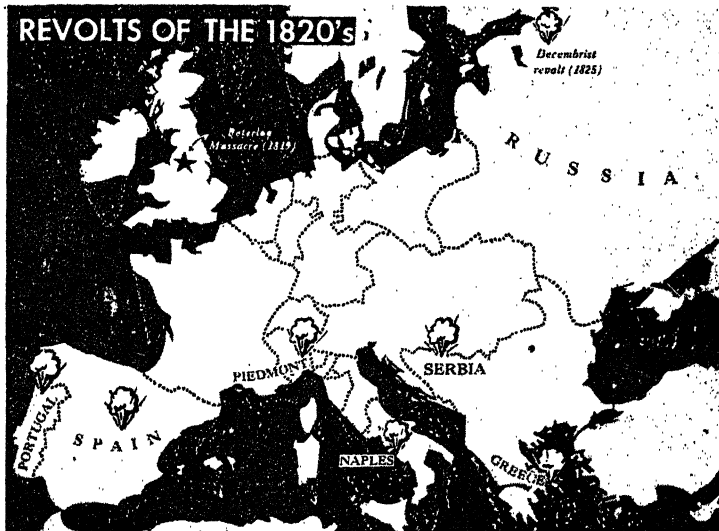
Public opinion kept Castlereagh from accepting this Protocol of Troppau for England. Nevertheless, as far as the other four great powers were concerned, revolutionary change of government within any state ceased to be a domestic and became an international affair. The conferring powers met at Laibach in southern Austria in 1821 to join with the Italian rulers for discussion of the revolts in Italy. They annulled the new Neapolitan constitution, and Austria received permission to send troops to quell the revolt in Naples.

*Alexander's policy
toward the Greek revolt*

FEARING that Austria might
aggrandize herself unduly by a
successful intervention in Italy,

the czar looked with mixed feelings upon the liberal ferment in Greece. He was aware of and shared the pro-Greek sympathies of important segments of his own people. That put him in the peculiar position of advocating a strong alliance of Christian princes to preserve the status quo and at the same time of wanting and of being under great domestic pressure to aid the Greek Orthodox revolutionaries against their infidel overlords. Prevailed upon by

866 Metternich and Castlereagh, Alexander decided to refrain from intervention



The restored Bourbon government was never fully accepted in Latin America, and five years after the Congress of Vienna, reaction and repression led to a revival of the revolutionary spirit in several countries of Europe. The Metternich system crushed the European revolts. The Atlantic Ocean, English opposition, and the Monroe Doctrine forestalled attempts to reestablish Spain's control in South and Central America, though it persisted in the West Indies. The special position of Turkey on the periphery of Europe and Christendom made the "Metternich system", ineffective there, too, and enabled Greece to win independence toward the end of the decade.

in Greece in order to preserve the united front of the "legitimate" powers against revolution.

*England's policy
toward the Spanish revolts*

MEANWHILE, the question of intervention in Spain and in the Spanish colonies continued to

create international uneasiness. The conservative forces in Europe naturally felt that the Spanish rebels had to be crushed if the principle of "legitimacy" were to have meaning in fact. A congress of the powers was called for October 1822 in the northern Italian city of Verona. Before it could meet, the overworked and now mentally deranged Castlereagh slit his throat with a penknife. He was succeeded as foreign minister by George Canning. A "liberal Tory," Canning had but slight interest in the conservative international edifice erected with Castlereagh's help since 1814.

In fact, Canning was more resolved to improve the economic ties that had been binding Britain ever more tightly with Spain's American colonies 867

since they had begun to act independently of Madrid. In the face of the rising continental tariff barriers against the influx of cheap manufactured goods from industrialized England, trade with the New World had become particularly vital to British economy. Since the Spanish Bourbons had returned to power, however, they had not only steadfastly refused to recognize the sovereignty of Venezuela and the other former colonies that now considered themselves independent (pages 833-834) but also insisted upon restoring what amounted to exclusive trade relations with all their overseas possessions. Receiving encouragement and aid from England, the New World revolutionaries had continued their struggle for independence and were becoming more closely attached than ever to England, "the workshop of the world." Canning and his colleagues feared that intervention in Spain would be followed by intervention in the New World, and strongly resisted the proposal at the Congress of Verona to employ the French army to crush the Spanish revolt.

Despite England's objections, the congress decided in 1823 to allow the Bourbon monarchs of France to dispatch a "relief force" to the distressed Bourbons in Spain. The French won an easy victory over the Spanish revolutionaries. Ferdinand was restored to his throne, and the constitution he had solemnly sworn to maintain was discarded. It looked again as if the "Concert of Europe" would succeed in enforcing peace and order, though it would have to do so at the expense of liberty. Apprehensively Canning turned to President Monroe of the United States, who was also concerned about the projects of the "legitimate" powers. In Washington, Canning found agreement and solace. As has been pointed out (page 835), President Monroe, acting independently of Britain, in 1823 announced his famous doctrine guaranteeing the Americas against European intervention or further colonization.

*The strength
of "legitimacy" on the Continent*

WITH THE issuance of the Monroe Doctrine and the British estrangement from the "Concert

of Europe," the united front of the big European powers against liberalism split wide open. Thereafter liberals from other countries were tolerated, if not welcomed, in England and sometimes sought refuge in the United States and the Latin American countries. Using London as their headquarters, they hatched plans for new attempts to overthrow the agents of reaction in their native lands. Nevertheless, on the Continent and particularly in the three big eastern countries (which were becoming more and more identified with the Holy Alliance), the conservatives were able to retain a relatively unchallenged position. In France, the forces of reaction took firmer control in 1820, as they did also in most of the German states. In Poland and Russia, Alexander's government continued to be stern and piously benevolent. In Spain and Italy, the returned rulers embarrassed even Metternich and Louis XVIII

by the vehemence of the vengeance they took upon their less obedient subjects.

THE RESURGENCE

OF SOCIALISM AND LIBERALISM (1823-1830)

THE RULERS of the later 1820's were generally of an older generation than the majority of their subjects. The new generation had been born during the Revolution and had been still youthful when Napoleon was vanquished. The emotions that had aroused the feelings of their fathers were lost upon them. Although European society retained many of the divisions seared into French life by the Revolution, the fanaticism of those who had mounted the barricades or who had fought over most of Europe with or against the general from Corsica was almost a thing of the past. And bitterness was fading even for many of the older generation who had been dispossessed because of their flight from or their skepticism about the Revolution. Old hatreds seemed no longer so important as they once had been. To the new generation the quest for fortune, peace, and stability appeared of greater moment. If peace and stability required order, the quest for fortune required freedom too, and none of these objectives seemed well served by vengeful repression.

Reaction

in France under Charles X

EVEN AS liberalism and nationalism were being most ruthlessly suppressed, they continued to

appeal to important segments of the population. In France, for instance, reaction was forced on the defensive. With the advent of the ultraroyalist Comte d'Artois (page 854) as Charles x in 1824, an ever-widening rift developed between the monarchy and the people of France. Charles x openly strove to revive the institutions and practices of the Old Regime, but his efforts were contested at every step. The studied medievalism of his coronation ceremony at Rheims and the law that made sacrilege a criminal offense punishable in certain cases with death united antagonists of his regime who might well have remained divided over other issues. He candidly allied himself with the Jesuits and the "Ultramontanes" (the "beyond-the-mountains" party, as the advocates of a close association with Rome were called). His ultramontanism estranged even the Gallicans, who might otherwise have supported the alliance of a national throne and a national altar. The return of clerical influence to the schools at all levels also ran counter to the desires of some of his most articulate subjects. A billion livres voted as compensation to the *émigrés* for their confiscated lands alienated those who had profited from the confiscations and those who were taxed to provide the compensa-

tion. Strict censorship and political favoritism stirred up an appeal for "defense of the Charter."

*The moderate socialism
of the Saint-Simonians in France*

CHARLES was not astute enough to realize that his subjects, because of their growing interest in

industry and international trade, were becoming more inimical to tradition and more favorable to innovation. In an age when many were assuming that progress was natural and inevitable, Charles' struggle to revive the spirit, pageantry, and pomp of the Old Regime seemed especially anachronistic.

Illustrative of the deep impression being made by the idea of progress in France was the growth of a "Utopian Socialist" movement similar to the English movement earlier inaugurated by Robert Owen. Influenced by the detailed and astute *History of the French* of the Swiss economist, Leonard Simonde de Sismondi, the Comte de Saint-Simon published in 1825 a highly controversial work entitled *The New Christianity*. A school of "Saint-Simonians" grew up that fanatically accepted his faith in earthly progress. The followers of Saint-Simon proclaimed that the model industrial society should be one in which the state would own and allocate the productive forces and resources of the country. Control in this "ideal state" should be in the hands of the scholars, scientists, and engineers, who would work for the general welfare rather than for private gain. Opposing both the Royalist revival in France and the new demand for *laissez faire*, the Saint-Simonians, along with the Owenites in England, were among the first modern advocates of social control and moderate socialism. The Saint-Simonians gave greater emphasis to government ownership and planning than did the Owenites.

*The failure
of the Fourierists and the phalanx*

ONE OF the most curious schemes proposed by the so-called "Utopian Socialists" was that of

Charles Fourier, whose *New Industrial World* appeared in 1829. It advocated a high degree of social control over economic life. This control was to be achieved through the establishment of voluntary and cooperative communities (phalanxes) somewhat similar to those organized by Robert Owen. Confident of the essential goodness of mankind, Fourier and his followers believed that men would cooperate eagerly if only granted the opportunity. If a few guided experiments could be initiated to show that cooperative living was efficient and effective, it would not be long, they believed, before men all over the world would learn that lesson. Nevertheless, wherever such experiments were tried at this period, they failed rather quickly and miserably.

Fourier almost daily expected some capitalist millionaire to offer him the money necessary to start his utopia. He waited in vain. Despite the conspicuous evils of rapid industrialization, social experimentation was not viewed with favor in influential quarters in an era when free enterprise was

winning success after success in most of the western European nations. It was only as industrialization and free enterprise failed to achieve a universally prosperous society that, later in the century, more sophisticated socialist philosophies were to be accorded a wider welcome.

Auguste Comte

and the beginnings of positivism

AFTER the death of Saint-Simon (1825) the Saint-Simonians adopted a messianic cult and

were suppressed. From Saint-Simon, however, came a philosophy of history and society that greatly influenced Auguste Comte, sometimes called "the father of modern sociology." Comte's thought was elaborated independently of the Saint-Simonians and set forth in his *Cours de philosophie positive*, which began to appear in 1830. Comte held that life and society could be best understood and organized by applying the factual, objective, and inductive method of the natural sciences to the study of society. Though he repudiated the "metaphysical" methods of the eighteenth-century *philosophes*, he believed as they did that human affairs were subject to generalizations which the human mind was competent to discover and to apply to the betterment of human society. He started a school known as "the Positivists," which was to dominate the study of the social sciences in the next century.

Writings

of the liberal French historians

AMONG the most effective critics of Charles X's reactionary policy were some of the contemporary

journalists and historians. They tried to derive useful lessons from the history of past revolutions. In the first years of Charles' reign, Thiers published his monumental *History of the French Revolution* (ten volumes). This work of propaganda and history was one of the first to laud the National Assembly and to propound the thesis that the great Revolution would have been desirable and healthy if only it had been stopped by the end of 1791. His position was that of the constitutional monarchist who hoped to achieve stability and internal peace through compromise rather than revolution. Among others who shared his views were his friend Mignet, who wrote a briefer and more popular *History of the French Revolution* (1824) and the Doctrinaire statesman Professor Guizot, whose *History of the Revolution in England* (1826-1827) suggested the possible parallel of Charles X's career with James II's (page 404). Stimulation of historical study also came through the founding of the *École des Chartes* at Paris in 1823, designed to encourage the development of scholarly interest in documents and documentary criticism.

Romanticism

and Westerners in Russia

WITH CZAR ALEXANDER'S acceptance of a strictly reactionary policy after 1820, conspiratorial

groups and secret societies of "Westerners" became more active than ever, especially among the young army officers who had fought against Napoleon

in western Europe. Like Soviet soldiers and other travelers of World War II, the Russians of the early nineteenth century had been sincerely impressed by the higher standard of living in the West. Eventually there arose a conflict between the "Westerners" and the "Slavophiles," those who doubted whether Russia had anything to learn from the West and believed that she must look to her own traditions and institutions for salvation. Outstanding among the admirers of the West, as well as of both Napoleon and Byron, was Alexander Pushkin, brilliant poet and dramatist and romantic liberal. In 1825, Pushkin published his tragedy *Boris Godunov*, about a striking figure who had made himself czar at the end of the sixteenth century and then had perished in the civil wars known as "the Troublous Times" (page 310).

*Suppression
of the Decembrist Revolt*

ALEXANDER'S sudden death in 1825 gave the malcontents an opportunity to strike for their

ideals with some chance of success. Alexander had had two brothers. Constantine, the elder, was more liberal and more popular than Nicholas, the younger. Constantine, however, by a private agreement with Alexander had renounced the throne, and he now declared Nicholas czar; and for three weeks it was not clear who was the ruler of Russia. In the confusion over the succession a group of liberal though upper-class conspirators, organized in secret societies, instigated a mutiny in the St. Petersburg garrison, with the idea that the succession should be decided by a national representative assembly. They set up a shout of "Long live Constantine, long live the Constitution!" and, according to some monarchical historians, the soldiers believed that "Constitution" was Constantine's wife. Thus began the so-called "Decembrist Revolt," the day after Christmas in 1825.

Having no program or recognized leader, the Decembrist forces were quickly overwhelmed by loyal troops summoned to the capital from the provinces. The leaders of the Decembrists were soon either executed or exiled. Nevertheless, although sponsored by a small and ineffective group of liberals, the December uprising was much more significant than an attempted palace coup. It was the first popular revolt in favor of western political ideas in Russia. It was not, however, a mass movement. The Decembrists were chiefly discontented upper-class and military elements, only some of whom were "Westerners." The quick and ruthless suppression of the revolt by Nicholas destroyed this abortive "western" movement and for a long time to come discouraged resort to arms to effect reform in Russia.

*The policy
of reaction under Nicholas I*

THE DIRECT action of the Decembrists provoked a direct response from Nicholas I (1825-1855).

What remained of Alexander's reform program was quickly scrapped, and a "police regime" was instituted. Even in international circles, Nicholas was

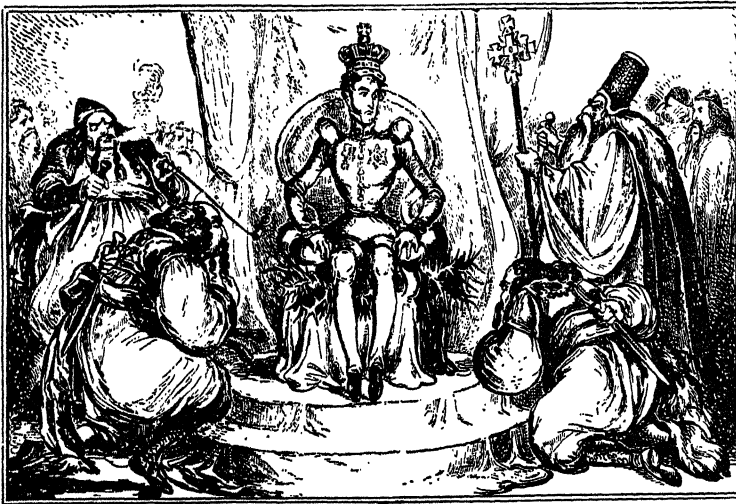
spoken of as "the gendarme of Europe," since he did not hesitate to use his influence and power to preserve the status quo outside his own realm. No longer was there any doubt about the position of Russia. Nicholas' avowed aim was to maintain the autocratic principle intact and to repress criticism of every sort. Autocracy, orthodoxy, and Slavophilism became the pillars of his regime. Western importations, material or intellectual, were discouraged as the system of "official nationalism" was proclaimed and developed.

*Revolt of Serbia
and Greece against the Ottomans*

WHILE the first bid for a liberal regime in Russia was being frustrated, in other parts of eastern

Europe revolutionary movements met with relative success. In Serbia and Greece the revolts against the Ottoman rulers (pages 783-784) went on despite the sultan's efforts to check them. Under the leadership of Milosh Obrenovich, the Serbs gradually overcame their Moslem conquerors. Despite the "legitimate" inclinations of Alexander and Nicholas, both czars sympathized with the Christian-peoples of the Balkans. For not only were the Serbs both Slavs and members of the Orthodox Church but they could be expected, if they were able to remove the Ottoman yoke, to accept Russian tutelage.

Russia also gave moral support to the leaders of the Greek rebellion, and thereby won the plaudits of Christians throughout the world. The London



Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, offered the crown of Greece at the conclusion of the revolt, declined it, and it went in 1832 to Prince Otto of Bavaria. This English cartoon shows the Greek throne as a seat of thorns, menaced by subjects and neighbors.

and Paris governments, on the other hand, feared that Russia might come to dominate the Balkans. Yet they did not dare to alienate their pro-Greek constituents. Their dilemma led to a series of futile negotiations and an unsuccessful joint intervention in Greece by Russia, England, and France.

Unlike Alexander, Nicholas felt no compulsion to uphold the status quo whether or not it was to his advantage. He now determined upon a lone course and sent an army into the Balkans. It met with great success. By the subsequent Treaty of Adrianople in 1829, a truncated Greece won complete freedom from the Moslems, and Serbia was freed of all but nominal Ottoman control, which was replaced by an informal Russian protectorate. The czar had thus won a distinct diplomatic victory in the Near East, but he had also helped considerably to weaken the structure of peace erected at Vienna.

*The rise of Prussia
as economic leader in Germany*

MEANWHILE Metternich continued to rule sternly in Germany. Weaknesses, however, began to

appear in the bonds that he had cast by the Carlsbad Decrees and had forged at the Vienna meetings of 1820. Along with the other German states, Prussia was forced to submit to dictation from Vienna. Political reaction in Prussia, however, though marked, was never so effective as in the exclusively agrarian areas of Germany. In Prussia's Rhenish and Silesian territories agitation for the adoption of certain liberal principles was highly effective. Under pressure from business and banking groups, Prussia assumed the lead in expanding the *Zollverein* (page 860). At first, Austria and Saxony sought to offset the Prussian *Zollverein* by organizing a Middle German Commercial Union. But Prussia won the support of Bavaria and Württemberg in South Germany, and in 1833 the Middle Union dissolved in favor of the *Zollverein*. Since Austria remained aloof, the *Zollverein* gradually brought Prussia to the fore as the economic leader in the south and the middle as well as the north of Germany, and the German states grew accustomed to joint action without Austrian participation. As had been true so frequently in the past, the merchant's desire for removal of trade barriers was to have great political significance.

*Liberalism
and Hegelianism in Germany*

NOR WAS it through the *Zollverein* alone that Prussia became the great hope of German liberals

and nationalists. Many of Germany's intellectuals lived and worked for at least part of their careers in Prussia. In the twenties, the emphasis upon individualism and self-expression that had characterized the romantic thinkers was on the decline in Germany—and, indeed, all over Europe. Goethe had consistently held aloof from the later romantic trend. "Classicism," he once said, "is that which is healthy, romantic that which is sick." Working steadfastly on his *Faust, Part II*, which he finished in 1831, the year before he died,

he put into it all the pathos he felt for erring, striving man—sympathy with the errors, admiration for the strife, and hope for the ultimate triumph of his goodness. Goethe remained until his death a recognized Titan among the men of letters of his day, and few indeed are more honored in ours.

In contrast to Goethe's humanitarian and universal approach, German intellectuals began in the twenties to think more frequently in contemporary social and national terms. The witty and satirical poems of Heinrich Heine, which often dealt with social problems, won a tremendous audience. The political poems of Ludwig Börne and the social novels of Karl Gutzkow stimulated interest in the needs of a society that was just beginning to feel the full impact of "the Industrial Revolution."

Germany's intellectuals were particularly influenced by the lectures and writings of Gottfried Wilhelm Hegel, who is frequently considered the greatest philosopher of the nineteenth century. Hegel was professor of philosophy at the University of Berlin from 1818 until his death in 1831. Early in his career his discussions emphasized logic, esthetics, and non-European cultures and institutions; later he began to stress the civilization of Europe, and particularly that of Germany.

Hegel's dialectic (or method of reasoning) maintained that any given belief or situation (*thesis*) produced a conflicting belief or situation (*antithesis*) and that from the conflict between them arose a new belief or situation (*synthesis*). By extension of this major premise, history became for him the series of conflicts by which the Absolute, the world synthesis, works itself out. In tracing the course of the "Absolute," or the "World-Spirit" (*Weltgeist*), through history, he dwelt at length upon the evolution of the state. The state, he taught, is the realization of the "Divine Idea" through the age-long interaction of the individual and society. Hence the course of history is a continual conflict of ideas and cultures. At each period of history, a dominant spirit (*Zeitgeist*) best expresses the dominant culture of the day and is embodied in a dominant state. "Freedom" Hegel defined as the conformance of the individual will to that state which best embodies one's *Zeitgeist*. As *Zeitgeist* gives way to *Zeitgeist*, freedom is extended. He concluded that in Prussia the modern world would have its best example of a state, for there the individual enjoyed "perfect freedom through perfect law." In other words, Hegel made of the state a divine and moral entity in which the individual might be "free" in a widely acceptable even though a strictly defined manner.

Hegelianism seemed to solve the age-old conflict between Liberty and Order, the Individual and the State. Hegel's philosophy was welcome not only to the German nationalists, whether or not they were liberals, but also to the German liberals, many of whom believed that the national unification of the German peoples under Prussian leadership would have to be achieved

before political reform could take place along liberal lines. Hegelian dialectic became especially acceptable to Karl Marx, who was one of his students, and it was to be among the factors that eventually gave rise to the "dialectic materialism" of the Marxian Socialists.

*Ranke
and the development of historicism*

A COLLEAGUE of Hegel at the University of Berlin was Leopold von Ranke, the scholar generally

credited with being the founder of "scientific history." Ranke had carried on his historical research more systematically than perhaps any previous historian in modern times. He endeavored to uncover new materials in the uncatalogued repositories of Europe and to subject his sources, whether new or old, to a most scrupulous examination for reliability. The publication in 1824 of his *Latin and Teutonic Nations, 1494-1519* inaugurated the so-called "scientific" approach to historical criticism by its careful determination of the authenticity of documents, its scrupulous avoidance of doubtful testimony, its cautious and logical inferences from the carefully sifted testimony. Ranke was convinced that historical methods, properly applied, would enable the historian to tell "how things actually were." His earlier works were essentially liberal—based upon an assumption of a developing European culture. In later years he was to become more clearly a German nationalist. Nearly all noted German historians, and many foreign historians, of the nineteenth century were products of Ranke's famous seminar.

Hegel wrote an abstract philosophy of history, and Ranke was concerned with the careful extraction of historical testimony from authenticated documents. Nevertheless, the two combined with other contemporary historians to give to nineteenth-century thought a tendency that the developing interest in national origins and traditions emphasized. That tendency, sometimes known as "historicism," was another product of the reaction to eighteenth-century rationalism. Historicism is the belief that things are best explained by the process through which they come to be—by their peculiar History rather than by Reason or Nature.

*Wöhler
and the first organic chemistry*

WHILE the German historians, reflecting the new positivism, endeavored to make their research

methods more scientific, German natural scientists were not idle. Some of them concerned themselves more and more with the rules governing the behavior of organic matter. Through their achievements in the fields of atomic and molecular chemistry, the scientists of the first generation of the nineteenth century had completed the technical framework necessary to the understanding of chemical change in inorganic substances. Although it was suspected that the laws governing inorganic substance must have some

bearing, at least, upon the behavior of organic materials, no well-defined relationship could at first be isolated. In 1828, however, the German chemist, Friedrich Wöhler, already famous for his discovery of some new elements, produced urea, an organic compound, from ammonium cyanite, an inorganic compound. By this experiment, Wöhler upset the contemporary belief that organic materials could be derived only from living matter. Wöhler thereby brought organic matter into the laboratory and subjected it to the same techniques that had earlier been employed only in experiments with inorganic matter. Thereafter, the whole field of organic chemistry began to develop, giving rise to the point of view that, whatever the secret of life might be, the living body was made up of chemical matter whose composition and properties could be experimentally studied.

*The Habsburgs' use
of "divide-and-rule" tactics*

THE INTELLECTUAL ferment that
agitated the rest of Germany
affected Austria less profoundly,

for it was not welcomed by Metternich. Among the welter of Austria's national groups, it seemed impossible to make satisfactory concessions to the new liberal-national spirit without jeopardizing the fundamental character of the Habsburg state. It was only through a delicate balance of power that the Habsburgs were able to hold their empire together. By playing one national group off against another, Emperor Francis I and Metternich managed to outmaneuver the opposition and to keep every movement from becoming strong enough to be a "menace." Francis is reported to have remarked: "My peoples are strange to each other and that is all right. They do not get the same sickness at the same time. In France if the fever comes all are caught by it. I send the Hungarians into Italy, the Italians into Hungary. Every people watches its neighbor....From their antipathy will be born order and from the mutual hatred, general peace."

*Cultural nationalism
in Bohemia and Hungary*

NEVERTHELESS, undermined by
the liberal and national conflicts
of the nineteenth century, the

decaying Habsburg structure had begun to totter. In general, the subject nationalities at first sought only to restore their separate cultural heritages and to discard as far as possible the German veneer applied by the empire's dominant element. The Czechs of Bohemia and the Magyars of Hungary especially were stimulated into a dangerous cultural nationalism. But, unlike the Czechs and other Slavs of the empire, the Magyars sought concrete recognition of their political independence. Under the leadership of the English-educated Count Istvan Szechenyi, they endeavored to revive Hungary's past political institutions. Elsewhere in the heterogeneous empire, nationalist movements were limited before 1830 to demands for cultural autonomy. 877

*Repression
of literature and politics in Italy*

IN HABSBURG-DOMINATED north-
ern Italy, even the demands for
cultural independence were rare

and largely suppressed. Italy's most conspicuous literary figure in the 1820's was the Milanese poet, novelist, and dramatist, Count Alessandro Manzoni. Count Giacomo Leopardi, born in the papal state of Ancona, was probably a greater poet and scholar, but Leopardi's symmetrical, classical lyrics and dialogues had a greater influence on his successors than upon his contemporaries. Most of Manzoni's later works were written in the best romantic spirit. The most famous was his enormously popular novel, *The Betrothed Lovers* (*I Promessi Sposi*), first published in 1825-1826. In form it was like the Waverley novels of Sir Walter Scott, who called Manzoni's "the best ever written." It told a realistic story of thwarted love in seventeenth-century Italy but was interpreted by Italian patriots as an allegory attacking Austrian tyranny. Warmly sympathetic to the cause of Italian independence, Manzoni wrote patriotic poems and essays, which he was sometimes obliged to circulate in manuscript. Metternich's repressive policy following the Italian revolts of 1820 made it easier for Manzoni to rebel against literary classicism than against political "legitimacy."

*Private enterprise
and philanthropy in England*

IT WAS in England that the liberal
revival flourished best in the
1820's. Canning's diplomatic

break with the conservative powers in 1822 was the signal for a revival of liberal activity in domestic affairs. The new industrial society had raised to social predominance a social class trained, unlike the nobles of previous generations, for peace and not for war. Often self-made men, this industrial élite consisted largely of individualists who placed a high value upon private enterprise even in philanthropy. At the same time that they subscribed to Ricardo's "iron law" (page 848) in their wage policies, they gave their support to civic and church efforts to improve the lot of the unfortunate and the oppressed. For example, Wilberforce and Clarkson (page 616), continuing their struggle against human bondage, formed the Anti-Slavery Association in 1823; in 1824, the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals was founded. In promoting private benevolence the Methodists took a leading part. They worked among the poor and endeavored gradually to take over the social services that the Catholic Church after the Reformation had been forced to relinquish and the state had not yet assumed.

*The enactment
of "liberal Tory" reforms*

A CABINET revision in 1822
brought into prominence in the
government some "liberal Tories"

such as Canning (page 867), Robert Peel (secretary for home affairs), and William Huskisson (president of the Board of Trade). Peel soon made a

significant effort to implement the program of the humanitarians. He reformed the British criminal code, endeavoring to make the punishment fit the crime. Of the two hundred offenses, more or less, that had previously been punished as capital crimes, Peel's reforms cut the number to about a tenth. He also expedited law enforcement in London by the introduction of a well-trained but unarmed police force, thereafter known as "Bobbies," or "Peelers" after their creator.

*Development
of the railways in England*

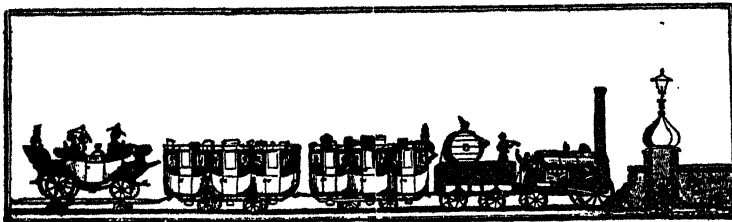
REFORM and humanitarian activity expanded with the growth of industry, trade, and the middle

class. The age of coal and steel progressed more rapidly in England than in any other part of the world. Communications and distribution had become easier and faster within the "tight little isle" by the expansion of railways. George Stephenson, having already put wheels under James Watt's steam engine (page 525), increased its mechanical efficiency by adding new devices and improving the old ones. By 1825 the stationary engine became a practical railway locomotive. That year regular rail service was established between Stockton and Darlington, and the world entered the era of the railroad—just about twenty years after the invention of the steamboat. The expansion of maritime and rail facilities speeded up industrialization and brought in quicker profit. Although speculation and overexpansion resulted in a temporary economic depression in 1825-1826, the advances in manufacture, distribution, and communication were real.

*Utilitarianism
and the "Philosophical Radicals"*

THE "UTILITARIANS" provided an optimistic social philosophy that fitted in well with economic

prosperity. Basing their doctrine upon the writings of Malthus, Bentham, Ricardo, and James Mill (pages 844-845, 604, and 848), these philosophical liberals made popular what had hitherto been for most people highly abstract theories. They argued that wages would have to be kept barely above the subsistence level until the people could be taught to practice moral restraint. Each



London and Greenwich Railroad, 1833. The cars of the first railroads were shaped like carriages. Horse-drawn carriages could be transported on flat cars.

by seeking to satisfy his own desires would contribute to the general good, competing selfishnesses canceling each other out. Thus only a thin line separated personal welfare from public utility. Prudence in spending, procreation, and political activity was urged upon the workingmen as their only hope of rising permanently above their stations. The Utilitarians advocated *laissez faire* to the point where they demanded that the state refrain from interfering even in the alleviation of suffering among the poor. They considered political reform desirable, especially a wider representation in Parliament, but mainly for the purpose of aiding the new industrialists. Universal suffrage, it was thought, might come after a period of education for the masses. Through *laissez faire*, gradual political reform, and a long-range program of secular education, the Utilitarians believed that "the greatest happiness for the greatest number" would be realized. Gathered around Jeremy Bentham, they became a powerful little group and even won representation in Parliament as "the Philosophical Radicals."

*Temporary repeal
of the Combination Acts*

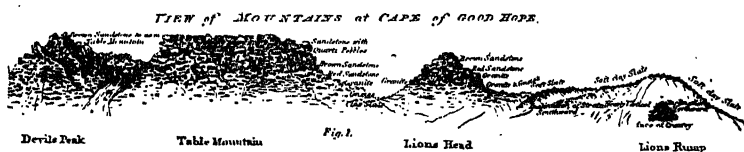
*SINCE the Utilitarians were essentially middle class, the laboring class did not share their confidence.

In these years a temporary but none the less auspicious labor victory was won. In 1824 the "liberal Tory" cabinet repealed the Combination Acts (page 845) and granted labor the right to organize. Many trade unions were rapidly formed. During the depression of 1825-1826, riots and strikes by dissatisfied workers occurred in frightening numbers, and the right to strike was again revoked. Nevertheless, labor, having once won that right even though for only a short time, was to use the precedent to good advantage in the future.

*Revision
of the Corn Law of 1815*

UNDER Huskisson's influence the ministry of Liverpool and Canning showed favor to the industrial interests.

A strong movement toward free trade and revision of the Corn Law of 1815 had developed, having as its object the elimination of mercantilism as a government policy. Although not successful at first, the "Free Traders" did get a number of raw materials placed on the list of free imports. Then Canning, arguing that two thirds of the nation were affected adversely by the Corn Laws, undertook a revision of them just before his death in 1827. Although his proposal was defeated in the House of Lords, the following year a somewhat modified version, sponsored by the Tory Duke of Wellington as the new prime minister, secured passage. By a sliding scale of tariffs, Wellington hoped in times of plenty to prohibit imports of grain almost completely and in times of scarcity to lower the tariff wall. Such



This drawing of rock strata near the Cape of Good Hope illustrates the contemporary interest in geology. It appeared in the *Edinburgh Philosophical Journal*, 1819.

and opposed by the landed gentry and the Tory party, slowly moved England in the direction of free trade.

*Increased political power
for dissenters and Catholics*

FEARING outbreak of civil war in Ireland, the Duke of Wellington was again obliged to make

concessions that he had previously opposed. In 1828, Protestant dissenters had at last won the right to hold public office by the repeal of the Test Act (page 403). Still excluded from public office by other statutes, the Catholics, particularly those in Ireland, thereupon demanded the same right. Wellington proved willing to estrange most of his supporters and to sacrifice his political position for the cause of internal peace. He secured the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act, removing the disabilities of Catholics and making them eligible to vote and to hold nearly every public office in return for a set of relatively reasonable promises of loyalty. Dissenters and Catholics now placed their newly acquired political power on the side of the liberals. Hence the Tories, largely a party of landowners, lost the grip that they had had upon English politics for over sixty years, as their opponents, the Whigs, who were dominated by the new urban industrialist and merchant elements, strengthened theirs. The new elements favored political change by peaceful processes.

*The contributions
of Charles Lyell to the new geology*

THAT CHANGE, no matter how gradual, was inevitable was a conclusion that some found implied

in Charles Lyell's *Principles of Geology* (1830). His major thesis had to do with the formation of the earth. After careful observation, he concluded that it had reached its present form only after a long and complicated evolution. The earth, then, must be very many ages old to have allowed time for this slow process to take place. Lyell's geological deductions gave significant support to those biologists who had maintained with Lamarck the unbroken descent of vertebrate animal from lower forms of life through eons of change. Like the biologists, Lyell was attacked by the orthodox for casting doubt upon the Biblical account of creation. The conception of a slowly forming earth peopled by animals in various stages of evolution seemed in 1830 to verge on

the heretical. To political liberals, however, the idea of slow biological and geological evolution seemed to be in harmony with their own ideas of political evolution through reform.

THE REVOLUTIONS

OF 1830

THE SLOW growth of liberalism in England and the growing strength of the American republics inspired Europe's liberals with hope. On the Continent the conservative parties were likewise being obliged to take the defensive. The Vienna system was proving too weak to repress altogether the strong forces unleashed at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Liberalism, nationalism, and socialism continued to win adherents despite the "police regime" of Metternich.

Flourishing

of liberal romanticism in France

FRANCE was particularly ready for change. The writers and composers of the day had contributed

by the might of their pens to this readiness. The political lyrics and plays of Victor Hugo and the novels and plays of Alexandre Dumas were often directed against the royalist regime as well as against the artistic restraint of classicism. A literary crisis arose in 1830 around Hugo's play *Hernani*, a tragedy centering upon the rivalry in love of a bandit hero with two chivalrous Spanish noblemen. This play violated several of the rules of classic drama by irregularities of meter, colloquialisms, and disunities of time and place (page 395). It aroused such antipathy among the classicists that they made a serious but unsuccessful effort to prevent it from being performed at the Comédie Française. Charles X, who had approved of Hugo's earlier royalist poetry, subsequently banned the play. More clearly than before, classicism became allied with royalism, and Romanticism with liberalism. The classicists were equally outraged by young Hector Berlioz, who refused to conform to accepted musical patterns. In this case, however, they kept the public with them, for the presentation in 1830 of his now best-known work, *The Fantastic Symphony* (or *Episode from the Life of an Artist*), was greeted with indifference. Rossini, now musical director of the Italian Theatre in Paris, was much more successful. By 1830, he had composed over a score of operas. The reception of his *Barber of Seville* was matched by that of his *William Tell*. Both works were popular not only in the sense that they were widely applauded but also in that their stories exploited the liberal theme. The shrewd barber, guide and intellectual superior of his noble patron, and the mythological hero of the Swiss war of independence made a general appeal to the new generation.

*Polignac's ministry
and royalist reaction in France*

THE ROYALIST reaction in France became particularly vehement after August 1829 with the inauguration of the Prince de Polignac's ministry. To most elements in the French population, Polignac's name, associated with the ancient Bourbon aristocracy and the *émigrés*, was synonymous with extreme royalism, clericalism, and unabashed antipathy toward the new society of the post-Napoleonic era. Groups normally in opposition to each other were temporarily united through their common fear of White Terror and repression. Polignac openly declared that his objectives were "to reorganize society, to restore to the clergy its former preponderance in the state, to create a powerful aristocracy, and to surround it with privileges." About the same time, Charles X announced: "I would rather saw wood than be a king of the English type."

The opposition, finding itself in the majority in the Chamber of Deputies, in March 1830 demanded Polignac's dismissal. In reply, the king dissolved the Chamber and openly appealed for popular support of the Polignac ministry. This was an extraordinary move, for the Charter theoretically provided a king who remained impartial and aloof from the political arena. By becoming a contestant, Charles accepted the risks of decision by combat. Concessions, he believed, were out of the question.

*The July Ordinances
and the July Revolution in Paris*

THE NEW elections resulted in a victory for the opposition. Recognizing that he was unable to win a majority of the Chamber under the prevailing legal structure, the king issued a series of ordinances in July 1830 by which he dissolved the new Chamber of Deputies, suspended freedom of the press, changed the electoral system radically, and required still another election. Although his opponents contended that these "July Ordinances" violated the basic principles of the Charter, Charles professed to believe that he was acting in keeping with its spirit. His predecessor having originally granted the Charter as a voluntary act of benevolence, the king now, as he saw it, had the right to interpret and revise its various provisions by ordinance.

Since the July Ordinances were directly harmful only to the newspapers and the few Frenchmen who would be deprived of the franchise by the newly devised electoral system, the government felt that angry words would be the only form of reprisal open to its opponents. They were sadly mistaken. Upon the publication of the July Ordinances in the official newspaper, the *Moniteur*, violence broke out in Paris. Especially influential among the agitators was Adolphe Thiers. With his journalistic colleagues he issued a declaration denouncing the July Ordinances. Proclaiming that "the reign of law has ended, and that of force has begun," the newspapermen appealed in cafés and on street corners to other citizens to join their resistance. The workers in the



This caricature of Louis Philippe shows why he was sometimes called "the pear king."

newspaper plants were particularly responsive, for they feared unemployment and hunger. Joined by sympathetic workmen from other industries, they and their employers began on July 28 to tear up the cobblestones of Paris for barricades against the king's soldiers.

Parallel in striking ways to the "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, which put an end to England's Restoration (pages 404-408), France's July Revolution was short but decisive. Hostilities were limited to street fighting in Paris. The workers were soon joined by students and republicans, who cherished the traditions of the French Revolution and hoped for the return of the tricolor and a Jacobin constitution. After less than three days of fighting, Charles x was forced to abdicate his throne in favor of his young grandson, the Duc de Chambord. When it became plain that the revolutionaries would not tolerate any Bourbon at all, the ex-king and his followers fled to England, ever the asylum of disowned continental kings and other refugees. Chambord continued long after 1830 to wage a fight for a Bourbon restoration in France, but unsuccessfully. Though republicans had been most conspicuous on the barricades, the popular leader, Lafayette, anxious to avoid a fight among the victors, accepted a king who, he thought, would be a liberal. Thus France remained a monarchy but acquired a new dynasty. The new ruler was Louis Philippe, head of the Orléans family, which had a long insurgent record.

*The revision
of the Constitutional Charter*

ONE OF the first actions of the triumphant revolutionaries was to revise the Charter. Louis Philippe

became "King of the French." The title signified that he was king of the people and by the people and not by proprietary right to the land or "by the Grace of God." Other amendments undid the antiliberal policies of the Bourbons. The prerogative of the monarch to legislate for the nation or to issue ordinances for the safety of the state was taken away; and the Chamber of Deputies was accorded the power of initiating legislation. The Catholic religion was again reduced, as in Napoleon's time, from its privileged position as the state

religion to that of the sect to which the majority of the French people adhered. Thereby the hold of the church upon the state and upon the educational system was broken. Subsequent legislation carried on this liberal policy. Among other things, it reduced the amount of property required for the franchise and removed the government censorship of newspapers and books.

Liberalism

and nationalism in modern France

FRANCE was once again, as by the Constitution of 1791, a bourgeois monarchy, with "a throne surrounded by republican institutions." But the bourgeoisie that triumphed in the July Revolution was a different one from the eighteenth-century middle class. The industrial élite was considerably more important now than it had been before. The amended Charter, the revolutionary monarchy, and the new faces in governmental offices after July 1830 represented the economic and social forces that had expanded in prestige and power as accumulating industrial change had strengthened the process of transformation inaugurated in 1789. By 1830, the principles of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" had been partly realized in France in their new forms called "liberalism" and "nationalism." Moreover, the agrarian and rural character of French life was slowly being changed by urbanization and the expansion of industry. The old order in France was to be even more boldly challenged and the nation was to take on a more distinctly modern appearance as the century advanced.

*The Whig victory in England
and the "rotten-borough" system*

THE TRANSITION from a rural and agrarian to an urban and industrial society was even more pronounced in Britain, and the pressure for political reform from liberal groups was no less intense. Liberal agitation had long centered about the problem of adjusting the structure of representative government to the new circumstances. Extensive reform had proved impossible to effect, however, because the Tories dominated English government until 1830. In that year, William IV became king, and the Whigs under Earl Grey were swept into office on a rising tide of liberal sentiment.



In this cartoon Britannia, holding aloft a liberty cap, emerges from a meat grinder, turned by Whig leaders, into which corruption and rotten boroughs are thrown.

The more practical Whig reformers envisaged a parliamentary system that would weaken the landowner's control of British politics. Because of new agricultural, industrial, and medical methods, the population of England had risen to around 16,000,000, but only about 160,000 (one out of a hundred) could meet the existing property qualifications for voting. The reformers proposed an extension of the suffrage to the middle class by making franchise qualifications more uniform and more liberal throughout the realm. They also planned to eliminate the "rotten boroughs"—those places which were over-represented in Parliament because they had at one time been important centers of population though they had since disappeared or had lost out in the race with the rapidly growing towns, which were underrepresented. Some constituencies were "pocket boroughs," where the electors were controlled by the crown or by influential lords and politicians, and the reformers wanted to eliminate them too. A natural result of the faulty electoral system was venality and spinelessness among those members of Parliament (perhaps two thirds of the House of Commons) who depended for their political existence upon the "patrons" who controlled their "rotten" or "pocket" boroughs.

*Reform
rather than revolution in England*

IN 1831, the Whig ministry proposed the Reform Bill, intended to redistribute parliamentary seats

on a more equitable basis and to extend the right of voting to a larger section of the population. Earl Grey was stoutly assisted in the cause of reform by Lord Durham, Lord John Russell, and other Whig leaders, for not only was the representative principle at stake but it was probable that reform might mean more Whig votes. The Tories, on the other hand, made valiant efforts, particularly in the conservative House of Lords, to stop the passage of the Reform Bill. Two rejections by the House of Lords led to violent and widespread public protests. Proposals to amend the bill were greeted with cries demanding "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill."

Revolt had by that time swept the Continent (pages 882-885 and 887-891). Fearing a similar popular reaction in England, the king reluctantly accepted the Whig measure. He had the power, if necessary, to create enough new lords to pass the bill, as Grey suggested, but he preferred to persuade a number of Tory lords to absent themselves during the final vote. After well over a year of agitation, a sort of "purged" House of Lords finally agreed to parliamentary reform. Thereby a precedent was established to the effect that the Lords could not freely veto a measure having strong public sentiment behind it.

The Reform Bill of 1832 provided a more equitable distribution of seats in the House of Commons and about tripled the number of England's voters. Even so, only about 500,000 or one out of over thirty subjects had the right to vote. But the real importance of the Great Reform Bill was in its implica-

tion for the future. It made a visible breach in the wall of aristocracy through which a triumphant democracy would ultimately march. Thus England was notably affected by the revolutionary atmosphere of 1830 without having had to endure an open outbreak. Even though the change was wrought by peaceful means, it was quite as profound as the revolutionary reforms that were being forced upon more reluctant governments elsewhere.

*The revolt
for independence in Belgium*

ALTHOUGH the Belgians and the Dutch were subject to the same liberal influences as the French

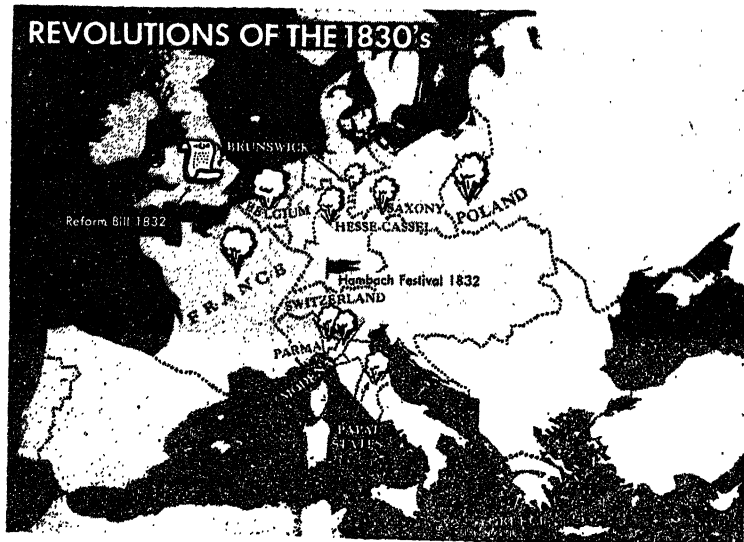
and the English, the revolt that rent the kingdom of the United Netherlands in 1830 was mainly nationalistic in origin. By an international arrangement made in 1814 and confirmed by the Congress of Vienna, the Belgians had been forced to accept national union with the Dutch. The Belgians were closely tied to the Dutch Netherlands by economic bonds, but many Walloon and Flemish, both Liberals and Catholics, resented this disregard of their traditional culture and joined forces against the Protestant Dutch regime. The intensity of their patriotic aspirations was enhanced by resentment at having only equal representation in the joint assembly and fewer offices, even though the Belgians made up considerably more than half the population. In addition, economic conditions among the lower middle-class businessmen and the factory workers of urban, industrialized Belgium were quite unsatis-



The separation of Holland and Belgium in 1830 is here caricatured as the tearing-up of a marriage contract by an irate housewife.

factory, and they blamed their difficulties, at least in part, on the liberal tariff system of the commercial and agricultural Dutch. Resentment against Dutch rule was intensified by the autocratic character of King William I.

When news of the July Revolution in Paris reached Belgium, it first created only mild agitation. But by the end of August 1830, pro-French and anti-Dutch elements rose in revolt in Brussels. Riot soon spread, leading to a liberal-nationalist demonstration in Liège and to other patriotic outbreaks in the provinces. The Dutch were obliged to admit that it would be difficult for them to control an area at least equal in strength to their own and gave up without a serious struggle. Moreover, England and France, the two foreign powers most influential in the Netherlands, viewed the Belgian revolt with equanimity. Austria, Prussia, and Russia, more consistent proponents of "legitimacy," were hostile to this newest violation of the European settlement at Vienna but were more directly concerned with revolts nearer home (page 889-891) and were therefore hesitant to intervene in the Low Countries. In 1831, a liberal and independent monarchy was inaugurated in Belgium despite the Dutch reluctance to accept it. Belgium, which since the sixteenth century had belonged to the Spanish, the Austrians, the French, and the Dutch in turn, now at last belonged to the Belgians. A few years later the



888 In 1830 the July Revolution in Paris began a series of revolutionary outbursts in Metternich-dominated Europe. England assuaged the current unrest through a set of reforms that reached as far as India and culminated in the Reform Bill of 1832. In the New World the emergence of Jacksonian democracy revealed a similar unrest.

powers, hoping to exclude Belgium forever from international power politics, declared the new state "perpetually neutral." This "neutrality of Belgium" endured precariously until it was violated in the First World War.

*The Polish revolt
for independence from Russia*

LIKE THE Belgians, the Poles had had almost nothing to say in 1815 about their political future. "The

Congress Kingdom of Poland" was obliged to rest content with the status of a semi-independent constitutional state under a ruler who, no matter how inconsistently, remained an autocrat inside Russia. Ever strongly nationalistic, the Poles had hoped that Czar Alexander might in the course of time grant them a greater degree of independence. But the rare meetings of the Polish diet resulted in little more than bickering.

The Poles were left almost entirely without hope and guidance after Alexander's death in 1825. In the "police regime" of the unwavering Nicholas I there was no room for a constitutional Poland. It became clear that freedom would be won only by force, if at all. From exile in Russia the poet Adam Mickiewicz wrote his Byronic *Konrad Wallenrod*, a paean to Polish hatred of Russians, barely concealed in a narrative of battles between Teutonic Knights and Lithuanians. Secret societies began to flourish, supported by university students and the Catholic clergy.

Conspiracies were frequent, but were unsuccessful before 1830. Internal divisions among the Poles caused great difficulty to the "patriots," among whom the aristocrats were numerous and powerful. The poverty-stricken peasantry were often indifferent to the political preferences and nationality of their masters. The small middle class, though patriotic, was largely composed of Jews and Germans, who were generally regarded as aliens. In the end the patriots proved too isolated to be effective. Nevertheless, when it was reported that Polish troops might be sent to suppress the successful French and Belgian revolts, the Polish army in November 1830 mutinied against the Grand Duke Constantine, the czar's brother and viceroy in Warsaw.

*Suppression
of the Poles by Russian force*

FEARING that the initial success of the Warsaw mutiny would be the signal for a thorough national

revolution, Constantine fled from the country. The Polish revolutionaries, however, split up into "Whites," who were willing to remain loyal to Russia if the constitution were respected and a greater Poland created, and the "Reds," who wanted still greater freedom and a "national revolution." The Polish aristocrats were "Whites," and they feared a popular revolt as much as Nicholas did. Therefore, they endeavored to negotiate a truce with the czar in the hope of settling outstanding political issues by arbitration. Nicholas would not compromise, however. In 1831 a Russian army marched into Poland. Unable by themselves to defeat this superior force, the Polish rebels

looked for help from England and France, but in vain. By the autumn of 1831, Warsaw was recaptured by the Russians and the czar took inexorable measures of revenge. Polish independence in all phases of life was ruthlessly crushed and "Congress Poland" was forcibly incorporated into Nicholas' empire as one of the Russian lands. Until the First World War, Poland was administered as a frontier outpost of Russia.

*The revolts in Italy
put down by the Austrians*

THE AUSTRIAN realms, too, were engulfed in the revolutionary wave of the 1830's. These revolts

were almost uniformly nationalistic in inception. In northern Italy particularly, secret societies had continued underground activities after the defeats of 1820. From Paris and London, exiled Italian revolutionaries kept in close touch with their French, English, and Belgian counterparts. Fired by the success of the revolutions in western Europe, the people of Modena rebelled against their duke in December 1830. The rebellion quickly spread to other parts of the peninsula, and was most dangerous in the Papal States.

Like the Poles, the Italians hoped to be able to withstand the local authorities until help could reach them from the new revolutionary governments of Europe. They failed to reckon, however, with the deep-seated middle-class feeling against disorder. They failed also to understand that the same national spirit that drove them against Austria and her Italian satellite rulers operated upon at least some French and English patriots in such a way as to restrain their impulse to rescue patriotic movements abroad. For in London and Paris, it was national prosperity and security rather than the liberal cause of Europe that lay uppermost in the minds of political leaders.

The Italian revolts were quelled by the Austrians in workmanlike fashion. The revolutionaries were pushed southward into the Papal States. But there they also failed to find refuge. Nationalist and liberal leaders were executed ruthlessly or forced to flee from their homeland to England, Switzerland, and France. Among the exiles was the twenty-five-year-old Giuseppe Mazzini, who now began actively to organize the secret "Young Italy" movement as a nucleus around which an independent, republican, and unified Italian nation might grow.

*Attempts
at reform in Switzerland*

SWITZERLAND, too, felt the impact of the revolutionary force. There the revolts were mainly of a lib-

eral character. The twenty-two cantons of the Swiss Confederation, restored almost entirely to their old boundaries and perpetually neutralized by the Treaty of Vienna, were dominated after 1815 by a conservative landed aristocracy. As the techniques of modern industry developed in the Alpine confederation, the urban population increased in size and influence. Located at the crossroads of commerce between northern and southern Europe, the Swiss

cities were particularly sensitive to the political currents of the time. The success of the July Revolution in Paris emboldened liberal students and businessmen to demand reform and civil rights. Riots against cantonal authority forced the granting of some new liberties in about half the cantons. The fears of the minority of agricultural Catholic cantons prevented a thoroughgoing national reform, however. More effective revision of the Swiss federal government had to be postponed to a later date.

*Ferment
in the German Confederation*

THE STATES of the German Confederation in the 1830's similarly underwent local change without

serious effect upon the federal structure. The motives for revolt in Germany were derived largely from a liberal desire for reform within the states and a nationalist demand for more effective union among them. Slowly recovering from the effects of the Carlsbad Decrees, the universities again produced secret student societies. Around 1827, the universities of southern and central Germany became notorious for liberal and nationalist activity, but they had no well-articulated program or effective leaders. News of the successful Parisian revolution of July 1830 led to sporadic uprisings. The arbitrary Duke of Brunswick and the Elector of Hesse-Cassel were forced to abdicate. Their successors and the rulers of some other disgruntled states (Saxony, for example) consented to constitutional limitations.

These liberal successes bred further unrest. In the Rhenish states particularly, enthusiasm ran high. A great "National Festival" was held at Hambach in Rhenish Bavaria in 1832. Here the "national" flag of black, red, and gold was unfurled, and resounding demands were voiced for a unified German state based upon liberal institutions. Some even spoke of a republican Europe and denounced the "Holy Alliance," of which the two leading German states were members.

The Hambach Festival played into Metternich's hands. He easily induced Frederick William and the other frightened German rulers to adopt as a federal ordinance a series of repressive measures known as "The Six Acts" (June 1832). These acts reconfirmed and fortified the Carlsbad Decrees. They were calculated to dampen popular enthusiasms and to increase federal power, but without prejudice to the sovereignty of the princes. Although riots followed and upheaval continued until 1835, the conservative forces were still powerful enough to prevent further change. German unification had to wait.

*The significance
of the revolutions of 1830*

THE REVOLUTIONS of 1830 epitomized the breakup of the unity established fifteen years before at

Vienna. Based upon a return to the old order, the settlement effected at Vienna was now doomed to failure because of its lack of adjustment to the

irrepressible forces unleashed by the French Revolution and by large-scale, mechanized industrial methods. Liberalism and nationalism in politics, industrialism in economic organization, romanticism in literature, music, and the other fine arts, socialism in the class attitudes of society, and positivism in science were among the prominent trends of the new day. The urban population, employers and workers alike, were committed to a new order, and, although they did not agree upon the new institutions that they hoped to see, they were united in their opposition to the old. Up to 1830, the main resistance to bourgeois ascendancy had come from the dominant élite of the past; after 1830, it was to come also from the industrial working classes.

This is not to say that the revolutions of 1830 were conspicuously victorious. As already noted, the forces of reaction continued to be powerful and united in the east. Neither the bourgeois monarchy in France nor the Whig government in England could have aided with impunity the liberals of central and eastern Europe, even if their primary attention had not been fixed upon assuring their own stability. Nevertheless, an *entente cordiale* existed between them. In reply, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, on the defensive at home and abroad, reaffirmed and broadened their informal alliance into the more formal Convention of Münchengrätz (1833). By that agreement, the eastern powers extended an invitation to monarchs anywhere threatened with internal revolt to request intervention by the cooperating powers, and at the same time they announced their intention to preserve the new arrangements in the Balkans and Poland. Through this instrument Europe was formally divided, as it had been before and would be again in recent times, into two ideological camps. In the 1830's it was the eastern dynasties that sought to preserve the status quo.

In western Europe, however, the ultimate triumph of middle-class institutions and ideals became more and more assured. England and France undertook to protect the new Belgian government and encouraged the growth of constitutionalism elsewhere as well. Moreover, defeated nationalists and liberals from Poland, Germany, Austria, and Italy found refuge in the west. At the same time, closer associations were developed between "liberal Europe" and the "revolutionary" governments of the Americas.

IN THE nineteenth century, the "Industrial Revolution" made England the center of commerce and liberalism, not only for Europe but for the whole Atlantic area. Situated strategically apart from the Continent and astride the sea lanes to the "New World," the British Isles dominated the industrial, social, political, and ideological life of what was then the most dynamic area in the world. Playing its traditional balance-of-power game

with skill, the British succeeded in influencing continental politics from afar. By encouraging and partly financing United States expansion westward, the British had great effect upon life in the Atlantic seaboard states until the outbreak of the First World War. Despite occasional revolutionary upsets like those of the 1820's and the 1830's, international order and the middle-class virtues continued to prevail in Europe in the years of "the pax Britannica"; and European values, especially technological efficiency and the ideal of nationalism, were exported, sometimes unintentionally, along with European imperialism, Christianity, and capital investments. The "British Century" was to become the period of the most marked Europeanization of the world.

And yet at least one able observer in the 1830's recognized that the triumph of the middle class and the British would not be permanent. Alexis de Tocqueville, after having observed Jacksonian republicanism at work in America (page 839), returned to France and in 1835 published his famous book *On Democracy*. His purpose, he afterwards said, was to bring his fellow-Europeans to realize that democracy—government by the great mass of the people—was bound to come and that the upper classes could either be swept away in the effort to resist it or could, by cooperating with it, restrain some of its less attractive possibilities. He also thought that the future would belong not to the nations of western Europe that up to that time had dominated the world but to Russia and the United States of America. "Each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe."⁵³

De Tocqueville saw more deeply than his contemporaries could be expected to see. The world in the 1830's looked like a world in which the incomplete American experiments in democracy would remain safely on their side of the Atlantic, "revolutionary" western Europe would continue to balance safely between aristocratic and middle-class control, "legitimate" central and eastern Europe would continue to be autocratic and aristocratic, and the rest of the world—non-Christian and non-Caucasian for the most part—would pass only slowly, if at all, under European (chiefly western European) political, economic, or cultural sway. Almost four centuries of history seemed to point in that direction. And yet during the next century and more, democracy of some sort was to look like "the wave of the future"; nationalism was to travel, occasionally hand in hand, with democracy; and imperialism, sometimes friendly and sometimes unfriendly, was to keep abreast with the two.

⁵³Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, trans. Henry Reeve (New York: The Century Co., 1898), I, 559.

CHRONOLOGY IN REVIEW

- 1780-1867 Jean Ingres, French painter
- 1798 Malthus' *Essay on Population*
- 1800 Union of England with Ireland
- 1814 The Bourbon Charter of 1814
- 1815 Establishment of the German Confederation
- 1815-1816 Attempt of the *Chambre Introuvable* to abolish Revolutionary changes in France
- 1817 David Ricardo's *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*
- 1817 Jeremy Bentham's *Catechism of Parliamentary Reform*
- 1818 Admission of France to the Concert of Europe at an international convention at Aix-la-Chapelle
- 1818-1831 Hegel's career as a professor of philosophy at the University of Berlin
- 1819 Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Idea*
- 1819 Issuance of the Carlsbad Decrees by the German diet
- 1820 The Vienna Resolutions
- 1821 Steps taken by the Congress of Laibach to quell the Italian revolts
- 1821-1822 Rebellion of Greece against the Ottoman Empire
- 1822-1823 Decision by the Congress of Verona to use the French army to crush the Spanish revolt
- 1823 Issuance of the Monroe Doctrine by the United States
- 1824 Ranke's *Latin and Teutonic Nations, 1494-1519*
- 1825 Pushkin's *Boris Godunov*
- 1825 Suppression by Nicholas I of the "Decembrist Revolt" in Russia
- 1828 Founding of the study of organic chemistry by Friedrich Wöhler
- 1829 Settlement of the status of Serbia and Greece by the Treaty of Adrianople
- 1830 Charles Lyell's *Principle of Geology*
- 1830 The July Ordinance of Charles x, resulting in the July Revolution in Paris and the forced abdication of the king
- 1830 First appearance of Comte's *Cours de philosophie positive*
- 1830-1831 Suppression of a Polish revolution by Czar Nicholas I
- 1831 Suppression of Italian insurrections with Austrian troops
- 1831 Completion of Goethe's *Faust, Part II*
- 1832 Extension of English suffrage and provision for a more equitable distribution of seats in Commons by the Reform Bill of 1832
- 1833 Alliance between Russia, Austria, and Prussia reaffirmed and broadened at the Convention of Münchengrätz
- 1835 De Tocqueville's *On Democracy in America*

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KEY TO PRONUNCIATION

a	hat, cap	ng	long, bring
ā	age, face	o	hot, rock
ā	care, air	ō	open, go
ä	father, far	ô	order, all
b	bad, rob	oi	oil, voice
ch	child, much	ou	house, out
d	did, red	p	paper, cup
e	let, best	r	run, try
ē	equal, see	s	say, yes
ēr	term, learn	sh	she, rush
f	fat, if	t	tell, it
g	go, bag	th	thin, both
h	he, how	th	then, smooth
i	it, pin	u	cup, butter
ī	ice, five	ū	full, put
j	jam, enjoy	ū	rule, move
k	kind, seek	ū	use, music
l	land, coal	v	very, save
m	me, am	w	will, woman
n	no, in	y	you, yet

z	zero, breeze
zh	measure, seizure

ø represents:

a	in about
e	in taken
i	in pencil
o	in lemon
u	in circus

FOREIGN SOUNDS

Y as in French du. Pronounce ē with the lips rounded as for English ū in rule.
 œ as in French peu. Pronounce ā with the lips rounded as for ō.
 N as in French bon. The N is not pronounced, but shows that the vowel before it is nasal.
 H as in German ach. Pronounce k without closing the breath passage.

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